TADIA

The African Diaspora In Asia

explorations on a less known fact

Edited by

KIRAN KAMAL PRASAD

JEAN-PIERRE ANGENOT

The tadia conference, of the calibre and significance of these other seminal gatherings that greatly advanced the field of african diaspora studies, in addition to bringing together scholars focusing on the vast and diverse area of asia and the indian ocean, took to another level the process of bringing together and making visible little known african diasporan communities by including representatives of several siddi communities in the conference. And even more extraordinarily for the kind of enterprise usually involving only scholars gathered to talk about the people they study, in the absence of and with little concern for the interests of those people, tadia conference organizers took the unprecedented step of following the conference with a workshop at which a hundred or so siddis from the states of hyderabad, karnataka, gujarat, and maharashtra met for the first time, transcending differences in african origins, historical roles in india, language, religion, and regional culture to discover their commonalities and discuss collective plans for the future.

By adding the long historical and geographically vast experience of this "other side of the african diaspora" to the story, the tadia society is both complicating the atlantic diaspora model by providing data and by adding another template for understanding the african diaspora, challenging the limited atlantico-centric model and appropriating the right and accepting the responsibility to create a new broader and more complex reflection on and model for understanding how the different african diasporas are, and what and how the global african diaspora is.

Shiela S. Walker

TADIA
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Papers Presented at the First International Conference on TADIA
in Panaji, Goa, Held During January 2006

EDITED BY

Kiran Kamal Prasad
and
Jean-Pierre Angenot

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Bangalore

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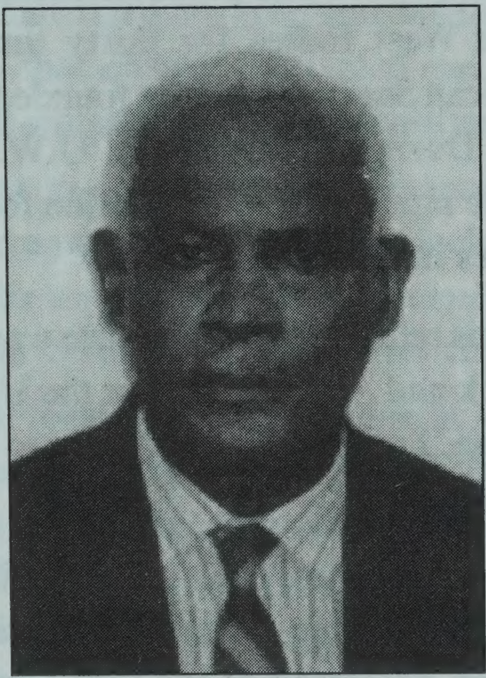
“There is a New Africa coming today and it is a challenge to civilization.”
James Aggrey

“New Africa today is the world of African people, of Africa and its Diaspora.”
Joseph E. Harris



Fitzroy André Baptiste

This volume is dedicated to his memory as a tribute to his scholarship on and concern for the African Diaspora in India/Asia.

Fitzroy André Baptiste was born in the West Indian island of Grenada. He did his studies at the Grenada Boys' Secondary School, the University of The West Indies in Mona, Jamaica (Honours degree in History), at the Manchester University (Master of Arts degree) and the University of The West Indies in St. Augustine, Trinidad (PhD on the doctoral thesis, *War, Cooperation and Conflict: The European Possessions in the Caribbean, 1939 – 1945).*

Dr. Baptiste lectured and pursued research studies at the University of The West Indies for thirty three years in the Department of African Studies where he founded the Department of Asian Studies. During his tenure at U.W.I., Dr. Baptiste continued to receive international recognition for his scholarship and research studies in History.

Following his retirement, Dr. Baptiste was invited to teach the History of Black and Asian Studies at the University of The West Indies at Mona, Jamaica. He continued to do so diligently until his death in July, 2007.

He was a member of The African Diaspora In Asia (TADIA). He was the first one to study the Siddis in Hyderabad. His extensive paper, presented at the Goa Conference on the African diaspora in Asia, not only analysing the six classical and historical texts on the African diaspora in India but also exploring the related issues like African migration and origin of racism, highlights his deep interest in, scholarship on and humane concern for the Siddis and the issues related to them. His article in the volume is a pointer to the great scholarly contributions he would still have made on the African diaspora in India/Asia.

MESSAGE

The Global African Diaspora: A Challenge for the 21st Century:

I began my serious research on the African diaspora as a result of my participation in the programme of the First International Congress of African Historians organized in Tanzania by UNESCO in 1965 to identify major themes in African history. I served as moderator / commentator for the panel on the African diaspora and I vividly recall that a couple of Asian delegates challenged my assertion that the African diaspora included Asia. The lively discussion that ensued motivated me to pursue research on the global African diaspora, with which I have been identified ever since.

In 1967, in an effort to document the presence and influence of African descendants in Asia, I visited a number of countries, including India. The result was my first book, *The African Presence in Asia: Consequences of the East African Slave Trade,* published by the Northwestern University Press in 1971.

Most of the research for that book was done in India; and one of the Indian consultants for that book was Shanti Sadiq Ali whose book, *The African Dispersal in the Deccan,* was published in 1995. Also, she invited me to include my article, "African History from Indian Sources", in the *African Quarterly,* published by the Indian Council on African Affairs. What a great pleasure for me, therefore, if I were present to participate in this programme. Not only would I enjoy India again and visit with Shanti Ali; I also would be part of the discussion that no doubt challenges, expands and revises earlier works like mine, which indeed is in the very nature of academic research.

I also think that it is important to emphasize UNESCO's role in the development of African diaspora research. That 1965 conference in Tanzania led to the publication of the eight-volume *General History of Africa* that included chapters on the African diaspora in several of those volumes. In addition, UNESCO organized several "Meetings of Experts" in the 1980s to discuss the subject in different countries in Africa and elsewhere and funded the publication of the seminal though short-lived African Diaspora Studies Newsletter that appeared in several languages during 1984 -1985. UNESCO later organized the Slave Route Project that met in a number of countries over some ten years. Although most of the attention concentrated on the African diaspora in the western hemisphere, I understand that the African diaspora in Asia would be accorded greater consideration during the next phase of that project.

Some of you know that in 1979 I convened the First African Diaspora Studies Institute at Howard University and the Second Institute at the University of Nairobi, Kenya in 1981. Both of those conferences were designed to identify and assess the status of research, courses and programmes about the descendants of Africans abroad and to support African scholars and teachers in their efforts to gain greater influence in the field. Papers from that historic conference appeared in the *Global Dimension of the African Diaspora,* published by the Howard University Press in 1982, revised in 1993.

I mention those meetings for two reasons. First, they convened in and concentrated *primarily* on Africa, Europe, North and Caribbean America. Second, the languages of those conferences, as were the UNESCO meetings, did not include Portuguese. That omission limited the involvement of a significant part of the diaspora and excluded important aspects of their content. I made this point last October at the conference of "The Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora" which was convened in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. I stated that the Rio conference and this one in Goa would be historic as both would expand the study of the global African diaspora not only to include the Portuguese-speaking areas of the world, but Asia as well. And in the process we would reveal a people not only globally victimized, but a people who had mastered other cultures while maintaining identity with their roots, a people who had withstood, achieved and contributed to national and international developments.

Let us, therefore, link our studies to the global communities of African descent and the context in which they emerged and continue to live. We thus are positioned to challenge effectively those barriers of discrimination erected on the foundations of myths and stereotypes that continue to limit equality and justice for all people.

This conference should expand the network of the global African diaspora that nears comprehensiveness and should advance not only the reorientation of historical and cultural studies, but also a greater commitment to national and international human and economic justice as more and more descendants of that legacy of disadvantage are empowered to assume meaningful positions in government, business and other national and international arenas.

Given the legacy of the slave trade, enslavement and subsequent disadvantage, Africans and peoples of African descent must assume a more visible and assertive role in the movement for human and economic justice. This could well be the great challenge of the 21st century. And I am honoured to be a small part of the endeavour.

January 1, 2006 Joseph E. Harris

FOREWORD

The African Diaspora: Cultures, Knowledge Production and Development

The undertaking of this publication, following the important meeting of TADIA in Goa, India in January 2006, is a worthy endeavour in several aspects. First, the importance of the chosen theme, The African Diaspora in Asia, with regard to contemporary dynamics of globalization in which peoples' search for their bearings in an era characterized by speed of information, movement and exchange of all sorts. Secondly, the quality of the contributors testifies to the growing interest about peoples of African descent scattered throughout the world.

My sentiment has always been that the African diaspora whether recent or ancient has always contributed to world civilization not only by producing knowledge about the problems the world is confronted with but also through its struggles to stay human despite the difficult conditions in which it had to articulate this humanity. Its double experience of having been uprooted from its home/continent and having to adapt to the foreign environments are testimonies of its capacity of survival. These certainly give it the possibility to better apprehend contemporary problems facing the world in a more global context and on a longer term.

The complexity of the problems facing the Black world requires more than improvisations and isolated actions that indeed benefit those who tried to profit from our weaknesses rather than promote progress in the general interests of all peoples. We all know that a number of African and African diasporan problems will not find sustainable solutions in the current, political and micro-national fragmentation of African diasporan peoples.

In this context, a common thinking on the essential problems and a consensus on the solutions to solve them in total honesty and transparency, as was done in traditional African societies, are a need of the hour. This is then to say how important the role of the African diaspora is in stimulating the dialogue in search of common points of convergence and interest for African peoples worldwide.

The African diaspora can, through solidarity, a practice rooted in African cultural traditions, strive to see that its experience profits African peoples worldwide, particularly the young generation. I am happy that this gathering has focused on the issue of knowledge production because, despite progress in various economic and technological fields, the hope of African diaspora peoples for a speedy development is far from what was expected at the beginning of our various struggles for self-emancipation. Poverty still remains a constant handicap for our people's abilities to fulfill their potential. African peoples worldwide lack neither resources nor talents as evidenced by this gathering. But diverse factors have prevented us from attaining development at a rhythm hoped for by those who struggled for freedom and those who are still struggling. Freedom is meaningful only when it allows solving the great economic and social problems confronting our people.

Historical factors, such as the political, economic and social sequels to the slave trade and colonization, have not favoured the development of our communities in various geographical locations. Hence, there is a need to continue the struggle for defining our identity and our culture because of the umbilical link between culture, freedom and development.

It is important to recall that the notions of culture and development, in the sense in which they are now understood, emerged only after the Second World War. The London Constitutive Conference of November 1-15, 1945 of what became the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) already recognized the primacy of culture in the perception one has of others and the role of culture in the reciprocal knowledge and mutual understanding among peoples. Culture is not, therefore, perceived only in literary and aesthetic terms but as including the totality of creations of the mind and human activities.

The negation of civilizations and cultures of peoples that took place when they were dominated is not reflected in the official declarations on the relationships between individuals and nations today. Since all cultures are recognized as equal in dignity, great monumental works which testify to the genius of humankind wherever they may be found are then considered as common patrimony of humanity which the international community has the duty to preserve and safeguard. Thus, the World Conference on Cultural Policies in Mexico in 1982 which saw the gathering of intellectuals and artists from all the continents agreed that:

> *the world has undergone profound changes in recent years. The progress of science and technology has changed man's place in the world and the nature of his social relations. Education and culture, whose significance and scope have been considerably extended, are essential for the genuine development of the individual and society;*
>
> *despite today's increased opportunities for dialogue, the community of nations is also faced with serious economic difficulties, inequality between nations is growing, and many conflicts and grave tensions are threatening peace and security;*
>
> *it is, therefore, now more urgent than ever to establish closer collaboration among nations, to guarantee respect for the rights of others and to ensure the exercise of the fundamental freedoms of man and of peoples, and of their right to self-determination. More than ever it is urgent to construct "defences of peace" in the*

mind of each individual, inter alia through education, science and culture, as affirmed in the Constitution of UNESCO;

by gathering in Mexico City on the occasion of the World Conference on Cultural Policies, the international community has decided to contribute effectively to the closer communion of peoples and to greater understanding among men;

therefore, expressing trust in the ultimate convergence of the cultural and spiritual goals of mankind, the Conference agrees:

that in its widest sense, culture may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs;and

that it is culture that gives man the ability to reflect upon himself. It is culture that makes us specifically human, rational beings, endowed with a critical judgment and a sense of moral commitment. It is through culture that we discern values and make choices. It is through culture that man expresses himself, becomes aware of himself, recognizes his incompleteness, questions his own achievements, seeks untiringly for new meanings and creates works through which he transcends his limitations.

At the individual level, culture expresses the spiritual dimension of the totality of one's beliefs, knowledge, experience and sensibility. It is thus an essential factor in the perception one has of oneself, of one's society and others. Culture is also the primary source for motivation, choice, creativity and actions of the individual. On a more general level, culture gives specificity to each people because people exist only through the links they have woven between the different components of a society through common history, beliefs, values, symbols, creations and representations in which each one recognizes himself/herself. It is through culture that the feelings of unity and solidarity that link different members of a community are affirmed. Culture is, therefore, at the centre of interpersonal relationships as well as the relationship among peoples. Depending on the values it inculcates and the feelings it gives rise to, it can either bring peoples together or tear them apart; it can inspire the will to change or the closing of one's mind.

Hence, culture is at the centre of knowledge production and development. It is both their engine and ultimate finality. This is because any development must contribute to the material wellbeing and spiritual blossoming of those it belongs to. It is the engine of development because there is no development without change. It is in culture that each individual and people draw the faculty of creation and the will to undertake and succeed. Consequently, any project of development starts from the need for renewal and the necessity to innovate with regard to that which exists. Innovation always leans on knowledge, know-how and experiences which nurture it. Furthermore, in this era of globalized societies, no culture can live in isolation. All cultures borrow reciprocally and mutually enrich themselves in the process. African cultures are not exceptions to this rule. They have been enriched and influenced by the African diaspora in many fields of the humanities. And this is a positive process as they need to be fecundated also in the field of modern science and technology.

If we then agree on the link between culture, knowledge production and development, what are the requirements for their implementation in an African diaspora framework? Assistance is not a basis on which to build a people's development. People advance through the collective will the members. Hence, the development of peoples of African descent must pass through the development of a knowledge addressing first and foremost the issues with which African peoples are confronted, the organization of our peoples at the global level and the harnessing of these towards the goals of sustainable satisfaction of the needs of our peoples.

Hence, our production of knowledge must respond to the necessities of African peoples worldwide and focus on the ameliorations of their conditions of life. While some went to the extent of arguing that "development is incompatible with African cultures", what they failed to realize is our definition of development, which we see as liberating and ameliorating the condition of existence of our peoples rather than destroying the natural equilibrium, sucking cultural, social and human values that allowed us to survive the drama of slavery, forced labour and colonial exploitation that alienated their people from culture. The "refusal of development" is a mark of a will to preserve the harmony between human activities and the safeguarding of nature, between the need for renewal and the preservation of social equilibrium. Whether in Africa or in the diaspora, our cultures consider nefarious that which endangers nature which is the framework of life and the site of activities that provide means for subsistence. That which breaks the equilibrium of the structures which ensure cohesion and group solidarity must be rejected.

This is not to say that African and African diaspora cultures are incapable of undergoing change. The incompatibility invoked is then a way of protecting when confronted with the unknown, to situations which we doubt contain any benefit for our peoples. The effects of three centuries of man-hunting during the slave trade and a century of forced labour and colonialism cannot be erased from the memory of our peoples. Moreover, while colonialism has ceased, its methods remain the same with regard to the relationships of the West with us.

Change then must come from our own perspective and be rooted in our own historical and contemporary experiences. Concepts and notions from our cultures must be the basis from which we intellectualize. Colonial practices disguised as universal with their outcomes of intellectual and political alienation are inefficient in the formulation of a twenty-first century African diasporan conceptualization. This is not to say that all traditional practices are carriers of progress. However, we must discard only that which we deem unnecessary.

Dependency of all sorts is crippling our peoples while our resources - human and otherwise - are abundant. It is important to mention that the knowledge of rice cultivation was the reason why enslaved West Africans were brought to the Carolinas, attesting to the fact that Africans and African diasporans were located at the centre of world knowledge production. Beyond these specific instances that have a reference to the circumstances our peoples found themselves in, we must address the global structural problem confronting African and African diasporan cultures in the context of the postmodern period and this must be at the heart of our debates because they are directly linked to development.

African and African diasporan traditional cultures belong to the civilizations of orality in which knowledge is memorized and transmitted from mouth to ear and from generation to generation. However, the complexity and expansion of scientific and technical knowledge-sources of material progress require that we hasten the production of African and African diasporan knowledge through the acceleration of literacy particularly for women whose role in our economies and societies is crucial.

This is not to confuse literacy in a western language with knowledge. However, we are forced to acknowledge the importance of writing in whatever language one exercises in and it would be erroneous to think that African languages have never been written before the advent of Europeans in Africa or that they cannot formulate scientific thought and modern technological ideas. Large African intellectual elites already used writing through Arabic characters in XVI century; African intellectuals of the Sankore University, with its renowned campus of Timbuktu, built a reputation beyond the confines of the continent. Several other examples could be cited to demonstrate that Africa was not an intellectual or technological desert.

The development of the iron industry was so advanced that Basil Davidson, the English historian, could say that Meroë in Nubia was the Birmingham of antiquity. Closer to us, people of my generation who grew up in traditional or semi-rural milieu know the process of fabrication of metal, particularly iron, textiles and dying as well the use of medicinal plants in the preparations meant to prevent and treat diseases such as malaria. It is regrettable to see African medicinal plants copyrighted more and more by international pharmaceutical multinationals for their sole profits in the context of world commerce and African states being forbidden to draw any benefit from them. This is also the case of African and African diasporan cultural productions like art, dance, music and crafts that are essential sources of income fundamental to economic and social development. Africans and African diasporans do not benefit from the cultural industries in a manner commensurate to their contributions. Hence, we must pay attention to this problematic in the near future.

The dimension of the problem has changed in terms of the methods of production. The issue now is about moving from a relatively limited production to a massive one with an unprecedented effort at dissemination with sophisticated processes and tools. And this is possible only if the actors of development have direct access to the written knowledge and thereby acquire an appropriate scientific and technological culture.

The move from orality to writing, then, implies not only the development of education at all levels but also a struggle against illiteracy in our history and experiences. Thus, African and African diasporan cultures can be revitalized while keeping in mind the imperious necessity to safeguard their spiritual, social and human values at their foundation—values the preservation of which is more than ever necessary in a world that globalizes while discarding its ethical bearings and its humanity.

The acquisition of a scientific and technical culture on a large scale and on a long term poses the problem of appropriate scientific technological research focused on the needs of Africa and the African diaspora. We can no longer exclusively depend on the outside for scientific and technological developments without losing grasp of these. The specificity of our peoples' genes, hence their vulnerability to some diseases, the reaction of our bodies to some medical treatment, the peripheralization of our aesthetics, the handicap of our youth in mainstream pedagogy–all these make the case.

Time is certainly needed to face the monumental tasks ahead of us but we lack neither the talents nor the intellectual capacities. Works of writers, artists, and intellectuals of Africa and the African diaspora are unanimously appreciated worldwide; despite the lack of means, our researchers are making gigantic accomplishments in some fields. What is lacking is an affirmed will to clearly conceive scientific and technological policies at a diasporic level and, above all, to consider education as essential.

Intellectual, scientific and technological advances are the results of an educational system of quality. Culture, knowledge production and development are intimately linked. Education has a double effect: it is a social reproduction and a preparation for innovation which is the essential condition for any meaningful production.

In its function of social reproduction, education must transmit the patrimony of knowledge, of values and creations inherited from the past or born in the present to new generations whereas its role lies in the safeguarding of African and the African diaspora cultural inheritance. In its role of preparation for innovation, it must train minds focused on the future and capable of triggering changes that make individuals and societies progress.

Africans and the African diaspora have inherited from their cultures a faculty for impregnating themselves with diverse cultures without ever losing their own. The openness of mind that characterizes their cultures excludes ostracism towards others, and convictions and knowledge from whomever. Hence, all the contributors to this collection can claim the culture of African origin and another culture at the same time. Isn't this a major advantage in a world in which the largest diversity of peoples ever witnessed in human history are called to meet, to speak and to cooperate in a spirit of true universal fraternity? For all these reasons, this book makes a major contribution. I, therefore, salute TADIA on this initiative.

31 March, 2008

Ahmadou Makhtar M'Bow
Director General, UNESCO: 1974-1981
(Translated from the French by Babacar M'Bow)

PREFACE

Realising a Dream: A Brief History of Tadia Leading to the First International Conference on The African Diaspora in Asia in 2006

TADIA, a short form for The African Diaspora in Asia, is the brainchild of Prof. Jean-Pierre Angenot, a Belgian-Brazilian linguist, who taught in Belgium and Congo and teaches now in Brazil. His close contact with Africans in Congo and Brazil had made him sensitive to the realities of African diaspora. Through his internet explorations, he discovered in recent years, the African diaspora in Asia, a very little known fact even within the countries of Asia where Africans continue to live today. African diaspora is very much identified with Atlantic Slave Routes from western Africa to the Americas and the Caribbean world.

That African diaspora is also associated with Indian Ocean Slave Route, connecting eastern Africa to the different islands spread out in the Indian Ocean and the many countries of the vast Asian continent is a surprising news not only to the academicians connected with African diasporic studies and leaders of Pan-African Movement but also to the non-African citizens, even in the Asian countries, who may be living just a few hundred kilometres away from the habitat of Asian Africans. Pioneering studies are being made by a few significant scholars here and there and now and then, on Africans in different countries of Asia (see, p. 117), but, mostly these were individual efforts, at the most supported by a few institutes and universities. They had not yet made their impact on the larger canvas of African studies nor had these studies made the leaders of Asian Africans to come in contact with the Pan-African Movement.

This lacuna, however, has been filled to some extent by the imagination and strenuous effort of Prof. Angenot since 2003. He conceived of TADIA that year and together with another researcher on African descendants in Sri Lanka, Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya, who along with Richard Pankhurst edited *The African Diaspora in the India Ocean* in 2003, built up an internet network of individual scholars and academic institutions numbering about a few hundred, within a short span of two years. Prof. Angenot, together with his linguist wife, Geralda de Lima, also decided to do linguistic studies in India in the state of Karnataka with a group of African descendants known as Siddis. In 2004, the linguist couple and their two school aged children moved into Goa and formalised links with Goa University and Konknni Kendr in Panaji, Goa to do research on the Konkani language spoken by the Siddis.

Prof. Angenot also established contacts with scholars and activists involved with the Siddis in India. He, in consultation with Jayasuriya, thought of organising an international conference on *"The African Diaspora in Asia"*, and at the end of it an *Organisation Workshop* (OW) for the socio-economic development of the Siddis in India guided by the renowned Brazilian inventor of the OW tool, Clodomir Santos de Morais. Prof. Angenot established contacts with two scholar-activists involved with the Siddis in Karnataka, Francis Guntipilly and Kiran Kamal Prasad, and through them with the Siddi communities in Karnataka, Gujarat and Hyderabad. For legal purposes, TADIA Society, a short form for "The Society for Research, Culture, Education and Development of the African Diaspora in Asia", was registered in Bangalore, the state capital of Karnataka, in September 2005.

Prof. Angenot managed to get The TADIA Society recognised by the Slave Route Project of UNESCO, Paris. Ten days in the beginning of January 2006 were originally fixed for the conference and workshop, and the venue was decided to be Panaji, Goa. The lead in organising the Conference and Workshop was taken by John Kosta Siddi, president of The TADIA Society, Kiran Kamal Prasad, secretary, and TADIA members Francis Guntipilly and Jean-Pierre Angenot. Farida K. Al-Mubrik Sidi and Geralda de Lima Angenot, as the remaining members of The TADIA Society, were also part of the organising team. Rustom Barucha joined the group at the last stage of planning and lent support by coordinating the conference and workshop sessions.

Apart from the UNESCO Slave Route Project, the conference was co-sponsored by various institutions such as: the Federal University of Rondonia - UNIR, Porto Velho, Brazil; the Institute for Technical Support to Third World Countries, Brasilia, Brazil; Moulana Azad National Urdu University – MANU, Hyderabad, India; the National Law School of India, University - NLSIU, Bangalore, India; The Karnataka University, Dharwad, India; the University of Alcalá, UNESCO Chair in Afro-Ibero-American Studies, Spain; and the University of California – UCLA, Los Angeles, USA. The papers included in this volume are those presented at or sent to the conference and the workshop, and the publication has been financed by the UNESCO Slave Route Project, Paris and Action Aid India, New Delhi. Since the original estimation of costs involved was not adequate to meet the requirments of printing a large number of 43 articles of nearly 800 pages, Action Aid India came forward at the last minute to bear the extra costs involved.

The event was a tremendous success in various respects (see, Annexe 1, pp. 753-56). It brought together scholars of not only the African diaspora in Asia but also of other regions of the global African diaspora. Different types of issues connected mainly with the African diaspora in Asia but also to some extent with the global

African diaspora were presented and discussed. Nearly 20 Siddi leaders from different parts of India joined 80 or so scholars to help make the academic discourse and deliberations both contextualised and concrete. Some scholars stayed for the three-day workshop where nearly 100 Siddi leaders from the states of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh actively took part in the various interactive sessions facilitated by Rustom Barucha with assistance from Chennakeshava, Beheroze Shroff, Zaved and Kiran Kamal Prasad. Francis Guntipilly ably managed the logistics all through the conference and the workshop.

Ideally, the event has helped to expand, "the network of the Global African Diapsora [to near] comprehensiveness" leading to not only, "the reorientation of historical and cultural studies, but also a greater commitment to national and international human and economic justice as more and more descendants of that legacy of disadvantage are empowered to assume meaningful positions in government, business and other national and international arenas." (p. vi).

The TADIA Society is very grateful to the UNESCO Slave Route Project and Action Aid India for agreeing to finance the printing of the conference papers and to the contributors for preparing the articles for publication. Prof. V. S. Parthasarathy has been very helpful in sorting out the Notes and the References, and in correcting the expressions and other matters dealing with the editing of a book. Jalajakshi T., the office assistant of Vimukti Trust, has done all the work of carrying out the modifications in the texts. Dr. T. S. Vivekananda has provided a meaningful cover design and helped signifacantly in most of the DTP work. Sricha Printers, Bangalore has done the printing in a neat and attractive way and also within a very short duration of time. Dr. Henry Drewal readily provided the photographs that were used in desiging the front and back covers. To all of them we owe immense gratitude.

The value of the volume has been enhanced by the various contributions from a few scholars on African diaspora. First and foremost, we want to acknowledge the inspiring message sent by Prof. Joseph E. Harris. It set the right tone for the proceedings of the conference and the workshop. He has also readily given permission to include his maps on the African diaspora in the volume.They are found in Annexe 3 (pp. 761-62).

Mr. Ahmadou Makhtar M'Bow has done us and The Tadia Society a great favour by sending a thought provoking and stimulating Foreword. He has delineated a whole range of issues regarding culture, knoweldge and development confronting the African disporan peoples worldwide and the various actions that require to be taken up at various levels to address those issues.

Dr. Ineke van Kessel graciously procured the permission to include her published succinct report on the conference and the workshop by herself paying the fees, and the Oxford University Press on behalf of the Royal African Society has kindly granted permission to reprint the Report.

Prof. Sheila S. Walker has helped the editorial team immensely by going through the drafts of the introduction and offering very valuable suggestions not only in polishing the language but also in understanding the various issues of the African diaspora. She has also penned her personal reflections on the conference and the workshop under the title, " If You Don't Know Asia and the Indian Ocean, You Don't Know the African Diaspora." That article is also included as Annexe 2 (pp. 757-60) to the volume.

We cannot adequately express our heartfelt appreciation to all the above mentioned persons for the great service renderd to the cause of the African diaspora in Asia and in bringing out this publication.

April 14, 2008

Kiran Kamal Prasad and
Jean-Pierre Angenot

CONTENTS

Title	Author	Page
Dedication: To Fitzroy André Baptiste		III
Message: The Global African Diaspora: A Challenge for the 21st Century	Joseph E. Harris	V
Foreword: The African Diaspora: Cultures Knowledge Production and Development	Ahmadou Mahtar M'Bow	VII
Preface: Realising a Dream: A Brief History of Tadia Leading to the First International Conference on the African Diaspora in Asia in 2006	Kiran Kamal Prasad and Jean-Pierre Angenot	XV
Introduction: Discourses on the African Diaspora in Asia	Kiran Kamal Prasad	1
I. Perspectives on African Diaspora		33
1. On the Paths of African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean World	Ali Moussa-Iye	35
2. The African Diaspora in Asia	Gwyn Campbell	43
3. Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora: An Ongoing 21st Century Project	Carole Boyce Davies	83
II. The African Diaspora in India		**115**
4. From "Invisibility" to "Visibility": Africans in India Through the Lens on Some Select Sources from the Late Classical Period to the, Late 18th Century A.D.	Fitzroy André Baptiste	117
5. Manumission of Slaves in Goa During 1682 to 1760 as Found in Codex 860	Teotonio R. de Souza	167
6. African Slavery and Christian Humanism in Portuguese Goa	Jeanette Pinto	183
7. A Socio-Cultural Profile of the Siddi Women of Hyderabad	Rekha Pande	191
8. Race, Caste and Class Dynamics among the Siddis in Karnataka	Kiran Kamal Prasad	209

9. Renewed Affirmative Action for the Siddi Community of Karnataka — S. Japhet and Vinay Sitapati — 223

10. Sidis in Bombay: Negotiating Identities between Bombay and Gujarat — Beheroze Shroff — 233

11. Karnataka Siddi Nash: Charting and Identity Through Mediating Materiality of the Spiritual in South India — Pashington Obeng — 245

12. Consequences of International Touring among Sidis of Gujarat: A Developmental Perspective Using Techniques of Participatory Action Research (PAR) — Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy — 257

13. Arts and Agency: Patchwork Quilts and Quilting Cooperative of Siddis from Northern Karnataka, India. — Henry John Drewal — 269

14. The Wargharkar Family in Siddi Janjira — Anuradha Bhattacharjee — 277

15. Changing Marriage Patterns among the Sidis of Janjira and Sachin — John McLeod — 285

16. Linguistic Evidence of Bantu Origins of the Sidis of India. — Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi — 301

17. The African, Portuguese, Kannada, Marathi, Malvani, Hindi and English Influences on the Hybridized Siddi-Konkani Dialect — Geralda de Lima Angenot and Oziel Marques da Silva — 315

18. The Retroflected Consonants in Siddi-Konkani: Dravidian Sub-Apical Palatal or Indo-Aryan Apical Postalveolar Articulation? — Jean-Pierre Angenot and Selmo Azevedo Apontes — 331

19. Patterns of Anaemia in the Siddis of Karnataka — Prakash V. Patil and Pramod B. Gai — 341

III. African Diaspora in Asia other than India and the Indian Ocean — 345

20. African Presence in the Traditional Wedding Ceremonies in Dubai in the Pre-Oil Era and Now — Aisha Bilkhair Khalifa — 347

21. Becoming Black Dutchmen: West African Soldiers in the Dutch East Indies — Ineke van Kessel — 361

22. From Slaves of African Descent to Creoles in Mauritius — Daniella Police- Michel 383
23. The Saga of Sangoaru — Edward L. Powe 393
24. The Trade in Enslaved Africans in Nineteenth Century Iran — Behnaz A. Mirzai 411
25. The Hidden Narrative: Representations of African Slavery in Persian Memoir Literature — Niambi Cacchioli 421
26. African Presence in Korea — Bok-Rae Kim 435
27. An Emerging African-Chinese Community in Hong Kong: The Case of Tsim Sha Tsui's Chungking Mansions — Adams B. Bodomo 445
28. African Women Labour Migrants in Israel between the African Rock and the Israeli Hard Place: "I wanted Something Else". — Galia Sabar 461

IV. Interactions between Asia/India and the East African Coastal Regions 481

29. History of Indo-African Trade Relations and the Resulting Slave Trade — Ababu Minda Yimene 483
30. The Social, Economic and Political Dynamics of the Indian Theatre and the African Diaspora: The Case of the Coast of East Africa — Bonginkhosi Azariah Bhutana Sikhondze 497
31. Some Features of the Economic Basis for Acculturation in the 19th Century Indian Ocean: The Case of Zanzibar — Ivan Vander Biesen 513
32. The Bombay Africans and the Freretown Settlement — Clifford Pereira 531
33. The Origin of the "Zanzibari" Diaspora in Durban, South Africa — Abdul Sheriff 547
34. A Glimpse of Indian Merchant Communities in Zanzibar During 1800: the Topan Family through British Archival Sources — Beatrice Nicolini 579
35. Slaving in Madagascar: English and Colonial Voyages in the Second Half of the 17th Century A.D. — Liliana Mosca 593

V. African Diaspora in the Americas **619**

36. Descendants of Enslaved Africans in Brazil in the Present Era: Realities and Problems — Kabengele Munanga 621

37. Congo Kings, Queen Nzinga, Dancing Devils and Catholic Saints: African/African Syncretism in the Americas — Sheila S. Walker 637

38. Angolan Roots of Afro-Brazilian Cults in Sobral, Ceara State, Brazil — Eva Sebestyén 645

39. Comparative Aspects of the Traffic of Africans to Brazil (18th–19th Centuries) — Manolo Florentino, Alexandre Vieira Ribeiro and Daniel Domingues da Silva 657

40. Hispanic American African Heritage — Luis Beltrán y Repetto 689

VI. Organisation Workshops **705**

41. Integrated System of "Capacitation" and Scientific Researches for the Regional Development — Clodomir Santos de Morais 707

42. Learning with Africa — Jacinta Castelo Branco Correia 713

43. Community Organisation Across Cultures: Lessons Learnt from the Contextualisation of Organisation Workshops in Southern Africa — Isabel de Labra and Ivan Labra 731

Annexes

1. A Report on the Goa Conference and Workshop on the African Diaspora in Asia — Ineke van Kessel 753

2. If You Don't Know Asia and the Indian Ocean, You don't Know the African Diaspora: Reflections on the TADIA Conference — Sheila S. Walker 757

3. Maps on African Diaspora — Joseph E. Harris 761

4. Lists of Afro-Asian Communities and their Regions — Gwyn Campbell 763

Index **767**

Contributors **773**

INTRODUCTION

Discourses on the African Diaspora in Asia

Kiran Kamal Prasad

The Context

The Asian continent is a vast region and home to a diversity of peoples with their unique languages and multi-faceted cultures and complex social, economic and political systems. Even one country within this vast continent, India, is diverse and complex.[1] What is true of India is also true of almost all other countries on the continent. The African diaspora in Asia, whether free or forced, had to encounter this diversity and in its long years of interaction with Asian peoples, cultures, languages and societal systems, adopted or creatively adapted and reformulated those realities. This is evidenced to some extent in the many articles in this volume on the African diaspora in Asia. Much more still requires to be done in unraveling and understanding the African diaspora in Asia and a wide variety of tools is called for to explore and analyse it. As one of the contributors has observed (p.159), not only historical studies and sociological and anthropological investigations but also disciplines like epigraphy, calligraphy numismatics, musicology, sciences of building and beautification, place names, dance and musical instruments must be considered to realize the significance of the diversity and complexity of the African diaspora in Asia.

Asia still harbours different forms of feudalism and various hierarchical social systems like the caste system, as also some survivals of tribal egalitarian societal systems in certain pockets within the larger complex societies with capitalist economies, and modern attempts at building egalitarian societal and economic systems in a few countries. As opposed to the western and American countries where equality is the professed and highly valued moral context, in the Asian countries, may be excluding the Islamic, Buddhist and communist countries, inequality is the accepted general feature (Béteille: 1997: 41), especially in the Indian sub-continent and also in South Asian and some South-East Asian countries where vestiges and entrenched attitudes of the caste system are still going strong. Even in the Islamic societies, feudal systems continue to hold sway. In this broad context, the question, "How has the African diaspora responded?", requires to be explored.

One important factor should be kept in mind while studying the African diaspora in Asia. The forced migrations of the Africans to the different countries of Asia, before the Europeans entered the scene, were through Arab and Islamic traders and to a great extent sold in Islamic countries to Islamic rulers or Islamic elites. Islamic slave system manifested some of the benign features of Islam (Harris 1971: 121-23). In contrast, in western or American slave systems, despite the Christianity professed in those societies, slavery involved intense and severe forms of racism (Harris 1971: 126; 2001: 112). Islamic slave systems granted scope for manumission to those slaves who embraced Islam. The Koran advocated the humane treatment of slaves. Slaves were not regarded as chattel in Islam, but as persons with souls. Further, the slaves were considered very much a part of the household and given opportunities for personal advancement through education and training, whether in trades or military warfare (see, pp. 60-61).[2] Being foreigners, they were used as soldiers to fight in the armies and also to function as bodyguards of kings and nobles (pp.138-39). They were also made into eunachs and given the charge of guarding the harems (pp.61-2). Women slaves were used as domestic labourers and also very often, if not in all cases, as concubines. The children of the union gained the status of the father (p.138 also, p. 66). Whereas, in the western slave system, a woman slave was raped by the master and other male family members and the children of the union were also treated as slaves. Christianity legitimised the slavery of non-Europeans for a long time based on a dubious theology of the non-existence of souls in non-Europeans and especially Africans.

Because of the positive influences of Islamic slavery in African diaspora, there are a number of instances in India which show that enslaved Africans experienced good fortune, even to the extent of becoming military commanders, virtual rulers and kings (see, p. 63). Cases of enslaved Africans who became rulers may be rare in the Middle East or the Arab countries, given the strong Zanj revolts in the Middle East and the consequent negative attitudes toward them among the Arabs (see, p.137). The fact that there were quite a few Africans in India who became bodyguards, military chiefs, and kings and established their own dynasties does not negate that they were enslaved in the first instance and forcefully torn apart and taken away from their families, societies and cultures and were made to live only for others until they managed to attain their freedom.

Given the absence of proper historical records about both free and forced migrations of Africans to Asia, not taking into account this reality may give an impression that there were many free African migrations to Asia and argue that as a decisive feature in the African diaspora in Asia. But the current plight of a majority of Afro-Asians still bears witness to the violence and exploitation their ancestors were subjected to for generations. Even the forced migrations of Africans to Asia seem to be much smaller than those to the West (Jasyasuria and Pankhurst 2003: 12; see, also pp. 135-36, 178), though Gwyn Campbell has observed in his article that the enslaved Africans taken to Asia were greater in number than those taken to the Americas (see, p. 45, also note. 7 pp.135-60). Apart from the historical migrations, whether free or forced, Asian countries still provide evidences of communities that migrated in the pre-historical times and still retain their unique features in physique, language, culture and societal patterns. They are known as "negritos" or "small blacks" (pp. 120-21). Beyond these, there are the primordial successive migrations of early human populations from Africa into Asia. In the modern times, the European slave trade had resulted in the settlement of Africans in the major cities of the colonial powers and, with the abolition, "a return movement" of Africans to different countries in Africa took place (Harris 2001: 109-13). The globalised economic processes have also set in motion a new thrust of migrations of Africans across the globe. But the main focus of the articles included in this volume is the study of the African diaspora in historical times, although a full-fledged investigation into the African diaspora in Asia may have to take into account all these different forms of migration (see, below pp. 28-29).

Overall Picture of the Articles Included in the Volume

In all, 43 articles, excluding this introduction, have been included in the present volume. Not all the papers presented and the speeches made at the conference have found a place here. They have not been included either because they had been originally published elsewhere, or because the authors felt they needed more reworking and refinement, or because they did not find enough time to finalise them.[3] The articles presented here reveal the great variety and richness of the topics covered. By the very nature of the conference and the workshop, and consistent with the broad concerns of The Tadia Society, there is no uniformity in terms of disciplines or styles, or even of the length of the articles. Most articles are either sociological–anthropological explorations or historical unravelings; some pertain to linguistics; there is an article each on blood group analysis and legal questions pertaining to reservation/affirmative action; and some are of the nature of reports and analyses or propound a theory. If most of the articles are descriptive and investigative in nature, a few are more narrowly analytical. Some are brief with just two to three pages; most are of medium length of around ten pages; quite a number are long with twenty to thirty pages.

Most of the articles deal with the African diaspora in Asia and the Indian Ocean World;[4] a few with the African diaspora in the Americas, especially in Brazil where the situation of Quilombolas is similar to that of the Siddis in Karnataka; and some with Organisation Workshops (OWs). The articles, presented in this volume have been grouped under six sections:

Section I : Perspectives on the African Diaspora
Section II : The African Diaspora in India
Section III: The African Diaspora in Asia other than India and the Indian Ocean
Section IV: Interactions between Asia/India and the East African Coast
Section V : The African Diaspora in the Americas
Section VI: Organisational Workshops

I

Perspectives on the African Diaspora

UNESCO Slave Route Project

Ali Moussa-Iye in his article, *On the Paths of the African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean World,* notes that after their "discovery" of the New World a little more than 500 years ago, Europeans took Africans they enslaved to the distant Americas and the Caribbean Islands during the Atlantic slave trade. In contrast, the contact between Africa and Asia goes back many centuries earlier and was not restricted to the slave trade alone (p. 35). Recent trends concerning Africa and the African diaspora include: 1. " the common origin of the different human groups and their location in Africa from where their ancestors emigrated in successive waves to occupy the rest of the world;" 2. the revisiting of "the role of Africa in the History of Humanity… to envisage differently its place in the future of the world," i.e., the "African Renaissance"; 3. "the increasing importance given to the African diaspora by the leaders and peoples of the African continent;" and 4. "the reinforcement of African solidarity with developing countries in other continents." (pp. 35-6)

In the context of these trends, the UNESCO Slave Route Project aims "to facilitate the sharing of knowledge on the African diaspora between the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean," which, while breaking the silence on the slave trade and slavery, also promotes knowledge of "the cultural interactions among peoples generated by [these processes], notably the living cultures, the artistic and spiritual expressions created by [peoples of the] African diaspora in the different regions of the world" (pp. 36-7). The fundamental objective of UNESCO is to build lasting peace among nations. UNESCO's launching of the Slave Route Project in Benin in 1994 was out of an ethical and political choice, because "the burning problems and urgent issues of today's world – development, human rights, cultural pluralism, dialogue – are strongly linked to this tragedy that some have described as a 'black hole' in the history of humanity" (p. 37). The struggle for democracy and human rights is part of the academic revisiting of the history and interest in this memory, notes Moussa-Iye.

A second political dimension related to the issue of the slave trade and slavery is the challenging of the ideologies that have been developed to legitimise them, like those evident in the French and Spanish "Black Codes" and the theories that propounded the inequality of races and particularly the congenital inferiority of Africans. The third political dimension is that the power and wealth distribution in the present-day world cannot be understood without reference to the benefits gained by the colonial powers from the slave trade and slavery or to the consequent destructuring of African societies; the systematic human, intellectual and cultural haemorrhaging of the continent; and the persisting system of racial hierarchy, exploitation and inequality experienced by Black populations in the Americas, the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean World and Asia.

The project has cultural stakes also. The slave trade has set in motion a multicultural process which is of critical importance for the future of our societies. The understanding of the cultural contributions of Africa to the rest of the world is usually "limited to the artistic expressions such as music and dance. The transfer of knowledge, know-how and beliefs that resulted from the voluntary migration of African merchants, professionals, administrators and soldiers [in addition to the contributions of the enslaved majority], notably in the Indian Ocean, remains largely unknown in the societies that benefited from it" (p. 39). The Project aims to recognise this heritage. It also, "encourages the analysis of the process of cultural resistance that helped slaves not only to survive the dehumanization process of slavery but also to influence and humanize the slavery-based societies" (p. 39).

Issues of the African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean World

Gwyn Campbell, whose article, *The African Diaspora in Asia,* based on his keynote address examines, according to his perceptions and analysis, the origin and development of African migration to Asia and the debate over the existence of an Afro-Asian diaspora.[5] In line with the position of the African Union, he posits that an African is anyone born or settled for life in Africa or its islands and hence, Black is not synonymous with African because African includes fairer skinned North Africans and highland Malagasy (p. 43).

He counters the overwhelming assumption on the African presence in Asia as due to the slave trade by providing evidence of various instances of free movement of Africans in Asia from the dawn of humankind to historical times, to the beginning of the Christian era, then up to 1500 A.D. and after. Modern humankind emerged in Africa about 100,000 years ago and migrated to other parts of the world. In the Greco-Roman era, Nubian mercenaries were sought as soldiers in the Near and Middle East. By 500 A.D., Ethiopians were establishing mercantile communities in Sri Lanka. With the spread of Islam in Africa, African Muslims traveled throughout Islamic Asia and also settled there. By 1500, major ports of the western Indian Ocean contained African merchant communities, e.g., in Arabia, the Persian Gulf and India. The free movement of Africans may not have decreased, says the author, even after 1500. In the 19th century, European imperial forces in various parts of Asia recruited Africans.

In spite of the evidence of considerable free African migration to Asia, the role of African slaves is highlighted due to the influence of the debates about Afro-Americans, decries the author (p. 45). The African diaspora is characterised as a "victim diaspora" like that of Jewish and Armenian diasporas, as opposed to the other four types of diaspora that he characterizes as: trade, labour, imperial and cultural, categories he has taken over from Helene Basu (2002). The export of enslaved Africans started in the last millennium B.C. and continued well into the 20th century. Enslaved Africans from East Africa in the 19th century may have numbered around 1.5 million, with the cumulative number of enslaved Africans over the centuries exceeding the 10 to 12 million that landed in the Americas (p. 45).

With this broad framework, the author provides rich and detailed descriptions of the African slave trade in the Middle East, South, Southeast and Far East Asia, Madagascar and the Mascarenes. He also dwells on the absence of a diaspora consciousness of a homeland, i.e., a specific geographic centre of origin from which the dispersal of the enslaved Africans occurred, and also of a diasporic identity among these populations, and asserts that the African diaspora cannot exist if there is no consciousness of its African origins. Further elaborating on the idea that nostalgia is central to diasporic consciousness - that there cannot be an African diaspora without the consciousness homeland, a memory of that homeland and the quest to re-attain that homeland - Campbell discusses current Afro-Asian identities and argues that most enslaved Africans in Asia have been assimilated into local societies. He asserts that an essential part of this assimilation is acculturation into the language, religion and general culture of the dominant slave- or ex-slave-holding societies in the various countries of Asia. Hence, for Campbell, the African diaspora is a misnomer in referring to African descendants in the Indian Ocean World countries (p. 53).

Themes in the Global African Diaspora

As a kind of complement and counterpoint to the keynote address of Gwyn Campbell, we have the contribution of Carole Boyce Davies, *Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora: An Ongoing 21st Century Project,* in which she dwells comprehensively on the themes and issues connected with the global African diaspora. The range and breadth of the issues outlined by the author are breath-taking, as she herself rightly observes in the article, "Studying the African diaspora is indeed studying the world" (p. 85). The stated purpose of the Encyclopedia is to provide in one place a well-documented and readily accessible body of information about the most important historical, political, economic and cultural relations between the people of African descent in the world community. The questions that animate the discourse of the Encyclopedia are: What connects such a diverse group of people and wide-ranging locations across time and space? How have they affected and been impacted by their environments? How have they created and re-created cultural forms and movements? (see, p. 97). Through the publication of the Encyclopedia, it is hoped that, understandings of world communities in that still unfinished process of reclaiming the epistemologies and thereby the humanity of African diaspora peoples will be advanced.

The Encyclopedia covers "*subject entries* on major aspects and disciplines concerning African diaspora people; *select biographies* of those who have contributed to the African diaspora or had significant impacts on the advancement of the discourse; *regional and country essays* on some critical areas of the African diaspora; and topical essays on African diaspora *concepts*....entries were organized in terms of places (geography), people (personalities), movements (such as Pan-Africanism), theories (e.g., Negritude) in a straightforward A-Z order. Each entry also provides cross-references. At the end of each entry is a 'See also' listing that provides researchers with a way of finding additional material on a topic and a 'Further Reading' list" (pp. 84-5). The reach of the Encyclopedia is international, covering the five continents with documented African diaspora communities. It is also recognised that additional work on the contemporary African diaspora in places like Australia, the South-west Indian Ocean and the South Pacific needs to be done (see p. 85).

Together with giving the nature and scope of the topics covered in the Encyclopedia, the article also deals with topics like, Defining and Conceptualising the African Diapsora; Historical Background and Geographical Range of the Contemporary African Diaspora; Political Movements and Projects: African Peoples, Diaspora and Pan-Africanism; Socio-Cultural Projects: Complicating the African Diaspora Story; The Field of African Diaspora Studies; and Gender and Sexuality. Among all these topics, the issue of the definition and concept of the African diaspora is briefly dealt with here, since it will be of immediate relevance to the understanding of the African diaspora in Asia.

The dispersal of African peoples has happened all over the world, notes Davies, created through centuries of migration beginning with the emergence of humankind in Africa. "While all migrations do not necessarily create a diaspora", she observes, "what is particular to diaspora creation includes first of all a migration, but also some historical, emotive, political, economic and cultural connections to that homeland and a consciousness of that interaction" (p. 85). The African diaspora is a globalisation or an internationalisation of African peoples. African diasporan peoples were the products of a past process of economic globalisation whereby, through the expropriation of their labour, current economic and communication structures defined as globalisation were advanced. "As a result, it [the African diaspora] has a different intent and political identity, than the globalisation created for economic oppression" notes Davies (p. 86). She groups the dispersal of Africans into four categories: "1. *voluntary* (economic and pre-Columbia exploratory journeys); 2. *trade, servitude and military* (early Indian Ocean trade journeys from the 6th century); 3. *forced* (trans-Atlantic slavery over at least four centuries in the modern period from the 15th to 19th centuries); and 4. *induced* (the recent 20th and 21st centuries' migrations of African peoples based on world economic imbalances)" (p. 86).

While there is agreement regarding the dispersal, there is a plurality of interpretations as regards the nature of the result of that dispersal. Some see forced exodus as the most important constitutive element in diaspora creation, which has resulted in demographic shifts and transformations in economic patterns on both sides of the Atlantic, largely benefiting Europe and Eurodescendant elites in the Americas (see, p. 86).

Regarding the history of the use of the term, "African diaspora", Davies explains that it was developed in reference to the Jewish diaspora, where the "homeland" element was important. George Shepperson has identified the use of the term in connection with "the rise of Black political organizing of the immediate decolonization period bigining in the 1950s, perticularly around the time of the First International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in 1956 and the International Congress of African Historians held in Dar es Salaam in October 1965" (p. 97). It is also linked to decolonisation activity, revealing the political intent of the term, i.e., "to account for the 'status and prospects' of various peoples of African descent scattered around the world, often being denied their humanity" (p. 87). Therefore, the two broad tendencies in African diaspora studies of accounting for 1) the dispersal in various directions from a common source in Africa, and 2) the communities with reconfigured identities in the new home locations, have been brought together in the Encyclopedia, notes Davies (see, p. 87).

Though the term African diaspora began to be used in the mid 20th century, it has even older references like the one in the Bible, "Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands" (Psalms 68:31) which was used by the first Pan-Africanist, Edward Wilmot Blyden, in 1880s. And in 1828, David Walker's *Appeal* directed to the *Coloured Citizens* *of the World*, had expressed in its conceptual framing a sense of the African diaspora and a consciousness of the global political challenge of oppression (see, p. 87).

As per the first tendency noted above that the concept of the African diaspora is much older than its contemporary formulation, the foundational fact is that as human beings first emerged in Africa and from there spread around the world, aspects of African cultures touched all societies. As related to the biblical reference, there were in fact migrations from the then Ethiopean empire based on a series of human and natural disasters (see, p. 88). Davies refers to the seven phases of the African diaspora identified by Nkiru Nzegwu: the Paleolithic, the Egyptian, the Kemetic, the Kushitic, the Atlantic, the colonial and anti-colonial and the post-colonial (see, p. 88).

The second tendency is mainly concerned with the contemporary descendants of the African diaspora and can be firmly identified in the period following the European enslavement and the forced deportation of Africans to the New World. Extensive research and activism have advanced the possibilities for the study of various aspects of the African diaspora. Davies endorses Ruth Simms Hamilton's use of the framework of "World Systems Analysis" to define the African diaspora as a social formation that includes a "global aggregate of actors and sub-populations differentiated in social and geographical space, yet exhibiting a commonality based on shared historical experiences conditioned by and within the world ordering system" (p. 89), and to identify the diaspora with three historical characteristics: "A. *Geo-social Displacement and the Circularity of a People* (the historical dialectic between geographical mobility and the establishment of 'roots'); B. *Social oppression - Relations of Domination and Subordination* (Conflict, discrimination and inequality based primarily, although not exclusively on race, colour and class); and C. *Endurement, Resistance and Struggle Cultural and Political Action* (Creative actions of people as subject of their history; psychocultural and ideological transformations; social networks and dynamics)". These categories help us to situate "a range of African diaspora movements, histories, and cultural transformations, but above all, the issues of dominance and subordination but also resistance" (pp. 89-90), observes Davies (emphasis added).

Intellectual work on the African diaspora is also traced to pre-modern times in the universities in Alexandria in Egypt, and Timbuktu, Djenne, and Kumbi-Saleh (former, now in ruins, capital of the ancient Ghana Empire) in the Republic of Mali. Thus, the proposed Library of African Diaspora Studies, following on the work of the Encyclopedia, Davies contends, will have to address information at three levels: 1) *temporally* moving backward to early historical periods and forward to embrace new formations about the African diaspora; 2) *spatially* to address the range of existing diasporan communities worldwide; and 3) *conceptually* to examine the nature of the epistemological contributions of the African diaspora (see, pp. 88-89). Thus, the Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora provides a veritable feast of information and ideas as it seeks to be exhaustive in its coverage.

II

The African Diaspora in India

If consciousness about the African diaspora in Asia and the Indian Ocean on the whole is minimal in comparison with that of the American African diaspora, knowledge about the Indian African diaspora is just beginning to explode (p. 117). Fitzroy André Baptiste has painted a broad picture of the spread of Africans - in pre-historic times, at the beginning of the Christian era, and during the intense African slave trade since the 15th century that provoked the emergence of systematic racism. Concerning this latter period, Teotonio R. de Souza has made an analysis of a Goan archival record on the African slave trade, and Jeanette Pinto has given an overall description of slavery and its abolition in Portuguese Goa.

Many scholars are currently studying diverse aspects of the African diaspora in India, focusing on the main communities of African descendants collectively referred to as Siddis,[6] in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Hyderabad.[7] A variety of issues connected with the present reality of the Siddis has been dealt with: the situation of women and girls among the Siddis in Hyderabad by Rekha Pande; the question of race, caste and class dynamics affecting the Siddis in Karnataka by Kiran Kamal Prasad; closely linked in the Indian context, the issue of reservations or affirmative action for the Siddis by S. Japhet and Vinay Sitapati; the question of identity among the Siddis in Mumbai (Maharashtra) who have migrated from Gujarat and Janjira by Beheroze Shroff; the tradition of spirit possession and healing among the Siddis in Karnataka by Pashington Obeng and among the migrant Sidis in Mumbai in the abovementioned article by Shroff; the role of art in the life of Siddis and the building up of economic projects around them as evidenced by the Sidi Goma performance group of Gujarat by Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy and quilting traditions among and the Quilting Cooperative Society of the Siddi women in Karnataka by Henry John Drewal; the situation of harmony in the past and present between the Muslim Siddis in Janjira highlighted by Anuradha Bhattacharjee; the marriage alliances among the descendants of princely Sidis of former Janjira and Sachin states delineated by John McLeod showing a strong sense of Sidi identity even now among the descendents of princely Africans; the question of language by Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi, Geralda de Lima Angenot and Oziel Marques da Silva, and Jean-Pierre Angenot and Selmo Azevedo Apontes; and the analysis of blood for Sickle Cell Anemia and Thalassemia among Karnataka Siddis by Prakash V. Patil and Pramod B. Gai.

Fritzroy André Baptiste's concern in *From "Invisibility" to "Visibility": Africans in India Through the Lens of Some Select Sources from the Late Classical Period to the Late 18th Century A.D.,* is to elaborate on the presence and contributions of Africans in India from the early Christian era upto the 19th century through six select travel accounts. He observes that the presence of and the contributions by Africans to Asia and India were made invisible due to the negative connotations attached to "blackness" and things "African" by Islamic and Brahmanic Hindu culture-systems.

He also approvingly notes that this trend is being reversed by "a new explosion of scholarship" on "the invisible African thread" in the history of Asia and India (p.117).

The sources Baptiste relies on are *the Periplus Maris Erithraei* from the 1st century A.D., the travel accounts of Ibn Battuta of the 15th century and those of two British travellers, William Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe, in the early 17th century, and French travellers Abbé Carré in 1672-1674 and L. de Grandpré in 1790. The Africans who migrated to Arabia, India and as far as China from the late classical times to the 19th century were called Habshi, Siddi, Coffree or Mosse. Through these and other sources, Baptiste brings out the rich role played by Africans in Asia and especially in India during this historical period in diplomacy and politics among Indian states especially in the 17th century upto 1650 and between Indian kings and European powers from 1650 to 1850. He also goes into the spread of Africans in pre-historic times and the etymologies of Habshi, Siddi, and Coffree. Of particular interest is his detailed treatment of the development of racial attitudes and stigmatisation of the Blacks and African Slaves.

From Africa, humans spread to other parts of the world, first to Asia and then elsewhere including Europe. Even now there are pockets of "small blacks" in China, Japan, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Indonesia, Australia and India. In India, these "small blacks" are called "Negrito" and "Proto-Australoid". They are the communities of the Jarawas, the Great Andamanese, the Onges and the Sentinelese found on the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal. The "small blacks" in Malaysia are the Semang and, in Indonesia the Aeta (pp. 120-21).

Africa and Asia had direct and indirect commercial links as evidenced in "the four cores of early agricultural-urban transformations in the Old World", (p. 123-24) i.e., the Nile Valley in Africa, the "Fertile Crescent" of Arabia, the Indus valley in present Pakistan and India, and Ancient China. Commerce between the Nile Valley, the Middle East, the Indian sub-continent and beyond quickened with Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome extending imperialism in the Nile Valley, the Middle East and North India from the 4th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. Western Rome was followed by eastern Rome, Byzantium, up to and including the coming of Islam in the 7th century A.D.

The people of Africa, the Middle East and Asia had discovered and mastered the behaviour of the monsoons and the sea currents of the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea much before the Greeks and the Romans. *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* is the most scientific source on trade and trade routes in the Erythrean Sea in the 1st millennium A.D. (see, p. 127), giving details of points of origin of Habshis and Siddis and their migration across the land-sea region of the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea by the 1st century A.D. Rare references are found in *the Periplus,* to the export of slaves from the Horn of Africa along with myrrh, incense, cinnamon, Indian copal and macir (a medicinal bark from Malabar) (see, p. 131). "Socotra and Oman were exporting beautiful slave girls for the harem of the court of Barygaza in the Gulf of Cambay in India. The same court took slave musicians from the western points. Slaves from western ports in the Indian Ocean circuit were even reaching China" (p. 131) during this period. "Slaves of better sort", probably meaning eunuchs, were imported to Roman Egypt from Opone (see, p. 131). All this commerce centred on Egypt reached its zenith until the 2nd century A.D. and again between the 4th and the 7th century A.D. until the rise of Islam (see, p. 132).

The period from 650 to 1600 A.D. was characterised by the rise of Islam and its dominance of much of the Old World. By 1300, *Pax Islamica* was imposed on a wide area of the Old World, North-South from Euro-Asia to the western Sudan in West Africa and East coast of Africa, and West-East from Euro-Africa to the Indian sub-continent and even Indonesia and China. By then, western Europe came close to being dominated by Islam; most of the Middle East had gone Islamic; and Islam was spreading into Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Indonesia and China. By 1600, all of Africa North of the Sahara had gone Islamic, with the exceptions of Ethiopia and Kush for a while. African governing elites of ancient Ghana, Mali, Songhay, Hausaland and Kanen-Bornu, all directly South of the Sahara, had nominally embraced Islam by 1600. By 1400-1600, Islam was penetrating into the tropical forest belt of West Africa. Though central Africa was mostly non-Islamic, the coastline of East Africa was becoming Islamicised. There were commercial links between the hinterland and the coast of East Africa on the one hand, and Arabia, the Persian Gulf, the Indian sub-continent including Sri Lanka, the Singapore-Malaya-Indonesia archipelago, and China, on the other (pp. 132-33).

Although the original political unity of the Arab empire founded by Muhammad and his immediate successors gave way by about 700 A.D. to a plethora of independent nation states, all of them had common features in a common lingua franca in Arabic, a faith and holy book in Islam and the Koran, and common institutions of governance. All were also linked by commerce by a sort of "common market" (p. 133).

The peace and stability imposed by Islam brought about an unprecedented growth in agriculture, manufacturing and banking leading to a "socio-economic golden age". The beneficiaries of this golden age were the new bourgeoisie composed of the *mawalis* (non-Arab groups such as Persians, Indians and Africans who had become Muslim) and *dhimmis* (non-Arab groups such as Jews, Christians, Parsis and Hindu Jains). During this period, first the Muslim world and then the western Christian world began to attach transactional value to gold and to enslaved people on an unprecedented scale. The African continent South of the Sahara and along the Red Sea emerged as a major supplier of both commodities. The travel account by Ibn Battuta depicts his encounters with Habshis, Abyssinians, Nubians and other African slaves from Egypt to China in the first half of the 14th century. "It would be difficult to find a richer account of the Muslim world of the 'High Middle Ages' than that of Battuta.... (H)is account throws invaluable light on the African diaspora east of Suez to India, Sri Lanka and China" (p. 144).

Up to 1400, there was no racial badge to the international slave trade, as even Whites were also enslaved during the crusades - the very word "slave" is of Slav origin; Hindu Indians were enslaved and traded as slaves by Arabs and Indian converts to Islam (p. 135).

Gradually, "slave" came to be equated with African/Black as the volume of three arms of the African Slave trade – the trans-Saharan, the Red Sea and the East African coast - grew from 1400 to 1600 A.D., and with the entrance of Europe (Portugal, France, Holland and England in the Red Sea and East African coast sectors) from 1600 A.D. to the 19th century, and a fourth arm mostly from West Africa, but also East Africa, to Europe and the Americas from about 1451 to 1869 A.D (p. 135).

Among female slaves in the Islamic world of the medieval period, there was a tendency towards negative imaging of Blacks and blackness, though contrary to the teachings of the Koran and some schools of thought within Islam. White female slaves were at the top of the order, being preferred as wives and concubines for masters; next in the order were the Ethiopian slave women (*habashiyyat*), being preferred as concubines for middle-class males and who did minor household work; and at the bottom were dark-skinned African women, who cohabited with middle class males and did heavier manual works. Though the dark–skinned ones were praised over the light-skinned ones by one school of Islam, by 900 A.D., a tendency emerged in Islam of equating Blacks/Africans and blackness with bad and ugly, genetically inferior and other negative traits (p. 136). Although Islam advocated *Kafa's,* i.e., the doctrine of equality of birth and social status, in practice sexual relations between enslaved and free African males and Muslim upper class women were frowned upon (p. 138).

The negative imaging of blackness must have been due to notions imbibed from the Greco-Roman, Christian, Jewish and Persian (as also Brahmanic) literature of the pre-Islamic era. The Aristotelian idea that, "Some are born to rule and others to be ruled" (p. 137), reveals that Greeks considered slavery to be the natural lot of certain people. These ideas had developed in the context of the rule by Ancient Greeks and later Romans over Egyptians and other Africans in Egypt and North Africa. Galen, a Greek Egyptian of the 2nd century A.D., who served as an official doctor to the gladiators in Rome and Asia Minor, had crafted a crude "scientific racism" about African/Black men, wherein he characterized their eleven unfavourable traits (p. 137).

Christianity and Judaism believed in "the curse of Ham" and by 600 A.D., Christian and Jewish theologians were using it to provide a religious justification for the enslavement of African peoples. The notion of *Mani,* that Light and Purity were opposed to Darkness and Evil, developed between 230 and 270 A.D. in Persian culture. In Hinduism, the laws of Manu, codified between 200 B.C. and 300 A.D., had sacralised the four castes according to colour, with the dark-skinned *Shudras* assigned to service and [the *ati-Shudras*] the millions of untouchables beyond the fourfold system [were castigated to be slaves of all the rest] (p. 137).

Together with these notions perpetrated through the religion and ideology of the dominant classes, some facts in the history of Islam also led to the strengthening of the negative notions of Blacks and blackness. In 689-90, 694, 749-50 and 869-883 A.D., the fierce revolts of the East African Zanj took place against their enslavement in the Tigris-Euphrates area by the two earliest Muslim Caliphates, the Umayyada and the Abbasids. The last fourteen-year revolt highlighted the rage and the long resistance of the Zanj and scared the Muslim mind, thereafter making it equate the Zanj with the "Devil". By 1400-1500 A.D., a Muslim school gave anti-African stereotyping a ring of "science and anthropology" (p. 137).

Islam, however, provided for some social mobility for privileged persons, even Black slaves. In the case of mating between a master and his slave-concubine, the offspring took the status of the father. There were two other mechanisms for upward mobility through the concept of mercenary/slave soldiers (notables and military corps of mercenary/slave origin) and the employment of eunuchs and positioning them often in the centre of politics in Muslim slave systems from Spain to India (p. 138).

From 800 A.D., the Habshis or Siddis who had been so far caught up in the Muslim-dominated slave trade from the Red Sea and Africa's East coast, entered a Brahmanic Hindu and Islamic cultural sphere in India and the adjoining countries, where the negative images of "Blacks" and "blackness" had already fused with slavery and caste. Brahmanic Hinduism also disallowed marriages between lower caste men with higher caste women; though sexual relations between high caste men and low caste women were not prohibited!

In the 15th century, the Delhi Sultanate declined and was replaced by the Mughal Empire, with a number of provinces of the old Sultanate breaking away such as Gujarat in the Northwest, Bengal in the East, and Ahmadnagar, Bahmani, Bijapur, Bidar and Golconda (Hyderabad) in the Deccan. There were continuous fights between the successor entities of the Delhi Sultanate and between them and their neighbours. In this situation, the rulers imported more and more foreign African and non-African mercenaries as soldiers and seamen between the 15th and 16th centuries (p. 144). Some of these mercenaries/slave soldiers also became virtual rulers, such as Chingiz Khan(1588-1600) and his successor Malik Ambar (1600-1626) in Ahmadnagar, who gave a good fight to the Mughals, the Maratas as also the Portuguse and the British who entered the scene in the 16th century. The four British and French travel documents bring this out amply.

Baptiste concludes that, "From the time of *the Periplus*, the populations called 'Habshi', Siddi', 'Kafir', 'Mosse' and by other names have blended into the host populations and are barely discernible today. The exceptions are the descendants of streams that came into the host societies in the 19th century when the British ended the international slave trade mainly in Africans, globally, including in the Indian Ocean circuit, and engaged in the suppression of the trade by Arab-Muslims and other ethnicities with long-standing stakes. In the Indian sub-continent, the overall forced migration of Africans impacted the western side of the landmass, with lesser impact on the East coast and inland into the Deccan" (p. 158). But there is an underestimation of the miscegenation through time and space between Africans and their descendants and other groups (p. 158). The multi-disciplinary effort (comprising not only historical records and travel accounts but also epigraphy, court art, numismatics, calligraphy, buildings and fortifications, place-names, blood-group data, linguistics, cultural and anthropological studies on religion, music and musical instruments and dance), Baptiste hopes, "will contribute to a new level of visibility on the subject of the African presence in India and in Asia from pre-historic times to the present" (p. 159).

Teotonio R. de Souza, in *Manumission of Slaves in Goa during 1682 and 1760 as Found in Codex 860,* while describing the contents of Codex 860 in the Goa Historical Archives, goes into aspects of pre-Islamic and Islamic practices of manumission and the Christian and Portuguese slaving traditions. From among three hundred odd cases mentioned in the Codex, there are not more than a dozen references to African slaves; most of the others were from the various caste groups in India. Jeanette Pinto, in *African Slavery and Christian Humanism in Portuguese Goa,* describes the slave markets in Portuguese Goa, while the Fathers of the Church showed "pity for the slave without condemning the institution" (p. 184). She also points out the role of the Jesuits in mitigating the hardships of the slaves.

Rekha Pande, in *A Socio-Cultural Profile of the Siddi Women of Hyderabad,* looks at the socio-cultural world of the Siddi women of Hyderabad through a survey relating to their household background, their marriage, and the views and attitudes of unmarried girls. There are just two to three thousand Siddis living in Hyderabad at present. Their ancestors were sold by Arab Muslim slave traders to Hindu Indian princes. They were appointed as bodyguards by the Sultans. A majority of them were fully marginalised by the 18th century. They remained on the fringes of society because of the prejudices of the caste system in India. Theirs is a patriarchal society with a sense of male superiority. They seem to have integrated into the local culture by adopting many of the ritual practices; but the local culture has not assimilated them completely. Siddi girls experience a lot of problems in getting married. Due to their dark skin, they are discriminated against by non-Siddi Muslims. Even Siddi boys prefer to marry fair-skinned *Deccani* girls. Siddi females get married very late in life or remain unmarried. Girls use *purdah* and experience severe curbs on their mobility. Due to their lack of education, many do not work outside their home and have to be content working within the household and watching television.

Kiran Kamal Prasad, in *Race, Caste and Class Dynamics among the Siddis in Karnataka,* brings out the interface between these factors. Racial attitudes seem to be largely absent in Indian society, yet caste relations and attitudes in a way subsume those of race. Since almost all the Siddis besides being of dark colour also fall into the lowest class, they are treated as equal to the untouchables or slightly above them. Siddis themselves seem to accept this position. With the inclusion of the Siddis as a Scheduled Tribe within the Constitution in 2003 for the purpose of affirmative action/reservations in educational opportunities, government jobs and political representation, and with the entire process set in motion since 1984 of mobilising the community across the divisions of religious affiliation to Christianity, Islam and Hinduism to demand their inclusion, and the resultant growing sense of unity among them, the Siddis now face the historic challenge to shake off alien caste categories imposed on them in their struggle to attain and affirm human dignity and dignified living for themselves and other marginalised groups in India.

S. Japhet and Vinay Sitapati, in *Renewed Affirmative Action for the Siddi Community of Karnataka,* go into the legalities of setting right the injustice to some Siddis in Karnataka who are outside the district of Uttara Kannada since the parliamentary amendment to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order includes in the list of Scheduled Tribes only the Siddis of Uttara Kannada district. To rectify this anomaly, the options available are to seek a supplementary amendment to the Act in the Parliament or to file a Writ petition in the Supreme Court alleging discrimination against the Siddis in other districts. For the Siddis in other states, the Parliament must be approached again to bring about a suitable amendment to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order for each state concerned.

Beheroze Shroff, in *Sidis in Bombay: Negotiating Identities between Bombay and Gujarat,* explores identity questions among Sidis from Gujarat settled in Mumbai and among the descendants of the Sidi Nawabs of Janjira. She also depicts the healing traditions carried out in Mumbai by some of the former, together with other occupations such as domestic work and daily wage labour. For those who had migrated from Gujarat, Gujarat is still their home. As the caretakers of the shrines of Sidi saints, they enjoy a certain amount of respect and status from adherents from several other religions, whereas those who work in lowly paid jobs are often singled out for their appearance and asked if they are from Africa. They make a point of explaining that they are Indians although their community looks African. They are also at the receiving end of brutality during communal riots between Hindus and Muslims. Although the descendants of Sidi Nawabs and the Sidi migrants from Gujarat claim a collective identity when they say they belong to *Sidi kom* or *Sidi jamat,* both meaning Sidi community, the descendants of the Sidi Nawabs, placing class issues above those of racial identity, consider themselves totally separate from the Sidis of Gujarat, who trace their ancestry to the Sidi saint Bava Gor.

Pashington Obeng, in *Karnataka Siddi Nash: Charting and Mediating Identity Through Materiality of the Spiritual in South India,* examines the socio-cultural significance of the Siddi Nash festival, an annual event that draws about 300 African Indians/Siddis from all faith backgrounds. Obeng claims that during the festival, the Siddis give form and substance to their "rememory" and simultaneously reclaim and "bring to the surface what lies deeper than what they remember" (p. 246). Through possession, the Siddi *poojaris* (priests) articulate and elaborate Siddi notions of community renewal, re-structuring identity as a diasporic people while they mediate Siddi religious iconography. Through their bodily memory, Obeng claims, they make visible their notions of belonging, the presence of spirits, and their own power to transform their circumstances. As they mediate notions of power and the materiality of the spiritual, the Siddis create for themselves identities that transcend and challenge the prevailing stereotypes about them.

Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy, in *Consequences of International Touring among Sidis of Gujarat: A Developmental Perspective Using Techniques of Participatory Action Research (PAR),* gives an applied anthropological perspective on some of the social, cultural, economic, educational, and artistic consequences of the international touring of a ninety-minute programme conducted as a developmental enterprise since 2002 by a Sidi music/dance troupe from Gujarat. Tour members and affiliated scholars have created several projects to extend the benefits of touring beyond the approximately two dozen individual participants to the greater community of Sidis in Gujarat. The projects have been designed, says the author, as action research, to put theory into practice, by uniting objectives from both the Sidi and non-Sidi sides. They follow the tenets for Participatory Action Research (PAR), as presented to the Third World Encounter on Participatory Research in Nicaragua in 1989. This approach, she contends, has significant similarities to the philosophy behind the Organisation Workshop of Clodomir Santos de Morais. The article mainly addresses many of the 16 tenets for Participatory Action Research.

Henry John Drewal, in *Arts and Agency: Patchwork Quilts and the Quilting Cooperative of Siddis from Northern Karnataka, India* observes that while the Siddis adopted and adapted many cultural aspects of the Indian peoples with whom they lived for generations, they have also retained and transformed certain cultural and artistic traditions from Africa. The performing arts are the strongest, especially certain music, drumming and singing styles, as exemplified in dance traditions such as *damam*. In the visual arts, he points out that one tradition stands out - the art of patchwork quilts known as *kawandi* (*sic*). After describing the creative process at work in the making of a quilt and the aesthetics involved, he narrates the origin and growth of the Siddi Women's Quilting Cooperative Project, the profits of which go to promote farming (seeds, fertilizer, bullocks, hoes, etc.), health (treatment, medicines, emergency operations, etc.), education (school fees, uniforms, books and supplies) and interest free loans (for various needs) for the families of the members of the Society. Like the International Touring Project of the Gujarat Sidis, which not only brings in profits to the members but also contributes to participatory action research methodologically, here too the author is advocating a new approach to research on Siddi arts, i.e., through "observant participation" with a strong emphasis on active participation, in contrast to "participant observation" which, says Drewal, stresses observation over participation (p. 275).

Anuradha Bhattacharjee, in *The Wargharkar Family in Siddi Janjira*, by tracing the circumstances of a Jewish family from the days when Siddis ruled Janjira from the 19th century to the present, highlights the harmonious relations between the communities of Muslims and Jews in India in contrast to the incessant strife between them elsewhere. She contends that it is perhaps the only such relationship of its kind in the world, and is an example to be followed rather than forgotten in the sands of time.

John McLeod, in *Changing Marriage Patterns among the Sidis of Janjira and Sachin,* through an analysis of marriage patterns from the 19th century A.D. to the present among the two related groups who ruled the princely states of Janjira and Sachin from the 17th century A.D. to 1948, contends that the two royal families have always been conscious of their identity as Sidis. Until the latter part of the 19th century A.D., the Janjira family intermarried exclusively with Sidi Sardars and since there were no Sidi Sardars in Sachin, that family married into both their own house and the Janjira house. Although from the 1870s on they began establishing marriage alliances with other Indian princely families and later with upper class Muslims from the urban elite, rural landowning families and professionals, they consider themselves as Sidis first and have preserved a distinct identity down to the present.

Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi, in *Linguistic Evidence of Bantu Origins of the Sidis in India,* says that the Sidis of India and the Shidis of Pakistan are fragmented communities of mostly East African ancestry. They are descendants of Muslim African traders, sailors, mercenaries and enslaved people. They speak half a dozen different Indic languages (several Gujarati dialects, or an admixture of Gujarati and Hindi, Sindhi proper and its dialect Cutchi, Urdu, Dakhini, Marathi, Malayalam, Konkani and Kannada, with some Bantu words and phrases, and Balochi with only traces of Bantu). He postulates that the available Bantu linguistic data, erroneously identified as Swahili, appears to have been derived from languages spoken in mainland Tanzania (Shambaa, Zigua, Bondei and Yao), Malawi (Nyanja/Chewa) and Mozambique (Makua and Yao). With Sidi cultural groups from Gujarat participating internationally with their Muslim Sufi song and dance and their renewed contacts with East Africa, Abdulaziz notes that the number of Bantu words in their language use, such as Swahili greetings, have increased slightly, emphasising their East African heritage and misconceiving Swahili as their ancestral language.

Geralda de Lima Angenot and Oziel Marques da Silva, in *The African, Portuguese, Kannada, Marathi, Malvani, Hindi and English Influences on the Hybridized Siddi-Konkani Dialect,* present a general survey of the linguistic features of the Konkani spoken by the Siddis in the Yellapur area in Karnataka. They point out that Siddi-Konkani cannot be defined as being an African language nor a creolised language, but is rather a specific dialect of the Konkani language that has integrated several successive external linguistic influences from: the mother tongues of African languages of the Bantu family; pan-Bantu vehicular pidgin strongly influenced by the common variety of Portuguese used in the Asian and Indian Oceanic World from the 16th century that their ancestors learned while living in captivity in the Portuguese quarters of the East African ports; a creolised version of the language of their ancestors' owners in Goa who were, for the most part, Portuguese expatriates and rich Christianised Goans and who were generally bilingual in Portuguese and Konkani; Konkani spoken by the Christianised Goan masters of their ancestors; and present influences on their languages by Kannada and Marathi in Karnataka, where their ancestors retreated to take refuge in the deep forests of the Western Ghats after they escaped from Goa.

Jean-Pierre Angenot and Selmo Azevedo Apontes studied the retroflected consonants in Siddi Konkani and considered the possibilities of influences of Indo-Aryan postalveolar and Dravidian sub-apical palatal articulation. In *The Retroflected Consonants in Siddi-Konkani: Dravidian Sub-apical Palatal or Indo-Aryan Apical Postalveolar Articulation,* they conclude that the Siddis have retained the postalveolar articulation typical of Konkani, an Indo-Aryan language, and use it even when they speak Kannada, a Dravidian language.

Pramod B.Gai and Prakash V. Patil, in *Patterns of Anemia in Siddis of Karnataka,* reveal the findings of blood analysis of Siddis in Karnataka for Sickle Cell Anemia and Thalassemia. According to them, medical literature reveals the prevalence of Sickle Cell Anemia and Thalassemia among Africans and Black populations in the New World, but their study has not revealed these traits among the Siddis in Karnataka.

III

The African Diaspora in Asia other Than India and the Indian Ocean

The Asian countries that are dealt with are: Korea, Hong Kong in China, Indonesia, Iran, Dubai in the United Arab Emirates, and Israel. The Maldives and Mauritius are the two Indian Ocean island groups that figure in this section. Some of the articles, those on Korea and Iran, are of historical nature and the rest deal with the present realities of the African diaspora in those countries.

Aisha Bilkhair Khalifa, in *The African Presence in Traditional Wedding Ceremonies in Dubai in the Pre-Oil Era and Now,* while describing the changes brought about in the marriage ceremony in Dubai from the traditional ones before the 1970s, i.e., the pre-oil era, to the modern ones after the 1970s among Arab tribesmen, points out the changes in the role of music played by Afro-Emiratis. The early 1970s was also the time of constructing a new national identity in Dubai when its historical communities, i.e, local Arab tribesmen, Persian merchants, Bahrnah traders, Baluch handymen from Makran and formerly enslaved Africans merged into Emirati citizens.[8] The wedding ceremony is becoming pretentious and individualistic and is losing a sense of community. Also, discarding the traditional art forms in the name of modernity is resulting in the loss of talented African musicians.

Ineke van Kessel, in *Becoming Black Dutchmen: West African Soldiers in the Dutch East Indies,* describes a unique case of the African presence in Indonesia. Between 1832 and 1872, over 3,000 young men were shipped from Elmina, the Dutch trading post on the Gold Coast to Java as recruits for the colonial army. Their regions of origin were present-day Ghana and Burkina Faso. As the Dutch brought African men only, these soldiers cohabited with native Indonesian women. These couples became the founding fathers and mothers of small but vibrant communities on Java. The African soldiers and their Indo-African offspring came to be known as *Belanda Hitam,* Black Dutchmen in Malay. Before these recruits had arrived in Java, the Portuguese and the Dutch had brought African slaves to South East Asia and the Islamic trade in enslaved Africans had also reached the Indonesian archipelago. The

Belanda Hitam, however, are undoubtedly the best-documented Africans, thanks to the detailed records kept by the Dutch administration. Kessel observes that, unlike the African experience elsewhere in Asia, the *Belanda Hitam* assimilated with the lower echelons of the colonial elite, Indo-Europeans and Europeans, and not with the Asian host society. This was because the African soldiers were entitled to equal treatment with European soldiers, were largely entitled to Dutch nationality, and also considered their identity to be as Dutch citizens. With the independence of Indonesia, a few hundred of their descendants migrated to the Netherlands, where they gather every year for an African reunion.

Daniella Police-Michel, in *From Slaves of African Descent to Creoles in Mauritius*, analyses the condition of African Mauritians as they search for their African roots through sega music, the creole language and the le Morne monument and also search for a new humanity. Mauritians of African origin represent the second largest group in Mauritian society, i.e., 30 per cent in a population of nearly 1.2 million inhabitants. They are descendants of slaves brought mostly from the eastern coast of Africa and from Madagascar in the 18th and 19th centuries during the French and then British colonial periods. After the abolition of slavery, Indians were brought as indentured labourers. Their descendants now form the largest group of Mauritians (48 per cent). Muslims of Indian origin (15 per cent) are the third largest community in Mauritius. The other people in the island are the descendants of the former French slave owners (three per cent) and the Chinese (three percent). For the descendants of the enslaved Africans in Mauritius, the slave trade and slavery acted as a process of destruction of their culture by means "*Code Noir*" leading to their economic marginalization and political exclusion through a process of "cultaral dependence" on the slave owners. Even in present-day Mauritius, a large number of the descendants of enslaved Africans still find themselves at the bottom of the ladder and being marginalised expressed in the discourse "*malaise créole*" brought about through the policies of "cultures of orgin". By reconstructing their cultural heritage, they attempt to free themselves from the clutches of the dominant groups and search for existential meaning.

Edward L. Powe, in *The Saga of Sangoaru*, has recovered the legends prevailing among the present African descendants of their ancestor, Sangoaru on Feridhoo Island located in the Ari Atoll in the Republic of Maldives. Feridhoo Island is 1,640 feet wide and 3,680 feet long having a population of around 600 people. There is a strong sense of community. People get their livelihood from fishing, making ropes from coconut husks, thatching from coconut leaves, employment in tourist resort and other jobs. There is an absence of pressing problems. Four enslaved Africans who served the Sultan of Maldives well were sent to the island to rule. They were so powerful and influential that they were granted immunity from punishment. Sangoaru was one of them. At one time, his descendants made up of 90 per cent of the population of the island; now they are just a third. Very many legends about Sangoaru are passed on from generation to generation.

Based on archival records and other writings of the period, Behnaz A. Mirzai, in *The Trade in Enslaved Africans in Nineteenth-Century Iran,* indicates that enslaved Africans from certain ethnic backgrounds or geographic areas were preferred for different kinds of tasks. In central and interior areas, Habeshees from Abyssinia and Nubees from Nubia were preferred as domestic servants and concubines and were eventually assimilated into households and into the larger society. In the rural areas in the southern and southeastern districts, such as Baluchistan, Bombasees from Zanzibar and neighbouring countries were employed in agriculture where they were made to reside in separate settlements and hence have kept their identities intact even today.

Niambi Cacchioli, in *The Hidden Narrative: Representations of African Slavery in Persian Memoir Literature,* analyses the depiction of enslaved Africans in five Iranian autobiographical writings of the elites of the Qajar era (1795-1925). These depictions are not just "reportage" but "conscious cultural performance". Through the use of enslaved African "actors", the authors have articulated their notions of self, household and society, thereby giving us insights into the power relations between enslaved Afro-Iranians and their masters. Africans were purchased to work in palace administrations and in the private quarters of the royal estates to make possible lavish ceremonial practices and to revive the grandeur and pomp of past kingships. Merchant families from the upper and middle classes also perceived enslaved Africans both as investments and as symbols of their prosperity.

Bok-Rae Kim, in *The African Presence in Korea,* argues for an ancient African presence in Korea. Although historical records speak of the first Black person in Korea as one who drifted ashore in Tong-yong in 1604, and then the presence of 200,000 African-American soldiers during the second World War, an earlier African presence in Korea during both pre-historic times and the early historical period can be inferred from various legends and archaeological data . The First emperor, known as Fu-Hsi/Fu-Hi/Fuxi (2953-2838 B.C.) has been described as "a wooly-haired Negro".

The two articles on Hong Kong and Israel are unique in that they deal with the contemporary African diaspora. Adams B. Bodomo, in *An Emerging African-Chinese Community in Hong Kong: The Case of Tsim Sha Tsui's Chungking Mansions,* draws attention to an emerging African community of speakers of Twi, Igbo, Dagbani, Ewe, Ga, Kiswahili, Hausa, Kikuyu, Lingala, Zulu, Dangme and Yoruba, in the Chungking Mansions Guest House, the heartland of the commercial centre in Hong Kong, which is dubbed "Asia's World City" (445). The Chungking Mansions houses a number of low budget guest rooms and shops used by immigrants and visitors from mainly African, South Asian and Middle Eastern countries who come to Hong Kong to do business. After painting the demographic, sociolinguistic and socio-cultural profiles of the Chungking Mansions, the author argues that although we cannot talk of a clearly defined and well-established African-Chinese community in Hong Kong, the Chungking Mansions community of mainly African and South Asian travelers and settlers, mixed with local Chinese, despite its transience, has the best potential to develop into and contribute to the establishment of a permanent African-Chinese community in Hong Kong.

Galia Sabar, in *African Women Labour-Migrants in Israel between the African Rock and the Israeli Hard Place " I Wanted Something Else"*, analyses the life stories of African women, mostly from Ghana and Nigeria, who came to Israel in the 1990s as undocumented migrant labourers. Taking into account the differences between the values and norms of behaviour that the migrant African women brought with them and those they acquired in Israel, she observes that migration compelled those women to take initiatives and act independently, making autonomous decisions, while at the same time survival in Israel and the existential need to belong to the African migrant community and also relate back home to their original families have led them to adhere to norms, considered traditional, in the sphere of gender relations and the division of labour within the family.

IV

Interactions between Asia/India and the East African Coast Regions

The first three articles in this section give a general picture about the trade relationships, including slave trade, between East Africa and Asia, including the Indian sub-continent.

Ababu Minda Yimene, in *History of Indo-African Trade Relations and the Resulting Slave Trade,* discusses the trade in enslaved Africans to India as part and parcel and an extension of the general trade in commodities that took place between Africa and the sub-continent. While observing that the trade relations between the two regions preceded recorded history, he anlyses the nature of the trade relations from the written records. The earliest mention of slave trade between the two regions is in a travel document of the first century A.D. He notes that many Africans also migrated to Asia on their free will as merchants, adventurers, skilled personnel and through intermarriage with Indian and Arab seafarers. Today's Siddis, he opines, descended from African bondsmen and free immigrants who came to the sub-continent. Some of the Siddis are descendants of culturally arabised Africans who rendered military serivce in India and were not enslaved.

Bonginkhosi Azariah Bhutana Sikhondze, in *The Social, Economic and Political Dynamics of the Indian Theatre and the African Diaspora: The Case of the Coast of East Africa,* makes a valid argument that, without the push factors in the regions where African diaspora originated, there could not have been any African diaspora. Social instability, economic inabilities and political upheavals on the East African coast led to Africans being taken in large numbers to destinations outside Africa including India. Natural factors also facilitated this process. There was also a process of enslavement of Africans in East Africa, West Africa and other parts of the continent. Much as East Africa suffered immensely from ethnic and other forms of divisions, the adverse conditions that international trade created in East Africa worsened the already prevalent divisions. Although East Africa possessed some strong and powerful polities that resisted Asian pressure to participate in the slave trade, the persistence of Arab, Indian and, later, the European traders to engage in the trade in human beings led to the implementing of this trade for a long time.

Ivan Vander Biesen, in *Some Features of the Economic Basis for Acculturation in the 19th Century Indian Ocean: The Case of Zanzibar,* using the concept of "a world economy" to depict the economic sphere of the Indian Ocean as distinct from "the world economy" analyses the different sides and partners to it in the 19th century: the East African side, especially Zanzibar; the Indian side, especially Gujarat; the Omani; the Vaniyas like the Topan family (on which Beatrice Nicolini gives a detailed note in an article included in this section a little later on); and the British. In the Indian Ocean trade, the monsoon played an important role causing unique dynamics between the partners involved in the trade. The cities on the different sides developed various economic networks and cultural exchanges that reached their climax in the 19th century when the British entered onto the scene with their anti-slave trade and anti-slavery policies. With their legal and formal framework and notions of nationality, the British initially could not penetrate the economic and cultural networks; but eventually they did penetrate "the complex web of mutually interdependent relationships". Biesen notes that the mechanism of the monsoon winds that ensure the contacts between the hinterlands and the overseas territories all around the Indian Ocean is still at work.

The three articles that follow are very specific in nature, one on the "Bombay" Africans in the Freretown Settlement in Mombasa by Clifford Pereira, the second on "Zanzibari" Muslims in Durban by Abdul Sheriff and the third on the Topan family in Zanzibar by Beatrice Nicolini.

Clifford Pereira, in *The Bombay Africans and the Freretown Settlement,* gives the history of the so-called "Bombay Africans" or "Bombayans" who are hardly known to people apart from a few academics in East Africa. Their story encompasses the processes of the Indian Ocean slave trade and its abolition, wherein a group of Africans from East Africa were brought to India and with the abolition of the slave trade and slavery were repatriated from Asia back to East Africa. Pereira gives the ethnic origins of the Bombay Africans, who came from an area consisting of modern day southern Ethiopia and Somalia, South to northern Zimbabwe and Mozambique and inland to western Uganda, Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia, and who were mostly Bantu speakers. Liberated from slavery, these East Africans were educated in an orphanage in Nasik, 187 kms northeast of Mumbai (earlier Bombay) beginning in the mid 1850s. Freretown was established in 1874 opposite the island of Mombasa. The educated Africans from the Nasik Orphanage were regularly sent to Freretown, the biggest contingent being in 1875 when the orphanage was closed. Pereira describes the three phases in the development of Freretown and ends the article with a short comparison between it and Freetown, a similar settlement in West Africa.

Abdul Sheriff, in *The Origin of the "Zanzibari" Diaspora in Durban, South Africa,* depicts the situation of "Zanzibari" Muslims who speak the Makua language of northern Mozambique as a mother tongue and who first landed in Durban in 1873 when the British drew up a treaty with Zanzibar prohibiting all slave trading by sea.

Social anthropological and historical studies on the community from 1873 to 2006 having already been done by other scholars, this article researches the origin of the community. The historical antecedents are linked to the East African slave trade in the 17th and 18th centuries comprising a "northern complex" in Zanzibar providing enslaved Africans to the plantations of Zanzibar, the coast of Kenya, and the Persian Gulf especially for pearl fisheries; and a "southern complex" wherein enslaved people from Mozambique were supplied to the southwestern Indian Ocean islands of Madagascar, the Mascarenes and also to the Atlantic region including Brazil.

At the time of the prohibition of the slave trade in Zanzibar in 1873, there was an acute demand for labour in South Natal where a plantation economy was already established, and the Africans liberated from slave dhows in the Mozambique Channel were sent there from 1873 to 1880 and constituted the nucleus of the "Zanzibari" community in Durban. Using the national Archives in Zanzibar, the author traces the origin of these liberated Africans who were from both the slave trade complexes mentioned above. From being labeled as slaves, then as liberated slaves and indentured labourers, they went through other labels given by South Africa's racial and caste structure, finally affirming their historical and cultural connections with Zanzibar and now calling themselves "Zanzibaris".

Beatrice Nicolini, in *A Glimpse at Indian Merchant Communities in Zanzibar during the 1800s: the Topan Family Through British Archival Sources,* examines the role of Tharia Topan, founder of the Topan family, one of the Indian merchant communities in Zanzibar called *banyans* in British sources, involved in the western Indian Ocean slave trade. The Topan family of *ishmaili Khojas*, from Lakhput in the Kutch region in western India, given the role of masters of customs or tax collectors by the Omanis, was one of the most powerful families not only in financial matters but also politically. They financed caravans directed towards the interior to deal in enslaved people and ivory, and gave unlimited credit at low interest rates. Tharia Topan also played a part in the banning of the slave trade.

The last article by Liliana Mosca, *Slaving in Madagascar: English and Colonial Voyages in the Second Half of the 17th Century,* is again unique in the sense that it analyses the historical records to give a picture of the slave trade from Madagascar to North America from 1628 to 1730. The slave trade in Madagascar was legal and had originally been in the hands of Arabs and Swahili traders. Later, English and American merchants as well as pirates played an important role, with the trade to British-American colonies peaking in the 1690s. In 1730, the island was regarded as outside "the normal course of the trade".

V

The African Diaspora in the Americas

The five articles in this section on the African diaspora in Brazil and Hispanic America, offer a comparative perspective for understanding the African diaspora in Asia.

Kabengele Munanga, in *Descendants of Enslaved Africans in Brazil in the Present Era: Realities and Problems,* brings out the fact that Brazil is the country on the American continent which received the greatest influx of enslaved Africans between the 16th and the 19th centuries. At least 30 per cent of the Africans transported to the Americas had Brazil as their destination, Blacks and *Mulattos* now making up around 47 per cent of the whole Brazilian population, i.e., over 85 million. Brazil has the world's second largest Black population, Nigeria being the first. Although Afro-Brazilians have contributed significantly to the creation of the Brazilian people, culture and economy, Afro-Brazilians continue to have problems in obtaining full social integration and the complete exercise of the rights of citizenship.

The "Brazilian style of racism" created the myths that the nation was a "racial democracy" and a "racial paradise", which disguised racial inequalities and hidden conflicts, retarded the process of constructing a collective Black identity, and delayed the organised struggle for civil rights by Afro-Brazilians. However, official statistics for a period of 70 years since 1929 have documented the stark reality of the social, economic and political exclusion of Blacks in Brazilian society. Similar to the situation elsewhere in the African diaspora, Afro-descendants in Brazil are the major victims of prejudice and discrimination nurtured by racist ideologies. The Black social movement in Brazil has demanded from the Brazilian government the implementation of affirmative action policies with quotas and the inclusion of studies of their history and culture in the national curriculum, which are now beginning to be implemented by the Lula government.

In the southern United States where racism was official policy, racial models and behaviours were based on the principle of "the one drop rule", i.e., the law of hypodescent. In Brazil, a *sui generis* racism emerged based upon phenotype, i.e., based on a person's appearance and not upon ideas about the purity of blood. This led to the idea that Brazil was a racially mixed country that created a new race resulting from the synthesis or syncretism of three original racial stocks, i.e., African, Indian and White. Consequently, Brazil was said not to be a racist country as the original biological differences were lacking to provide the grounds for the construction of racism. This was the thinking behind the concept of the so-called Brazilian racial democracy and of Brazil as a racial paradise without any racial prejudice and discrimination as in the U.S. But the reality is different and hence the need for affirmative acation for the Blacks, explains Munanga.

Sheila S. Walker, in *Congo Kings, Queen Nzinga, Dancing Devils and Catholic Saints: African/African Syncretism in the Americas,* discusses the African-African syncretism in various cultural practices throughout the Americas and especially in various parts of Brazil. She contends that the culture of African origin continues to exist more or less obviously and more or less avowedly throughout the Americas. Whereas scholarship has focused on syncretism between European and African cultural forms resulting from the imposition of the former on the latter, it has generally ignored the more voluntary and at least as significant synergies resulting from encounters between Africans and other Africans in the Americas. Based on field research throughout the hemisphere, the paper discusses some of those pan-American African and Pan-Africanist diasporic cultural forms, including the presence of "Mozambiques" from the East African slave trade as part of the synergy with Central and West African cultural forms in Brazil.

Eva Sebastyén, while teaching Medical Anthropology at the State University of Vale de Acaru in Sabral in 2000 and 2001, did anthropological research about the African presence in one of the most persistent cultural fields, i.e., healing, as described in her article, *Angolan Roots of Afro-Brazilian Cults in Sobral, Ceará State, Brazil.* Sobral, a historically important town in the hinterland of Ceará, shares the general history of the African slave trade in the state. The enslaved Africans were predominantly Bantu from Angola who married among themselves. In the first half of the 18th century, they formed the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of Blacks, a socio-cultural focus that ceased to exist in the second half of the 20th century. In their place Umbanda spiritual houses were created in the first decades of the 20th century, syncretising African cultural reminiscences with Indigenous and European legacies. These proliferated in the last decades of the 20th century mainly due to the increasing economic, social and psychological necessities of the poor, including the majority of Afro-Brazilians.

Manolo Florentino, Alexandre Viera Ribeiro and Daniel Dominigues da Silva, in *Comparative Aspects of the Traffic of Africans to Brazil (18th and 19th Centuries),* bring out that the discovery of gold in Brazil between 1693 and 1695 increased the demand for slaves leading to a significant rise in the importation of enslaved Africans in Brazil. As the slave trade was being abolished, there was a huge rush to buy more enslaved labourers, and East Africa had also become a significant supplier of captives. The costs involved in carrying out the slave trade far exceeded those involved in farming; but also the profits from the slave trade were enormous. Wholesale slave dealers wielded political powers also, and slave traders invested their profits in diversified ways.

Moving away from Portuguese-speaking Brazil, Luis Beltrán y Repetto, in *The Hispanic American African Heritage,* argues that the contemporary national and regional identities in the Spanish-speaking America were shaped by a complex process stretching over five centuries of multi-transculturation and miscegenation in which the African (from diverse ethno-cultural groups), European (Spanish) and Indo-American (the indigenous) components participated under the control of a Euro-hegemonic socio-political system. The cultural legacy from the African peoples is known in Spanish by the word *africanía*, equivalent to the French term, *négritude*. The African influence or *africanía*, in diverse degrees, is noticed in almost all cultural aspects of Spanish-American societies like language, literature, religion, art, music, gastronomy etc. An important percentage of the populations is of African extraction. Multi-transculturation and miscegenation, begun in the colonial period from the 16th to 19th centuries when slavery existed, continued after independence in the 19th century in a more open society in which slavery was abolished. Although social inequalities, discriminatory practices and prejudices have persisted, they are not equivalent to an ethnic colour bar, the author points out; but must be seen as a social question and not a racial one.

VI

African Diaspora in Asia and Organisation Workshops (OWs)

Three articles included in this section deal with the philosophy and practice of OW. Two seminal methodologies, one in the realm of building of critical consciousness and the other in generating organisational and entrepreneurial capacities made a tremendous impact in Latin America in the sixties and seventies respectively. The first methodology was propounded in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by Paulo Freire (1996), from Recife, Brazil, around the concept of "conscientization",[9] as opposed to the banking concept of education. Freire compares the prevalent mainstream education to the transactions going on in a bank and hence calls it the banking concept of education. The main function of a bank is to collect deposits of money for safe custody, which earn interest over a period of time and which can be withdrawn when required. In the prevalent system of education, the emphasis is placed on "depositing" in one's head as much knowledge as possible without any critical reflection. This knowledge is poured out in exams to secure higher grades which are a key to better jobs and higher salaries.

The second methodology was developed by Clodomir Santos de Morais, also from Brazil and a contemporary and colleague of Paulo Freire, around the concept of "capacitation"[10] with the tool of OW explained in *A Future for the Excluded* (Carmen and Sobrado 2000).

The new pedagogy of education, though first implemented in Brazil in 1963, had to be quickly abandoned when the military dictatorship came to power in 1964. It was later successfully implemented in Chile in the mid 1970s. Since then this methodology has inspired conscientization efforts all over the world in galvanising critical consciousness among marginalised sections of society to help them learn about and transform their reality.

Not much is known of the second methodology outside Latin America and southern Africa. However, it too made tremendous impact in Latin America in the seventies, beginning with Honduras, in helping excluded populations organize to better run their agricultural and other ventures to secure sustainable livelihoods.

Ideally both methodologies can be used to inspire marginalised and excluded African diasporic communities, especially in Asia and Indian Ocean countries, as they have in Latin America. The three articles in the section convey the philosophy of OW and share experiences in carrying it out in Southern African countries. The authors' view is that OW has answers to the unemployment question threatening all the countries in the former "Third World" as also the economic peripheries of the former "First World".

The article by Clodomir Santos de Morais, *Integrated System of "Capacitation" and Scientific Research for Regional Development,* gives in a nutshell the philosophy of OW. Jacinta Castelo Branco Correia, in *Learning with Africa,* evaluates the OW method used in Mozambique from 2000 to 2003, and in the process dwells on the concept of "capacitation" and the various programmes involved in OW. Isabel de Labra and Ivan Labra, in *Community Organistion across Cultures: Lessons Learnt from the Contextualisation of the Organisational Workshops in South Africa,* narrate and analyse the experiences of conducting OWs from 1987 to 2003 in different countries of Southern Africa like Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique, South Africa and Angola, and, while doing so dwell on concepts of "conscientization" and the different levels of consciousness.

Though these methodologies and experiences were shared with the Siddi leaders during the workshop following the conference on the African diaspora in Asia in Goa in 2006, it is yet to be seen how effectively they can be realised in the situation of Siddis in India and elsewhere in the African diaspora in Asia.

Various Issues Involved

The gamut of the articles given above throws open a number of issues dealing with the African diaspora in Asia that have the possibility of many and at times contradictory interpretations. We can begin with the notion of diaspora itself; then the idea of Africa; then the Africa diaspora in Asia and closely linked with it the Indian Ocean World; and the relation of these two to Africa and various parts of Africa - North, East, North East, West, Central and Southern. Then we have the Atlantic (largely Western African) Slave Trade Model and the Indian Ocean (largely Eastern African) Slave Trade Model and the similarities and differences between the two. There are many studies and a vast literature covering a variety of disciplines, scholarly issues and political activisms related to the first model; whereas there is an absence or minimal knowledge about the second model, concerning which a paucity of issues has been addressed; there is also a dearth of activism in the region (Harris 1971: 125-27).

An opinion is expressed that there is an overwhelming influence of the first model and an insufficient appreciation of the unique features of the second model, such as: 1) starting early and ending late as opposed to the first, which started late and ended early; 2) free movement together with forced migration in the second as opposed to only forced migration in the first; 3) mostly women and children being the victims of forced migration in the second, whereas mostly men were involved in the first; 4) numbers involved being greater in the second than in the first, and so on.

Further, it is alleged that the tendency to interpret the facts of the second in the light of the first has provoked the taking of political/ideological positions that have prevailed over and are detrimental to presumably objective, scholarly pursuits. Linked to this issue are questions of the interpretation of racial prejudice and the reality or extent of assimilation/acculturation/integration of African diasporan populations within host countries/civilisations/cultures; and issues of the contributions by African diasporan communities to language, culture, technology and even nation-building wherever they found themselves.

These issues cannot easily be reconciled; neither is the concern here to reconcile them. The articles have presented the issues. They make clear what are some of the possibilities for the African diaspora in Asia in both scholarly pursuits and "political" activism. If the collection can further these in the light of affirming a better humanity to the African diaspora wherever it is found and a true humanity to all the people in the world, the TADIA Society would have fulfilled its purpose.

Having said this, let me offer some understandings on the issues involved.

First, Africa and related matters: Today, Africa includes all the countries on the mainland and the various islands in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans and they form the African Union. However, since some of the Indian Ocean Islands were considered, at some time, part of Asia and along with East African countries they also form part of the Indian Ocean World, the African diaspora in Asia includes, in a broad sense, all these countries. Although Africa means all the countries included in the African Union, for our purposes, the African diaspora in Asia concerns itself not with all the people found in the African Union, but with Black Africans who were, by and large, the victims of the African diaspora; other people were involved not as victims of the diaspora but maybe as perpetrators of the diaspora (see, p. 86).[11]

The idea of diaspora: The term was originally associated with the Jewish diaspora. In that sense it had the meaning of forceful eviction from a homeland, a memory of and longing for that homeland and a struggle or effort to return to it. All this constitutes diasporic consciousness. A section of the descendants of the Atlantic African diaspora, especially in North America, have also agitated along the lines of the Jewish diaspora, leading to the Pan-African Movement. But the descendants of the African diaspora in Asia and the Indian Ocean World do not show those tendencies. In many cases, like the Siddis in Karnataka, many descendants of the African diaspora are, or were until recently, not aware of the fact that they were from Africa and Africa did not mean anything to them. Does this mean, therefore, that they do not have a diasporic consiousness? The answer is yes if diasporic consciousness is equated with Jewish diasporic consciousness (see, pp. 53-60, 65,85-90, 104). But, instead of imposing the elements of Jewish diasporic consciousness on the African diaspora, a better way to understand what constitutes African diasporic consciousness would be to affirm the African diaspora in its own right and find out what actually are the features of the African diaspora that make it unique. Some of those features are the continuing experience of marginalisation and discrimination, though there are a few cases of overcoming subjugation and becoming part of the elites in the host society; making the host country its home and contributing to its vitalisation not only through labour but also through language, art, culture, healing practices, technology and so on; and the heroic revolts against slavery as well as the constant struggle to affirm human dignity and strive towards a better life. A memory of the homeland and a struggle to return to that homeland may not be relevant in the context of the African diaspora in Asia.

The African diaspora in Asia: The African diaspora is rightly traced to the origin of humankind and also continues to take place in the current globalised capitalist economy. Although a couple of studies of the contemporary African diaspora are included in the volume, the African diaspora in Asia as addressed here mainly refers to the African diaspora in historical times up to the ending of colonial imperialism in the 20th century. The African diaspora in Asia and the Indian Ocean has a component also of free migrations as navigators, traders, soldiers, mercenaries and missionaries for Islam and Christianity (Harris 2001: 105). Although these realities are taken into account, from the understanding of the present situation of the vast majority of the descendants of the African diaspora in Asia and the Indian Ocean as in all of the Americas and the Caribbean, the African diaspora in Asia would mean mainly the forced migrations of Africans in historical times. From all available indicators, the free migrations of Africans to Asia during historical times may have involved fewer people than the forced migrations (see, p. 2). The task of arriving at a correct picture is made difficult by the paucity of written records. Oral claims may not be very reliable unless they are validated by other criteria. Given the extremely hierarchically skewed Asian societies, especially on the Indian subcontinent, there is a tendency among those who find themselves in the lower rungs to cover up their past and make an attempt to claim a higher status (see, Srinivas 1972: 1-48).[12]

Racial prejudice and assimilation: Racial prejudice may be a situation found in North America and Europe. But racial attitudes are not absent in Asian societies (see, pp. 215-16) or for that matter in Brazil or the rest of Latin America, if we take into account that in almost all societies where the African diaspora is found, although they have taken over many of the features of the host societies, they experience exclusion, marginalisation and even discrimination. Even when some studies claim that they are totally assimilated in the host society or report saying that the descendants of the African diaspora claim to be part of the larger society, in the very same studies there are glimpses of separateness and difference bordering on discrimination experienced by them (see, pp. 621-36; 691-706). Assimilation is not just a question of acculturation in terms of language, religion and life-style and of political allegiance. It has mainly to do with economic justice, social equality and participation in political power. Until these rights are ensured in any society to all of its citizens, there cannot be true assimilation.

Bringing about economic justice and social equality to and political participation by every community of the African diaspora is not a question of doing charity or giving welfare or "assistance" (p. x). What is called for is a basic change in the attitudes of people and the fundamental restructuring of economic, political and social systems prevalent in the societies. In this context, the political questions (see, pp. 93-6; see, also Harris 2001: 113-117) and the socio-cultural issues (see, pp. 96-98) addressed by the African diaspora must be taken into account. How can the rights of the African diaspora peoples be secured if they are not guaranteed by the nation states in which they live? How can a coordinating political system be evolved to proivde structures for the disperate African communities? How can international African citizenship rights be recognised which reconcile the issues of nation-state sovereignty and jurisdiction and the rights and duties of citizens? Cultural issues are also important because "a people's culture is the place from which they can begin to assert their freedom" (p. 97). Cultural realities understood in the right sense must be synchronised with the legitimate concerns of development (see, pp. ix-xi). "Conscientization" and "Capacitation" processes (pp. 26-7) may suggest ways in tackling some of the concerns of the African diaspora in Asia and elsewhere.

Lastly, scholarly objectivity as opposed to political or ideological activism: There is no un-biased or "objective" research or "objective" reading of the social facts. No social research can be unbiased or free of positions. In the name of objectivity, what one can do is to be honest about one's positions and declare them openly. Very often, in the name of "objective" facts what is advocated is the promotion of the *status quo* which is unequal, unjust and anti-human. The only "objective" position is to acknowledge whether one affirms true freedom, justice, equality and fraternity or negates them, and if one affirms them, how far or near one is in realising them in practice or in one's life; and read every social reality in the light of those values, because only those values are true human values and promote human dignity, human welfare and true peace.

Notes

[1] "The idea of India…is the idea of a land that is greater than the sum of its contradictions, a diverse society divided by caste, creed, culture, cuisine, conviction, costume and custom…." Shashi Tharoor, "The Shashi Tharoor Column - So Long Farewell" *The Hindu,* Bangalore: April 27, 2008).

[2] This observation, however, requires to be taken with abundant caution. For this purpose, the insights of and evidences from four contributors to this volume may be considered. See, Cacchioli on the position of enslaved Africans in Iranian society (pp. 430-31); Khalifa on official non-abolition of slavery in Dubai even in the 70s (note 8 below on p. 31, also see pp. 47, 64-5); Campbell on official abolition of slavery in some countries of the Middle East only in the 50s and the 60s (p. 47); and Ivan Vander Biesen on the lack of an intellectual elite among the African diaspora in Asia (p. 516, note 4 on p. 525). See also, Alpers (2003: 36). However, scholars, poets and intellectuals among African Asians are also noticed (see, pp. 58-9, 62-4, 67).

[3] The desire of the organisers of the conference was to have papers on all the African diaspora communities in Asia. It is regretted that a paper on Afro-Turks presented at the conference was not readied for this publication. A scholar on the Shidis in Pakistan could not be present for conference as he was not able to get a visa to take part in the conference. Otherwise, a majority listed in the communication of TADIA as given in Annexe 4.1 (p.765) are represented in this volume.

[4] The title for the volume, *TADIA – The African Diaspora in Asia: Explorations on a Less Known Fact,* seems not to do full justice to the different aspects of the African diaspora presented in the articles in the volume. While the African diaspora in Asia is the main focus, given the fact that the African diaspora in Asia is intimately connected with the Indian Ocean World, including the islands most of which may now be considered part of Africa, and with the points of origin on the East coast of Africa, some articles deal with the African diaspora from East Africa or the Islands thereof to the East. For comparative purposes, a few articles on the slave trade from West Africa to and the African diaspora in the Americas are also included, one of which deals with the slave trade from the big Indian Ocean Island of Madagascar to the Americas.

[5] The positions of the author were strongly contested by almost all the other participants in the conference. They countered that the African diaspora was a historical, demographic, social and cultural reality, and that his analysis based on issues of consciousness, especially the idea of nostalgia for a homeland, involved beating the dead horse of passé perspectives. More on this is elaborated in the last section of this introduction, Various Issues of the African Diaspora.

[6] There is no uniformity in pronunciation or spelling of the name used for the African descendants in India and Pakistan. The pronunciation of the term used to designate the descendants of the African diaspora all over in India, whether Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa or Hyderabad, comes close to "Siddi", whereas in Pakistan, it is "Shidi". The present spelling trend in Gujarat seems to be "Sidi" while it is "Siddi" in Hyderabad and Karnataka. In this collection, while referring to the same group of African diasporans in Janjira in Maharashtra, one author has used the term "Siddi" and another "Sidi". A suggestion by Kiran Kamal Prasad in late 2007 to follow one transcription of the term, preferably "Siddi", since it is closest to the pronunciation all over India, was not accepted by the researchers on the African diaspora in Gujarat and Janjira. Therefore the spelling used by each author in her/his article is adhered to; otherwise, "Siddi" is the term used in the volume. Elsewhere in the Indian subcontinent and South Asia, in Pakistan, the African diaspora community is called "Shidi" and in Sri Lanka, "Kaffir".

[7] So far Siddi populations are found in Gujarat, Diu, Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. During the past decade educated Siddis from Karnataka have migrated to other states like Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, and Delhi in connection with employment.The presence of Siddis in Kerala, West Bengal or other states of India is still not ascertained.

[8] "Slavery was not officially abolished but rather was considered an out-of-fashion practice in the age of oil. British documents illustrate how the Sheikhdoms declared that they were not practising slavery in the 1950s but yet it was well and alive until the ripple economic effect of the oil boom was felt. The union of the seven emirates (states/sheikdoms) was formed on December 2nd, 1971, i.e., after 150 years of British indirect rule over the entire region." (From an e-mail communication from the author to Kiran Kamal Prasad dated 09-04-2008).

[9] "Conscientization", derived from the Portuguese *"conscientizaçao"* and described

as the problem-posing method of education, is a process of building critical consciousness in people through their own agency in interaction with their objective social reality leading to the transformation of that reality, enhancing it and making it enshrine human values. Here, the role of a "teacher" is just to facilitate this process and in which he is also a "student". "Awareness-raising", since it supposes the duality of "a raiser" and "a raisee", does not fully convey the sense of "connscientization", where "the learner" is also "a teacher" and the primary agent in his learning process.

[10] "Capacitation" derived from the Portuguese *"capacitaçao"* is a process of making available opportunities for people to build their capacities to move from the status of objects (manipulated by external forces) to the status of subjects (guided by self-consicousness) and active agents of change by securing sustainable livelihoods in cooperation with each other (see, Carmen and Sobrado 2000: xvii; also, note 2, pp. 731-32). "Capacity-building" is not a correct rendering for "capacitation" as it implies an outside agency.

[11] Carole Boyce Davies in her article in the volume brings out the definition of African peoples given in the African Charter *(Banjul)* "in a broad continental and diaspora sense" and the acceptance by the African Union of the African diaspora as its "Sixth Region" (p. 93).

[12] M.N. Srinivas, a renowned anthropologist/sociologist in the book referred to has described this process as "Sanskritisation".

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I

PERSPECTIVES ON AFRICAN DIASPORA

1

On the Paths of African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean World

Ali Moussa-Iye

Introduction: Relevance of Goa Conference on the African Diaspora in Asia

The Goa conference can be considered as a step further in breaking the silence on some unknown chapters of Asian history. Indeed, recognising and celebrating the longstanding African presence and the contribution of Afro-descendants in this continent was not an easy task for the organisers, given the ignorance prevailing on this subject. The sharing of knowledge and experiences on the Afro-Asian exchanges throughout history raised collateral challenging issues for today's Asian societies: revision of official histories, multiplicity of their cultural sources, promotion of plural identities and citizenship, prejudices and discrimination against their minorities.

A better understanding of the African dispersion in Asia opens new fields of exciting discoveries for future scholarship. Recent studies on this issue have revealed the ancientness, the diversity and the potential of the presence of peoples of African descent in Asia. This presence is not only the result of the slave trade, as most people believe, but goes back to the early history of Asia. Contrary to the common Euro-centrist belief on the discovery of the world, the Indian Ocean has always been a lively space of contact and exchanges between peoples of Africa and Asia, long before the search for spices and new horizons brought Europeans on board.

In fact, the African populations living on the shore of the Indian Ocean and Red Sea have been more in business with peoples from the other side of the sea than with their fellow Africans living beyond the jungle and desert barriers.

In this respect, the history of Siddis is an illustration of the dynamic relations that developed around the Indian Ocean. The history of Malik Ambar who played a great role in the Deccan region in India is another example of the particular connections between the Horn of Africa and the Indian sub-continent that need to be better explored.

Recent Trends in African Issues

The development of research on the African diaspora in Asia is to be apprehended within the framework of the recent trends in African issues.

The first one is the reinforcement by the latest scientific findings, notably in palaeontology, genetics and linguistics, of the hypothesis of the common origin of the different human groups and their location in Africa from where their ancestors emigrated in successive waves to occupy the rest of the world. This theory on the long journey of the *Homo Africanus* across the continents, combined with the findings on the African origin of the civilisation of Ancient Egypt and its impact on Asia should definitely help scholars to understand the surprising signs of African presence in the early history of Asian civilisations, noticed here and there. The great Egyptologist, Cheik Anta Diop, had in the 1950s given interesting indications for further research on the presence of Africans in Asia.

The second trend is the revitalisation of the dream and vision of Pan-Africanism, notably through the building of African Union, under the new concept of "African Renaissance". Beyond the Afro-pessimism generated by the current situation of Africa in the mind of Africans themselves, there are attempts in the continent and in its diaspora to revisit the role of Africa in the "History of Humanity" and to envisage differently its place in the future of the world. It is worth noticing that it is an Asian country, namely, China, which developed an anticipatory vision of the importance of Africa, which may be the continent of the future in many aspects.

The third trend to notice is the increasing importance given to African diaspora by leaders and peoples of the African continent. This awareness was facilitated by the efforts engaged since the beginning of the 20th Century by the peoples of Afro-descent throughout the world in order to continue to believe in their African roots and in the promises of their mother continent. This hopeful appeal coming from outside the continent helped peoples in Africa to resist the discourses of dehumanisation and overcome the colonial domination. The development of this solidarity will definitely encourage the development of research of African diaspora in Asia and the reconnection of its roots in Africa.

The last trend in which the research of African diaspora in Asia should be placed is the reinforcement of African solidarity with developing countries in other continents. In the context of globalisation, rediscovering historical and cultural links between Africa and Asia is likely to facilitate the actual reconfiguration of international alliances and solidarity. It is worth recalling that the Bandung Conference, held in 1955, contributed a great deal to raising the awareness of peoples of Africa and Asia under colonial domination of their common fate. India and China played a crucial role in building this alliance which gave birth to the movement of the Non-aligned countries. In Latin America, which is recognising more and more its third root, the African roots, this spirit of solidarity with Africa is being built, thanks to the findings of scholarly research on the considerable contribution of Africans in the construction of the Americas. Two healthy countries, Brazil and Venezuela, are at the forefront of this movement, which is also developing in many of other Latin American countries such as Columbia, Peru, Ecuador, Mexico and Bolivia.

Within this context and these trends, the UNESCO Slave Route Project has a particular role to play in order to facilitate the sharing of knowledge on African diaspora between the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean. This intersectoral project aims not only at breaking the silence on the unprecedented tragedy of the slave trade and slavery but also at promoting the cultural interactions among peoples generated by it, notably the living cultures, the artistic and spiritual expressions created by African diaspora in the different regions of the world.

Ethical and Political Stakes of UNESCO's Slave Route Project

It was the desire to achieve lasting peace among nations, which is a fundamental objective of the United Nations, that prompted the UNESCO to highlight the question of slave trade and slavery.

The principle proclaimed in its Constitution, "*that the defence of peace must first be built in the minds of men*", suggests that the very fact of ignoring or deliberately obscuring major historical events can in itself constitute an obstacle to peace, mutual understanding and cooperation.

Considered as the denial of the basic human rights, the slave trade must be given its rightful place at the forefront of our human consciousness because it perfectly illustrates what has been stipulated in the preamble of UNESCO's Constitution, that the horrors like the Second World War were made possible by "*the denial of democratic principles of dignity, equality and respect for person and by the will to propagate in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, the doctrine of inequality of men and races.*"

Therefore, UNESCO made an ethical and political choice when it decided to get involved in the issue of slave trade and slavery. We do believe that the burning problems of today's world – development, human rights, cultural pluralism, dialogue – are strongly linked to this hidden tragedy that some have described as "the black hole" in the history of humanity.

Beyond the academic necessity to revisit the history, interest in memory cannot be separated from the struggle for democracy and human rights.

More than ever, the relation with this past is at the centre of the reshaping of national identities and the definition of new citizenships in the multicultural and multiethnic societies that came out of the slavery system.

UNESCO launched the Slave Route Project in 1994 in Benin, in Africa in order to come to terms with this hidden memory and to create an international framework for multi-disciplinary reflection on the legacy of slavery in modern societies.

The issues of the slave trade and slavery present another political dimension that is often overlooked: the ideologies that have been developed to legitimise the system.

It is worth mentioning here that it was during the blooming of the "Enlightenment Philosophies" in Europe, the monstrous "Black Code" and the discourses that permitted to justify morally, intellectually and legally this crime against humanity were also elaborated.

The slave societies made use of all their scientific, religious and political resources to build the theories on the inequality of races and particularly on the congenital inferiority of the Black Africans.

This political heritage nourished the policies of domination, exploitation and segregation of the colonial powers in Africa, Asia and Pacific and Latin America.

The same racial theories were also recycled by Nazism and utilized in Europe against Jews, Romas and other groups considered inferiors or degenerated.

If the principles of universality and indivisibility of Human Rights are today largely accepted, it is important to understand this dark background of the humanistic movement in order to prevent the danger of a new division of humanity and a new ethnocentric vision of Human Rights.

The third political stake of the slave trade that deserves to be mentioned is the analysis of the actual geopolitics of the world. We cannot understand the actual power and wealth distribution in the world without reference to the benefits gained from this shameful trade.

We cannot comprehend the level of development of Africa without acknowledging the severe destructuring of African societies and the systematic human, intellectual and cultural haemorrhaging to which Africa was subjected over centuries of trans-saharian, trans-Indian oceanic and trans-atlantic slave trade.

Furthermore, we cannot understand the racial prejudice, discrimination and poverty experienced by Black populations in the Americas, the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean and Asia without explaining the system of racial hierarchy, of exploitation and inequality inherited from slavery which persisted long time after the abolition.

By creating the Slave Route Project, UNESCO has attempted to provide a framework for an international and independent reflection on the consequences of this tragedy in order to highlight its universal dimension and the duty to remember.

Comprehension of this silenced chapter of world history makes it possible to better grasp the genealogy binding the slave trade to other historic crimes which preceded and followed it such as the extermination of Natives in the Americas, the holocaust and the apartheid.

Cultural Stakes

The slave trade was a brutal encounter of millions of peoples from different continents. It provoked a shock wave which transformed the world into a new living stage on which the drama of cultural pluralism is being played out. The multicultural process set in motion by the slave trade continues to this day. Some of the major artistic and cultural movements of modern life are rooted in this tragedy.

This process of multiculturalization is of considerable importance for the future of our societies. There lie, perhaps, the responses to the racial prejudices and the theories on the hierarchy of races that have outlived the slave trade; and also the potential for the construction of new citizenships respectful of cultural diversity in our multiethnic and multicultural modern societies.

UNESCO chose the concept of "Route" to best illustrate this dynamic process of exchange between peoples, civilizations and cultures, which continues to transform the world. The Project pays particular attention to the promotion of the contribution of Africa to the rest of the world.

So far, this contribution is often reduced to the manpower provided by slaves whose cultural influence is generally limited to the artistic expressions such as music and dance.

The transfer of knowledge, know-how and beliefs that resulted from the voluntary migration of African merchants, professionals, administrators and soldiers, notably in the Indian Ocean, remains largely unknown in the societies, which benefited from it. Through its Slave Route Project, UNESCO aims at contributing to a better recognition of this heritage.

Throughout its various activities, the project attempts to change the stigma attached to slaves and correct the distorted images about Africans. It contributes to a better understanding of how enslaved Africans resisted the difficult conditions in which they were forced to live and overcame the amnesia or brainwash to which they were subject. It encourages the analysis of the process of cultural resistance that helped slaves not only to survive the dehumanisation process of slavery but also to influence and humanise the slavery-based societies. The project has stresses the creativity and the inventive faculties developed by the slaves by taking over, reinterpreting and transforming the behaviours, habits and values that the slavers wished.

Presentation of the Project

Since its inception, the Project has been organized around five closely linked programmes:

- a scientific research programme based on an extensive network of institutions and specialists around the world;
- an educational and pedagogical programme entitled, "Breaking the Silence", supported by a worldwide UNESCO network of 7,000 Associated Schools and designed to encourage education specialists to incorporate this tragedy into formal and non-formal curricula;
- a programme on the contribution of African diaspora and the promotion of living cultures and artistic and spiritual expressions of interactions resulting from slave trade and slavery;

- a programme on the collection and preservation of the written archives and oral traditions relating to slave trade; and
- a programme on the identification and preservation of tangible and intangible heritage related to slave trade and slavery, in particular, on the promotion of cultural tourism around these itineraries of memory.

One of the priorities of the Slave Route Project was to establish and promote thematic networks of institutions and specialists, which constitute the matrix of the project and provide inputs to scientific research and to education and teaching on the slave trade.

The project raised strong interest in the various countries affected by slave trade particularly among Afro-descent populations around the world. It favoured the launching of awareness-raising campaigns, the increase of research, the production of various material and the mobilisation of marginalized Afro-descent populations for their rights. By placing the issue of slave trade and slavery at the global level, the Project has helped to overcome the reluctance and opposition of some national authorities to open this tragic page of their history. In other words, by imposing slave trade as an international issue, UNESCO Slave Route Project has contributed to "de-racialize" this tragedy and present it as a tragedy of the whole humanity. It has helped the international community to understand that the remembrance of slave trade is not intended to resurface a painful and traumatic past with the aim of producing guilt, but instead, it is intended to facilitate a better understanding of the today's world in order to best prepare the multicultural and multiethnic societies of tomorrow.

Achievements of the Project

One of the main achievements of the Slave Route Project was its contribution to the recognition of slave trade and slavery as "*crimes against humanity*" at the Durban World Conference against Racism in 2001. This Conference was a crucial historical moment for all those who were fighting against the silence over slave trade and against the falsification of history. The recognition of slavery as a crime against humanity opened new perspectives for the struggle of Afro-descents for their rights. Another important strategic choice of the Project was to make 2004, "*The International Year to Commemorate the Struggle Against Slavery and Its Abolition.*"

The celebration of this International Year was a golden occasion for various actors from different continents to launch innovative events and activities in order to pay tribute to all those who resisted against slavery and to claim the implementation of the Durban Conference's Declaration and Plan of Action. This commemoration raised huge expectations and hopes that UNESCO alone could not unfortunately respond.

To mark this International Year, the UNESCO Slave Route Project in close cooperation with the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, of the New York

Public Library, created a traveling exhibition entitled, "Lest We Forget: The Triumph Over Slavery."

The Project has established a collection entitled, "Memory of Peoples – the Slave Route" so as to publish the results of research initiated by the UNESCO and by the various partner research networks. These publications also serve to publicize the debates between specialists on issues relating to slave trade and their consequences. Some fifteen works have been published in this way.

The Project publishes a Newsletter, which has devoted a special issue to the celebration of the International Year to Commemorate the Struggle Against Slavery and its Abolition.

Structure of the Project

The *Slave Route Project* is an intersectoral and transdisciplinary UNESCO Project involving all of the Organization's fields of competence.

Coordinated by the Intercultural Dialogue Section, the project is supported by the following bodies:

International Scientific Committee: The Committee is actually being restructured in order to make it more operational. The new Committee will be composed of 20 members appointed by the Director-General of UNESCO on the basis of their personal qualifications.

The Committee's task is to ensure an objective and, if possible, consensual approach to *Slave Route* issues and to advise the UNESCO on the Project's main lines of emphasis.

The Committee, which is multidisciplinary and multicultural, includes experts from various scientific fields and from various regions of the world (Africa, the Americas, the Caribbean, Europe, Asia, the Indian Ocean and the Arab-Muslim world).

National Committees: National Committees have been established in several countries to mobilize and to raise the necessary awareness at the national level, promote debate and help build a consensus on the issue.

National committees are generally composed of experts in the field of slave trade and slavery, representatives of the UNESCO National Commissions, civil society and public institutions and ministries most concerned.

"Slave Route Associated Project" Label

In addition to its own activities, the Project has created a label called, "*Project Supported by the Slave Route*", in order to promote the efforts of other partners and to favour initiatives contributing to the achievement of the project's aims.

The Label is intended to increase the international recognition, dissemination and promotion and to facilitate exchanges of experience and cooperation with concerned partners.

The New Orientations of the Project

After ten years of existence, the Project was evaluated by an external audit, which has highlighted its considerable impact in the different regions of the world and the great hopes and expectations it has aroused. In the light of the conclusions of this evaluation, a new strategy has been drawn for the future years. The new orientations for the second phase of the project include :

- extending and strengthening the project's activities in regions that have so far received little coverage, such as the Indian Ocean, Asia, the Arab-Islamic world and the Andes region of Latin America; and
- developing little explored topics, such as the long-term consequences of slave trade and slavery, and transfer of knowledge, know-how and techniques from Africa to the rest of the world, and the struggle against racial prejudice and racisms inherited from this historical tragedy.

The Slave Route Project is committed to support the network of researchers that emerged from the Goa Conference and this publication of its proceedings is an illustration of this commitment.

2

The African Diaspora in Asia

Gwyn Campbell

Introduction

This article has examined the origin and development of African migration to Asia, and the debate over the existence of an Afro-Asian diaspora. An African is here defined as anyone born or settled for life in Africa or its islands. Thus, Black is not synonymous with African which includes the fairer skinned North Africans and highland Malagasy.

Origins of an African Presence in Asia

An overwhelming assumption is that the African presence in Asia, as in the Americas, resulted from slave trade (Harris 1971; Alpers 1997:62-3, 2000: 83-99; Bhattacharya 1970: 579-82; Ali 1996; Akyeampong 2000: 183-216). While Afro-centric claims of a significant "free" African migration to the Americas prior to the rise of the Atlantic slave system have been highly disputed (van Sertima 1992), it is certain that in the Asian world a significant free African migration occurred, both prior to and coterminous with the slave trade (For the Graeco-Roman world, see, Snowden 1976: 11-36). The current consensus is that modern humankind emerged in Africa about 100,000 years ago. Initial migrations were limited to the Levant until new technologies, developed 50,000 to 40,000 years ago, enabled population expansion and migration, possibly first through environmentally similar tropical and subtropical areas across South Asia, through Sundaland and New Guinea to Australia, with later dispersals from Western Asia to Europe, Northern Eurasia and the Americas (Klein 2001: 1-16; Young and Bettinger 1995: 89-92).[1] Some authors consider that Negroid peoples were the original inhabitants of the Persian Gulf and Makrani littoral, regions on the path of the postulated early migration route out of Africa.[2] Archaeological research indicates further Afro-Asian contact from between seven and four million B.C. (Faltovich 1997: 479-84; Chami 2002: 21-37) and, in the millennium spanning the B.C./A.D (see, p. 512) changeover, there occurred several significant human migrations out of Africa, which were instrumental in forging the Malagasy, possibly the largest present-day Afro-Asian community, but almost completely ignored in the diaspora literature.[3] Dominated by Austronesian culture, Madagascar was classified as a part of Asia-Pacific until the 1970s when its African heritage was first recognised.[4] DNA analyses confirm that the original settlers in the first millennium A.D., or their forebears, came from Austronesian and East Africa (Jenkins *et al* 1996; 2000). Early Portuguese reports of large Bantu-speaking (probably Swahili) communities in West Madagascar have led some authorities to consider that the African components comprised free migrants, Raymond Kent advancing the theory that Africans founded the Sakalava kingdoms that dominated the island in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1970; 1979: 135-7).

There were also population movements from North Africa into the Near and Middle East. By the Graeco-Roman era, Nubian mercenaries were eagerly sought as soldiers by East Mediterranean powers (Snowden 1976: 11-36). In addition, by 500 A.D., Ethiopians from Aksum, which then dominated the Red Sea region, were sailing to, and probably establishing mercantile communities in ports as far East as Sri Lanka (Ali 1996: 19). In 523 A.D., Aksum invaded Yemen which Ethiopians governed until 575 A.D. They and their descendants were joined by other Aksumites, who were merchants and mercenaries (Lewis 1976:38; Irwin 1977: 40-1, 44,60). Ethiopians were also recruited by early Muslim armies (Ross 1994: 23). The advance of Islam into large tracts of Africa led to the observation of the *hadj* by many African Muslims, some of whom travelled throughout Islamic Asia and beyond. Some settled temporarily. For instance, Ibn Battuta, from Tangiers lived for 18 months (1343-44) performing Islamic offices in the Maldives where he took a number of local wives (Bhargava 1990: 28-30). Some settled for long periods or permanently abroad; for example, there are reports of Afro-Asian communities established by African mariners and fakirs (Mirzai 2002: 232; Whitehead 2000). Certainly by 1500, the major ports of the Western Indian Ocean contained African merchant communities – a reflection of the importance of the latter in Asian maritime trade. One of the most famous groups was the Karîmî merchants from Egypt (Alexandria) who had agents established in Arabia, the Persian Gulf and India (Serjeant 1988: 68-71). Most foreign traders in Aden hailed from Ethiopia and Somalia, some of whom were of "Black African" origin. According to Geneviève Bouchon, Calicut in India possessed communities of "East African" and Maghrebian merchants who, unlike the Karîmî, remained after the imposition of Portuguese domination (Bouchon 1988: 53-6; also, Serjeant 1988: 65, 68).

There is little to indicate a sharp reduction in free African involvement in the Asian world from 1500, while the growth of the international economy in the nineteenth century was accompanied by a dramatic rise in the number of Africans, free and slave, working on coastal and ocean-going vessels in the Asian world (Ewald 2000). There is, for instance, an intriguing report of an African trading community near Belgaum, in southern India (Whitehead 2000). There also occurred flows of largely temporary free African migrant labour to Asian regions. Also, African recruits served in European imperial forces in various parts of Asia from the late nineteenth century (Alpers 2000: 93; Akyeampong 2000: 200).

African Slaves in Asia

Despite evidence of considerable free African migration to Asia, the literature on Afro-Asian communities, shaped by debates about Afro-Americans, focuses on the role of

African slaves. It is traditionally assumed that Africa's role in international trade was as an exporter of raw materials (gold, ivory) and unskilled labour (slaves) in return for manufactured goods (Middle Eastern and Chinese pottery, Indian cloth). This inequitable exchange led to what some have termed a "proto-colonial" system that established the basis for the "underdevelopment" of the African continent and the formation of the Afro-Asian diaspora (Sutton 1972: 11; Harris 1971; Biermann and Campbell 1989: 19-20). The Afro-Asian diaspora, like the Jewish and Armenian diasporas, comprised a victim disapora as opposed to the other four main types of diaspora – trade, labour, imperial and cultural (Basu 2002). Graham Irwin described it as "the enforced expatriation over many centuries of millions of Africans from their homeland" (Irwin 1977: ix). Unlike free migration, the traffic in slaves was uni-directional and "in the countries to which they were taken they constituted for centuries the most oppressed and exploited element in society" (Irwin 1977: ix; also, Shepperson 1976: 1-10).

African slave exports to Asia started in the last millennia B.C. and continued well into the twentieth century, with notable spurts in centuries of commercial expansion around the B.C. (see, p. 4) A.D. changeover, during the Middle Ages, and with the rise of the international economy in the nineteenth century when East African slave exports, mostly to "Asian" markets, may have reached 1.5 million. It is probable that the cumulative number of African slaves to Asian markets over the centuries well exceeded the 10 to 12 million landed in the Americas (Austen 1989: 21-44; Campbell 2004b: vii-xxxii; 2005: 14-16).

Markets

Middle East

Probably the earliest and certainly the greatest overall market for African slaves was the Middle East-Persian Gulf region where slavery had emerged by at least the third millennium B.C. (Campbell 2004b: xiii). Most slaves were initially "produced" locally, through military expansion associated with state-building. However, recourse to foreign slaves became increasingly frequent with burgeoning demand for labour due to sustained economic development, often associated with irrigated agriculture, and the establishment of military empires (Goody 1980: 21-2; Campbell 2004b: vii-xxxii). Also, from the seventh century A.D., non-Muslim foreigners were the only legitimate source of slaves in Islamic societies (Brunschvig 1999).

Overall, probably, most slaves imported into the Middle East originated in Africa (Lewis 1990: 13). Until the late first millennium A.D. the largest flow of foreign slaves to the Middle East was from Georgia (Circassians) and Central Asia (Hunwick 1978: 23-4; Klein 2001), although some African slaves entered the Middle East from Nubia via Egypt from pharaonic times (Ewald 1998b: 65; Straus 1998: 282). Other sources of African slave supply to the Middle East by the early centuries A.D. included Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia (Harris 1971: 3,11; Hirth 1909-10: 49; Huntingford 1980: 23-4; Duyvendak 1949: 8). The African slave trade accelerated as a result of the commercial expansion of Aksum (c.100-1000 A.D.) that by the seventh century was exporting significant numbers of slaves procured chiefly from its southern frontiers in the form of captives and tribute, to Egypt via the Nile Valley, via the port of Zeila to the major slave market of Zebîd in Yemen, from where they were distributed to Arabia and the Persian Gulf (Fernyhough 1986: 105-06; Brunschvig 1999; Ewald 1998b: 65) Slaves were also obtained directly from Somalia by Arab slave raiders and by Persian merchants to whom Somalians sold their fellow countrymen and women, predominantly kidnap victims (Duyvenduk 1949: 13; Allen 1993:26). Under the Caliphate, West Africans were also imported into the Gulf (Trimingham 1964: 2-3). By the ninth century, a significant durable market for African slaves had emerged in the Middle East (Chaudhuri n.d.; Eaton 1993: 1-36; Brunschvig 1999).[5]

African slave imports increased again from the tenth to thirteenth centuries when the Islamic trading empire was at its height. Many slaves entered the Muslim heartland (and left there for other destinations) in the company of *hadj* African Muslim pilgrims to Mecca and Medina (Lewis 1990: 18). Also, the Islamic trading frontier embraced and stimulated, for the first time, significant exports of slaves from East Africa as far South as Sofala (Hunwick 1978; Verin 1999), in the process helping to establish the economic basis for the Swahili civilisation. Derek Nurse and Thomas Spears claim that by the eleventh century Mogadishu was the major entrepôt for this trade, but was replaced in the fourteenth century by Kilwa, a major outlet for slaves from interior Tanzania (Nurse and Spear 1985: 3; Morton 1998: 265). According to Fred Morton, slave exports from East Africa before 1500 A.D. ranged from 200 to 1,000 per annum (Morton 1998: 265; Allen 1993: 66, 73-4). However, his estimates are influenced by the assertion that the Zanj rebels in Iraq in the later ninth century were East Africans – a subject of considerable dispute as some scholars argue that the revolt embraced a large number of "free" men, Persians as well as Bedouin and "marsh" Arabs, and that most African slave rebels were from Northeast Africa (Fisher 1989: 382; Hunwick 1978). Similarly contentious are James Allen's claims that East African slave exports declined sharply after the suppression of the Zanj revolt (Allen 1993: 74).

African slave exports to the Middle East appear to have experienced a further boom from the close of the fifteenth century, most of them again flowing from Ethiopia and from sub-Saharan Africa via the Nile Valley and Egypt. Zeila and Berbera on the African side of the Red Sea and Zebîd and Aden on the Arabian side of the Gulf of Aden were the major marts (Pires 1944: 14; Badger 1863: 81). In 1503, di Varthema (1863: 86) noted that Zeila was a great centre for "Ethiopian" slaves exported to Persia, Yemen, Mecca, Cairo and India (Pires 1944: 14). Amir ibn Abd el-Wahhâb, the Sultan of

Arabia Felix (Yemen) was reported to have possessed 16,000 slaves in 1503 (di Varthema 1863). Under Ottoman Egypt (1517-1798), annual African slave imports into the Muslim world increased from possibly 8,000 in the sixteenth century to about 10,000 to 12,000 by the early nineteenth century. Fifty to sixty-eight per cent of these passed through the slave mart of Cairo but it is not known how many of these subsequently entered Asian markets (Aksan 1998: 285). East African slaves in this period included Malagasy, shipped by locally based Swahili and Indian traders (Grandidier 1908: 324; 1928: 298, 302-03).

The African slave trade to the Middle East peaked in the nineteenth century. There is debate as to why some authors consider that by this time, traditional sources of White slaves had radically decreased, so demand for Africans increased (Lewis 1990: 12-13; Brunschvig 1999). Joseph Harris specifies that this demand concentrated on East Africa because of increasing European control of traditional slave markets in Northeast Africa (Harris 1971). However, Abdul Sheriff argues that the nineteenth century demand for African slaves in the Middle East was generally low as few sectors there experienced economic development. This was reflected by the relocation of the Omani ruling elite to East Africa where the slave trade fed its Zanzibar and Pemba plantations, and only in part Persian Gulf markets (Sheriff 2005: 94-102; also 1987). Higher estimates for the maritime slave trade from East Africa put at over two million the number of slaves exported between 1830 and 1873, when slave shipments from Zanzibar were banned. If mortality through slave raiding and losses en-route to the coast is taken into account, the total loss of East African manpower could have been over 20 million (Campbell 2005a). Ralph Austen's revised estimates indicate 800,000 slaves exported from East Africa to Islamic countries to the North in the nineteenth century, 300,000 across the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden, and the rest from the Swahili coast (Austen 1989: 21-44).

The Middle East was drawn into the British informal empire with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War. However, abolitionist pressure was muted, due from the 1930s to Britain's wish to safeguard the region's oil resources. Indeed, the British oil company at Abu Dhabi on the Trucial coast and the modern day Gulf Emirates, knowingly employed slaves as late as the early 1950s (Miers 2004). The trans-Red Sea slave traffic was maintained, notably under the guise of pilgrimages to Mecca and other holy sites, as was the slave trade across the Persian Gulf from the impoverished Makran coast of Iran. Qatar formally abolished slavery only in 1952, Saudi Arabia, which possessed a literalist regime, in 1962, and the Trucial States in 1963 (Mirzai 2005: 83-93; Klein 2005: 180-197). The trade in eunuch and female slaves from Central Africa to the Middle East has continued, via Djibouti, until recent times (Pellat 1999 a and b).

South Asia

African and other slaves were also shipped to South Asia and in lesser volume to Southeast Asia and China. Some authors consider that this trade started early and was direct. Michael Mollat (1971: 302-03) speculates that from at least the sixth century BC Indian merchants from the western Deccan had settled in East Africa from where they shipped African slaves to India. There were certainly direct Africa-India links in the Graeco-Roman era when Shirodkar (1985: 28) claims India exported corn, rice, butter, sesame, cotton, sugar and iron (goods) directly to East Africa in exchange for slaves, tortoise shell and cinnamon. However, *the Periplus* indicates that direct India-Africa contact was with the Red Sea region rather than the Swahili coast. It also reveals that India exported slaves, indicating large domestic supplies which probably meant that slave imports were a restricted luxury (Huntingford 1980: 43-9, 53, 56). Indeed, unlike Arabia and the Persian Gulf countries after the rise of Islam, probably the majority of slaves in India and Pakistan were throughout history produced locally (Kidwai 1990).

Most African slaves to South Asian markets were shipped via the Middle East which, from at least the time of the Sassanians (224-637 A.D.) acted as a distribution centre for South and East Asia (Ricks 1998a: 70, 1998b: 833; Verin 1999; Kidwai 1990: 76-96; Spencer 1964: 2-3). The earliest indication of possible imports of African slaves into India (the Sopara, Kalyan, Chaul and Pal forts in Konkan) was in the third century A.D. They appear to have been shipped by Arab merchants via Apologos or Obollah near the Persian Gulf (Shirodkar 1985: 28). The commercial expansion associated with Islam considerably increased South Asian demand for imported slaves (Kidwai 1990: 86-88). Most were Turks, but there were also Berbers, Ethiopians, sub-Saharan Africans and Slaves (Kidwai 1990: 80-81). Michel Boivin (2000) claims that a majority of the slaves in Sind (in the present day Pakistan) were Sidi of East African origin, imported via Muscat. African slaves were also prominent in Bengal and in South India (Kidwai 1990: 84, 86). During the Middle Ages, many African slaves were imported by Muslim powers in Gujarat and the Deccan (central India) (Harris 1971: 5). According to Gervase Mathew (1963: 9), most of them originated from Tanzania, although eyewitnesses from Ibn-Battuta (1342-9) to Tomé Pires (1512-15) tended to emphasise rather the prominence of Abyssinians (Reinaud 1848: cdxvii; Pires 1944). In 1503, di Varthema (1863) noted that Zeila was a great centre for "Ethiopian" slaves, one of the major markets for which was India.

Indeed, the export of East African slaves to India probably became regular only with the establishment of the Portuguese Asian empire, with its heart in the three ports of Goa, Dui and Daman (Machado 2005: 17-32). Initially, in the hands of both Indian and Portuguese merchants, the Mozambique-Portuguese India slave trade became increasingly concentrated in the hands of Indian merchants; for example, in 1689, the Banian merchants of Diu were granted the monopoly of Mozambique-Diu trade by the Viceroy of India (Jackson 1942: 22-3). Grandidier (1908: 324; 1928: 298, 302-03) also indicates that some Malagasy slaves were shipped via the Swahili coast to North-West India.

In Sri Lanka, Portuguese settlements imported slaves from Mozambique (via India) (Alpers 1997: 75), while the Dutch and British ports in Ceylon (present day Sri Lanka) imported Malagasy and East African slaves directly and via Cape Town, Bombay and Goa (Armstrong 2000; Jayasuriya: 2002).[6] In the late seventeenth century, the Dutch in Sri Lanka possessed an African slave force of around 4,000 men (Jayasuriya 2002).

Portuguese slave imports from Mozambique peaked in the seventeenth century, then declined, to recover again from the late eighteenth century (Machado 2004). The same pattern was probably true for the rest of India, which from the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth centuries experienced a burst of African slave imports, most channelled via the Middle East-Persian Gulf (Lewis 1990: 12-13; Brunschvig 1999). Sudeshna Chakravarti (1990: 83) asserts that in the late eighteenth century, British families in Bombay employed mostly East African slaves imported by Arabs and Portuguese traders. Nevertheless, Rea argued that the slave export trade scarcely affected Zambesia until the late 18th century. He estimates that only 1,000 men a year were exported via Mozambique Island, which possessed a monopoly of foreign trade. Of these, 400 originated from Inhambane, 200 from Sofala and 300 from the rivers (Rea 1976: 17-18).

In the early nineteenth century, there was a resurgence of slave exports from the East African coast. In 1811, T. Smee, an agent of the Bombay government, estimated that some 6,000 to 10,000 slaves were shipped annually to Muscat, India and the Masacarenes from Zanzibar alone (Harris 1971: 7). As the slave trade came under increasing international scrutiny, slavers adopted indirect routes and passed slaves off as non-slave porters, sailors, domestics, and even as children or other kin.[7] Although slavery was abolished in the British empire in 1834, the measure did not extend to India, under East India Company rule, until 1843 and then, only partially. Not until 1860 was slave holding banned in India (Klein 2005: 180-197; Chatterjee 2005: 137-49). However, as possibly majority of the slaves were tied in servitude to the members of the local elite whose assistance was required to administer the colony and the colonial authorities proved reluctant to enforce rapid abolition. By contrast, the maritime trade was attacked and the African presence in the Asian world augmented by the placing of liberated African slaves, notably the "Prize Negroes" seized by the British navy aboard slave dhows, in various regions and ports under British rule – Aden (where 2,200 were landed between 1865 and 1870) (Ewald 2000), Cape Town, the Seychelles and Mauritius, Surat and Bombay (1830s to 1875) (Shroff 2002). Indeed, the British authorities were possibly the first to identify and segregate these and others of "African" descent as a distinct ethnic category (Mampilly 2001). It would appear that most "Prize Negroes" in India were taken by local elites as domestic servants, although some served in the British military or police force (Shroff 2002). A proportion settled in and around Bombay (where in 1864 more than half the reported 2,000 strong African community were engaged as sailors or in other types of maritime activity such as coal trimmers, firemen, or dock workers) (Ewald 2000), but others migrated to Hyderabad where, in 1863, the Nizam established an African Cavalry Guard for which he recruited Africans locally and in Arabia (Harris 1971: 102-03). Many Makrani males also served aboard European steamers, like other ex-slaves of African origin, gaining a reputation as stokers and firemen (Baluchistan). Such maritime workers were termed "Seedies" by the British (Ewald 2000).[8]

Southeast and Far East Asia

The ancient civilisations of Southeast Asia and China, like those of the Middle East and South Asia, probably obtained most of their slaves regionally from the military operations associated with the state and empire-building (Coedes 1966: 60). Slaves imported from the West were a rare luxury. As early as the second century A.D., slave jugglers from Alexandria were possibly imported into China. Black slaves, known as 'K'un-lun, were imported reputedly from the fourth to eighteenth centuries A.D. (Worden and Ward 1998: 850). J.C.van Leur contends that the crews of ships engaged in the long distance maritime trade of the Indian Ocean, including Indonesian vessels, during the first century A.D. were frequently composed of African Blacks, some of whom might have been sold for their "maritime" skills (van Leur 1955: 99). Paul Hermann asserts that by the late ninth century, East African slaves joined the list of most important imports into China (Hermann 1954: 313). However, any early imports must have been restricted to ports, as the arrival at the court of the Tang emperor in 976 of a Negro slave in the suite of an Arab envoy caused a sensation (Filesi 1972; Harris 1971; Wallenstein 1998: 177).

From the tenth century, references to African slaves in China became more frequent. Some shipments were considerable: In 1382, the Javanese court sent 101 Negro slaves as tribute to the Chinese emperor (Irwin 1977: 168). The conventional view is that most African slaves reaching Southeast and East Asia were shipped via the Middle East and Indonesia where, in the 1400s, Malagasy and East African slaves were imported into Aceh in Indonesia by Bengali traders and from the Maldives to Melaka by Banten merchants (Hunwick 1999: 31; Verin 1999; Worden and Ward 1998: 850). The Chinese from the twelfth to the early fifteenth centuries made great navigational advances, built up vast navies and experimented with paddle-wheel boats, galleys and rams. It is very possible that these were manned by slaves (Lo 1955: 500). Certainly 'K'un-lun were employed in Chinese ports as divers to chalk the seams of boats with oakum because of their strength and ability to keep their eyes open underwater (Duyvendak 1949: 24; Filesi 1972: 22; Irwin 1977: 171).

The export of Malagasy and East African slaves to Southeast and East Asia increased from the sixteenth century due to demand from European enclaves, notably Portuguese settlements in Macao and Japan, and Dutch forts in Indonesia; in 1694 there were about 25,000 slaves – of many different origins - in Batavia alone (Goor 1998: 196; Charavarti 1997: 81, 85) limited due to the availability of slaves within the region (the hill "tribes" of Southeast Asia and the islands) and slave mortality on long-distance routes. For instance, of the 278 Malagasy slaves shipped to Batavia on one ship in 1684, only 108 survived the voyage (Arasaratnam 1995: 200).

Madagascar and the Mascarenes

Madagascar and the Mascarenes form exceptions in that they started importing "African" slaves in significant numbers relatively late, the Mascarenes from the mid eighteenth and Madagascar from the 1820s. Moreover, many slaves to Mauritius were Malagasy; genetically "Afro-Asian", they ensured that the population of the islands became steadily more "Asian", a process accelerated by the mass immigration of Indians (notably 450,000 contract workers) and Chinese during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Toussaint 1971: 92).[9]

Also, the demand from the French islands and Madagascar may have promoted East African slave exports more than Middle Eastern and Swahili island market (Allen 2001: 91-116; Campbell 1988: 463-86). Conventional assumptions that the 1820 Britanno-Merina Treaty and the Moresby Treaty of 1822 ended the slave trade in waters South of Cape Delgado had long been discredited. Slaves were exported to the Mascarenes, neighbouring French islands and, increasingly from the 1820s, to Madagascar from traditional sources on the Swahili coast, and from Mozambique where most slaves originated from hinterland sources around the Great Lakes, notably the Makua in the Malawi region (Campbell 1989a: 166-93). Not only did this tap new markets and greatly expand a traditionally small slave export trade from Mozambique, there is evidence that with a considerable portion of the slave traffic, formerly channelled through Zanzibar to Muslim markets in the North, was diverted into this "southern" trade from 1973 (Campbell 1989b: 1-27).

My previous estimates give a possible maximum slave imports into Imerina from East Africa of around 300,000 slaves from 1821 to 1895 and slave exports from Madagascar to the Mascarenes from 1801 to 1820 of 35,800 - roughly half the figure reached by Pier Larson. I also estimate that over 400,000 East Africans entered the French islands, many via Madagascar, over the period 1801-95, most under the guise of contract labour, of which some 145,500 were landed in the period 1801-30. In his turn, Richard Allen considers that some 165,000 to 173,000 slaves, mostly East African and Malagasy, were imported into the Mascarenes alone between 1800 and 1848 (Campbell 1989b: 1-27; Larsen 2000: 81). Upon emancipation, an overwhelming majority of the ex-slaves remained in Mauritius forming scattered communities distinct from Indian, Chinese and European segments of the population.

Their separateness was in some cases accentuated by their physiognomic distinctiveness. For example, in Oman, at the start of the twentieth century, there existed about 10,000 "Bayasirah", a low status group probably of ex-slave descent on the maternal side (Sheriff 2005: 94-102) and there still exist some visually identifiable ex-slave communities of African origin, as in Southern Iran and India (Mirzai 2002: 229-46; Basu 2002: 936-37). The most visible such community in India is the Sidi, concentrated in Gujarat (with a notable predominance in the Gir forest villages of Jambar, Sirwan, Moruka and Akolbadi in the Junagadh district), (Bhattacharya 1970: 579) with smaller communities in Maharashtra, Karnataka (Western Ghat forests of North Kanara), Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Diu (Basu 2002; Ali 1996: 223; Vijaykumar *et al* 1987: 98; Prashad 2000: 198; Cooper 1999; Obeng 2000). Estimates of the Sidi population vary considerably, most falling in the range 14,000 to 30,000, while Helene Basu (2002) considers Afro-Indians to number 64,000 (30,000 in Sind, 10,000 in Gujarat, 12,000 in Hyderabad and 12,000 in Karanataka).

Other Afro-Asian communities, past and present, may be detected from geographical place names. Thus, in Iran, the chief living areas for Africans in Bandar 'Abbâs (which in the nineteenth century took approximately 25 per cent of African slave imports) (Mirzai 2002: 234) in 1898 were called the "Blacks' Quarter", *Manbar-i Sîyâhân* ("Blacks' pulpit") and *Pusht-i Shahr* ("Behind the city"), while originally African settlements were indicated by the names *Zanjiabad* ("village built by the Africans"), Deh-Zanjian ("village of Africans") and, in Baluchistan, *Gala-Zanjian* ("castle of Africans") (Harris 1971: 240). Similarly, *Kapiri Gama* ("Kaffir village") in Puttalama, Sri Lanka, still houses an Afro-Sinhalese community (Jayasuriya 2002).

Again, the area of Hyderabad known as *Siddi Risala* ("African Regiment") formed the living quarters of the Africans recruited during the second half of the nineteenth century into the Nizam of Hyderabad's African Cavalry Guard, and their descendants, 2,000 strong in the early 1970s, still live there (Harris 1971:103, 111, 124). Earlier African communities in the region are indicated by the place names *Siddipet* ("African market") and *Habshi Guda* ("African village") (Harris 1971: 114). Kaniz (Persian for "slave girl") is a small town near Anand, in northern Gujarat, once a major slave barracoon (Bhattacharya 1970: 579).

Indications of African settlement are also given by historical records. Thus, from 1616-c.1760, African Siddi seamen maintained control over the West Indian Coast from the island of Janjira (45 miles South of Bombay) where according to the 1872 census 15 per cent of the population of 1,700 had been registered as Siddis (Harris

1971: 80-82). Fieldwork carried out in 1965 has also revealed that most of the population of Dashtyârî and Turshâb in Baluchistan consisted of Afro-Iranians, of East African origin (Mirzai 2002: 238-39, 336-37).

Ethnic names are also an indication. Thus, the term *Siddi* or *Hubshi* reveals groups of African descent in India (Vijaykumar *et al* 1987: 98). Similarly, *Kaffir* in Sri Lanka reveals the only extant Afro-Sinhalese community, the Sirambiadiya, comprising 50 odd families, who live near Puttalama in the North-Western Province (Jayasuriya 2002).

Diaspora Consciousness

An examination of the history of the Afro-Asian communities raises several questions about the existence of an Afro-Asian diaspora. Current scholarly interest in such a diaspora is largely an extension of the huge body of research and literature on the Afro-American diaspora. However, rarely do scholars of Afro-Asian communities define what they mean by an Afro-Asian diaspora. The literature on the Afro-American experience highlights key characteristics in the making of a diaspora. These include displacement from an original homeland to two or more peripheral or foreign regions, where a "relatively stable community in exile" (Wilson 1997: 118) was formed, an unwillingness of the locally dominant society to accept and assimilate such "migrants" or their descendants, a consequent alienation and insulation from the dominant society, an awareness amongst the "migrant" community of a common homeland and heritage, backed by a memory, real or imagined, of that homeland and of the injustice of their removal from it, a conscious effort to maintain links with and contribute to the betterment of life in the homeland, and a desire to ultimately return to re-settle in that homeland (Okpewho 1999; Akyeampong 2000: 184-6; Hine and Mcleod 1999, Thompson 2000; See, also, Matsuoka and Sorenson 2001; Basu 2002).

Critical to the entire process is the development of a diasporic "consciousness", which, in turn, requires the existence of a geographically concentrated group, sharing common living and working conditions that are markedly different from the politically dominant group, whose interests, defined in opposition to the interests of the dominant group, are articulated by a diasporic leadership. It is clear from an examination of their history that the preconditions for an Afro-Asian diasporic consciousness have never existed in most communities of African descent in Asia.

The Homeland

An accepted diasporic characteristic is a dispersal from a specific geographical centre of origin. However, no such centre existed (Akyeampong 2004: 184-85). The concept of an affinity to a continent called Africa was virtually non-existent prior to the mid-twentieth century. African migrants to Asia originated from many different regions of

Africa, with different languages, cultures, religious beliefs and values (Alpers 2000: 85). Such differences agitated against the emergence of the consciousness of a common "African" origin. The names by which slaves were known do not necessarily indicate their origins, as they were labelled by their owners for convenience sake. Scholars have tended to assume that the terms applied to Afro-Asian communities are indications of precise origins (e.g. Zanj / Sidi = Swahili Coat and hinterland; Habshi = Ethiopia; Kunlun = African), but these terms were applied by the "host" communities and, as with similar terms for communities of foreign origin in other countries, tend to be generic.[10] For example, the Sidi Hindus of Karnataka possess a low incidence of the sickle cell trait (6 per cent), possibly indicating that few of their African forebears originated from the East African coastal region (Vijaykumar *et al* 1987: 18-19).

Terms varied over time, but "Zanj" was applied in a generic sense to indicate someone from the "uninhabitable" regions of sub-Saharan Africa, while "Ethiopian" often referred to any dark-skinned person, whether African or Asian (Lewis 1976: 37; Ross 1994: 12-13; Irwin 1977: 16). Again, Kunlun was applied both specifically to Pemba, on the East African coast, and generally to anyone with a dark skin notably from Africa, Papua New Guinea or Melanesia (Filesi 1972: 21; Irwin 1977: 169-72). They cannot be relied upon for a precise indication of origin. African migrants to Asia came from a large number of localities situated variously in West, North, Central and East Africa and the islands, and represented widely varying ethnicities and cultures (Trimingham 1964: 2-3; Hunwick 1978; Verin 1999). Even on Mauritus, one of the few regions of the Asian world with an American plantation style slavery and a large importation of African slaves, the term "Mozambique" was a term employed by slave-owners to cover at least thirteen different ethnicities from different parts of southeastern Africa (Alpers 1999: 1-2).

Moreover, save in places of recent and concentrated African settlement, such as Hyderabad, few Afro-Asian communities today have any clear idea of their African origins (Harris 1971; Bhattacharya 1970: 579-82). In other cases, there is a suspicion of fabricated tales of origin, some relating to "voluntary" rather than forced migration. In 1969, D. E. Hettiaratchi noted that one prominent family in the Kaffir village of Kappiri Gama in Puttalma, Sri Lanka, reported that they had left their homeland of Madagascar as a regiment during the Boer War (Jayasuriya 2002). There exists no record of this in Madagascar which, at the time of the Boer War was under a protectionist French administration that Britain recognised. Such origins are, therefore, highly improbable.

In part, this may have been derived from unpleasant memories of "home". One aspect of the "diasporic" consciousness rarely explored in the literature is the issue of a "victim" diaspora. In the literature on the Black American diaspora, this relies chiefly upon the forced migration from the homeland, exploitation arising from mining or plantation slavery, and the Black-White divide that maintained the former in a position of rank inferiority in all socio-economic categories. However, the literature rarely analyses the role of Africans in enslaving and selling their own kind, from warrior kings taking captives in military campaigns to Swahili trader slave-raiders, to parents selling their own children in times of extreme dearth. What sense does it make to cultivate an attachment to "Africa" and "Africans" if the latter were responsible for one's enslavement and "enforced exile"?

Certainly, slaves exported to Asia, as to the Americas, underwent dislocation and suffering at the points of enslavement, subsequent sale, and travel (to the coast and overseas). Malagasy slaves destined for the Mascarene plantations were commonly terrified, believing that they were going to be eaten by Whites (Griffiths 1840: 26; for comparative material, see, Pierson 1977: 147-59). While it was commented in 1788 that Mozambican slaves preferred suicide to being exported (Rea 1976: 117-18). Slave mortality was high. In addition to suicides, slaves often had no immunity to local diseases (although the reverse was true for Madagascar which possessed a more isolated disease-free environment than mainland Africa, and to which African slaves brought diseases such as cholera in the nineteenth century) (Lewis 1990: 10; Campbell 1991: 415-45). For instance, approximately 25 per cent of the African male slaves imported into Sri Lanka in 1817 died within the first year (Jayasuriya 2002). In some regions, such as imperial Madagascar, low status "foreigners" such as slaves were also the most suspect in witchcraft cases, consequently suffering high mortality. It is probable that where the progeny of slave marriages was the property of the owner (or in the case of two masters - the female slave's owner), some slaves chose to have few or no children (Hunwick 1978: 22; Mirzai 2002: 237; see, Campbell 1996: 5-38)

Conventional literature on slavery assumes that violence was universally employed in order to extract labour from slaves. In the Asian world, violence or the threat of violence could induce slaves to work, but was rarely employed outside European-managed plantations where economies of scale made higher levels of coercion profitable. This is not to deny that in some places, and at certain times, harsh working conditions existed and could provoke revolt, suicide and attempts to curtail reproduction; low birth rates, characteristic of the Mauritian slave plantations, may have marked even milder slave regimes, as in the Gulf.[11] However, slaves represented a capital asset the value of which was worth maintaining or even enhancing. Indeed, maximum slave productivity could only be achieved through acknowledging the essential humanity of slaves (Klein 2001: 11-12; Meillassoux n.d.: 9-10).

Diaspora

Nevertheless, the overwhelming body of Africans in Asia demonstrated few if any characteristic of a diaspora. First, African slaves in the Asian world, unlike those in the Americas, were dispersed throughout a wide variety of both indigenous and European slave-owning contexts, from the Middle East and Persian Gulf to South Asia, the Indian Ocean islands, Southeast Asia and the Far East (Hunwick 1978: 31; Verin 1999; Charkravarti 1997: 81, 85; Boomgaard 2004: ch.7; Jayasuriya 2002; Bhargava 1990: 30). The Asian slave trade started at least 4,000 years ago, was multidirectional, involved overland and maritime routes and changed over time (Goody 1980: 18). Unlike the Atlantic system, slaves in Asia rarely formed a specialist cargo, usually being shipped in small groups forming a supplement to other commodities. Slaves certainly comprised between 20 and 30 per cent of the population of many IOW societies (rising to 50 per cent and over in Indonesian ports). However, as slaves in Asian countries were of many different ethnic and geographical origins, it is uncertain how many of these were of African origin (Reid 1983: 12-29; Campbell 1988: 474-75). So, unlike the Americas, slave was never equated with Black, or slave-owner with Christian/European/White.

There is a general consensus that in comparison to Afro-American communities, the Afro-Asian presence is difficult to identify. The most visible Afro-Asians are descendants of the nineteenth and twentieth century slave communities. It is often assumed that slaves, following abolition, acceded to full citizenship. But, they were the exception. Legal "freedom" rarely if ever conferred full and equal citizenship. In exceptional cases, local society turned against them. It would appear that following abolition in Sri Lanka, Kandyans killed 6,000 "Kaffirs" – the term used in Sri Lanka for those of African origin/ancestry (Jayasuriya 2002). Most ex-slaves were incorporated as inferior members of the host society or retained in positions of hereditary servitude. This was in part due to their weak economic position. Unlike many ex-slave holders, few received compensation when slavery was dismantled, or assistance in adjusting to a post-slave economy. Of the few who were offered passage to their region of origin, most found re-integration difficult (Warren 2004: ch. 9). The few trusted *khanazah* advisers of the Nizam of Hyderabad, for whom he provided a trust fund, formed an exception. Other Hyderabad Africans, like most ex-slaves elsewhere in the IOW, formed distinct communities characterised by geographically separate housing, low social status, and menial if not servile occupations. Emancipation released large numbers of ex-slaves onto the local labour market, which favoured the employer. Subject to the harsh laws of supply and demand, many failed to secure wage labour. Some, like the Afro-Iranians of Sîrîk, and the Sidis of the Gir forest in Gujarat, and the Western Ghat forests (Harris 1971: 103, 113-14; Mirzai 2002: 336-37; Bhattacharya 1970: 579-82; Vijayakumar *et al* 1987: 98; Boivin 2000) or the ex-slave Creoles of Mauritius, became thoroughly marginalized, eking out a precarious existence, highly vulnerable to economic downturns and to human and natural disasters. Indeed, for many, "liberty" granted less material security than "slavery" (Benoit. n.d.).

Probably, a majority of the ex-slaves remained attached to their ex-owner's household where they were at least guaranteed the basics of life (Campbell 2005a;

Miers 2005; Kopytoff and Miers 1977: 28-29). Under Islam, the freed male slave and his male descendants remained attached in a form of clientship to the former slave owners (Brunschvig 1999). In such cases, it is difficult to ascertain the precise changes that occurred in the relationship with the ex-master, or in the circumstances of the ex-slave's life. Local religious beliefs sometimes assisted integration, as is illustrated by the history of popular Islamic movements in East Africa. However, the religious ideology could also obstruct integration. For example, recent research in highland Madagascar has revealed the perpetuation of unpaid labour by ex-slaves and their descendants for the ex-slave holding families due largely to local systems of ancestral belief and practice (Evers and Spindler 1995: 137-56). Again, ex-slaves recruited into the Nizam of Hyderabad's African Cavalry force, were resented by local Indians for their privileged position, which as Muslims they lost during the post independence religious disputes of 1947-48 when with most of their co-religionists, they fled the state (Harris 1971: 113).

In almost all cases, ex-slaves continued to be stigmatised. Harris considers that colour prejudice is ingrained in Hindu traditions, and was reinforced by the racial attitudes of Europeans and by the association of African and slave (Harris 1971: 115-19). In European colonies, the racial and cultural codes of the colonisers often accentuated the social distance between ex-slaves and others. The Dutch and British, in particular, formed a ruling White "caste". While colonisers were to some degree willing to mix with local elites, they generally shrank from any contact with ex-slaves who often possessed a noticeably darker skin colour and whom they categorised as poorly educated and culturally impoverished people (Reid 1983: 18).

Igor Kopytoff and Suzanne Miers stress that large complex societies were more likely to institutionalise inter-generational slave status and slave stigma than simpler decentralised polities (1977: 42). In Imperial Madagascar, India and South China, the outsider status of ex-slaves was institutionalised in structures that, in theory at least, ensured them a permanent and hereditary "outcaste" status. The essence of this was not occupation but a ritual distinction between "purity" and "pollution" that was maintained into the post-abolition era. Frequently, the ex-slave-holding group continued to use traditional terms for "slave" when referring to ex-slaves, whom they considered "impure" and "polluting" (Evers 1995; Watson 1980b: 237-38, 246-47; Harris 1971: 116-17).

Diasporic Identity

Lovejoy (1997; 2000) posits that "a diaspora by its nature cannot exist if there is no consciousness of African origins." As every Asian society possessed both indigenous and foreign slaves drawn from many different regions and ethnic groups there was no easy identification of the slave with "Black" or "African", while internal divisions militated against the development of slave class-consciousness. The Middle East, one of the most important markets for African slaves, for whom it was the main distributive centre to other Asian markets, also imported large numbers of slaves from the Caucasus, Central Asia, Pakistan and India, as well as smaller numbers from Southeast Asia and the Far East.

Slave communities were often split along ethnic lines, in terms of which "African" had no meaning; for instance, the fierce ethnic loyalty of Bugis slaves in Sulu separated them as much from other slaves as from their owners (Warren 2004: ch. 9). In general, slaves originating from the slave holding society were considered superior in status to those procured from outside. New arrivals often raised the status of resident slaves. Thus, the mass influx of African slaves in nineteenth-century Madagascar placed the newcomers at the bottom of the slave hierarchy (Campbell 1996: 5-38). Similarly placed were recaptured fugitive slaves, whose inferior status was often visibly clarified through branding or tattoos (Reid 1983: 12). A sign of superior slave status was avoidance of menial or ritually degrading activities. Those engaged in harsh manual tasks such as mining, irrigation work, agriculture and diving were considered inferior to those employed within a household or court, or by a trader (Chauhan 1995).

Indeed, an overwhelming tendency throughout Asia, from the Middle East and Persian Gulf to India and Madagascar, is for those Afro-Asians of both free and slave descent to deny any African connection and to emphatically claim a local identity (Mirzai 2002: 89, 336-37, 241; Basu 2002; Mampilly 2001; Cooper 1999). Afro-Asians sometimes modified or changed their "slave" names in order to blend in better with the local community. Many Sidi Christians in Goa have adopted Portuguese names, to hide their origins (Ali 1996: 226), but even where the original term is retained, as with the Sidis, there is little consciousness of being "African" or of any common inter-Sidi cause beyond the purely local or (in Gujarat) regional level (Prashad 2000; Cooper 1999; Obeng 2000). Pashington Obeng (2000), while asserting that an African diasporic consciousness exists amongst Indian Sidis, produces evidence not of an "African" consciousness, but a class or caste consciousness with other "non-African" Indian groups based on a communality of economic interests (Obeng 2000). Thus, Kaffirs stress their Sri Lankan rather than African identity (Jayasuriya 2002). Again, in Madagascar, former African slaves and their descendants overwhelmingly deny their African origins. Indeed, some construct tombs in order to claim that their ancestors were Malagasy.

Edward Alpers considers that a major reason for the negation of an African identity is the lack of Western-educated elite to articulate the notion of African origins, the struggle of those with African ancestry, and the way in which African traditions have been transformed in the Asian world (Alpers 2000: 84-85). However, some of African descent did become highly educated, cultivated and literate figures, others became politically powerful – but, without exception, they expressed no sense of

"African" identity. Their interests lay rather with other influential figures, or the local (Muslim/Hindu/Christian/ancestral) community. Thus, Abû Al-Djâhiz, of probably Ethiopian slave descent and one of the most notable intellectual and literary figures in early ninth-century Iraq, gained fame and influence as author of sociological commentaries, theology and politico-religious polemics (Pellat 1999a and b). Moreover, those at the top of the slave hierarchy, and any other slaves who could afford to do so, became slaveholders – surely the most manifest sign of the lack of a diasporic consciousness (Chauhan 1995: 12-117). Instead, they showed a marked disinterest in Africa and fellow Africans, rather displaying total commitment to the values and well-being of the slave-owning society of which they had become an integral part. Recent studies of rural and urban society in Saudi Arabia indicate rigid social barriers against people of African origin, whether slave descendants or not, except for professionals who were accepted as part of the elite (Cole and Altorki n.d.).

The same tendency pervaded ordinary slaves. In the IOW, there were few examples of the slave concentrations found in the American plantation and mining contexts. An exception was the "Zanj" slaves, who, in 869, revolted, holding the Caliphate at bay until 883 in what was "perhaps the most successful slave rebellion of all times" (Allen 1993: 73). It would appear that non-slave rebels inspired and led the rebellion the aims of which were explicitly confined to regional political power play (Allen 1993:73). In the modern era, only in imperial Madagascar (c.1790-1895) and on the plantation islands (Mauritius and Réunion from the mid-eighteenth century and Zanzibar and Pemba from the 1830s) did African slaves form a significant group with common living and working conditions that provided the potential for the emergence of a "slave consciousness". Even there, however, no natural identification with "Africa" as a place of origin emerged, or sense of common identity with others who came from that continent outside the ethnic categorisation imposed by others (Teelock 1999: 3-85).[12]

The image of non-elite Afro-Asians having their African identity and traditions suppressed through exploitation and enforced ignorance is equally misleading. First, slaves in the IOW enjoyed an array of traditional and prescribed rights and protection unknown on the American plantations. In the parts of the IOW, outside the Mascarenes, where European law was applied, treatment of slaves was tempered by local economic and political forces (Boomgaard 2004). Even in Korea and China, where the most extreme systems of hereditary slavery were practised, slaves possessed legal status and rights: They were immune from state corvées and could be punished but not killed by their owners; their marriages were in general respected. Such rights, it could be argued, meant that they were not true outsiders as they had entered into the dominant society's system of reciprocity (Campbell 2004b).

All this meant that the slave impact in Asia, economic and cultural, was much more varied and much more difficult to evaluate than in the virtually mono-ethnic plantation and mining slavery of the Americas.[13] Even where a slave impact can be identified and analysed, it is extremely difficult to ascertain which aspect of that impact was the result of specifically "African" slaves.

Slave Functions

1. Females and Children

While the literature concentrates overwhelmingly on male slaves, most slaves traded in the Asian world were young women and girls – a sharp contrast to the slave trade sex ratios in the Atlantic system (Campbell 2004a: vii-xxxii). Thus, in India, domestic slavery, involving predominantly females, underwent a huge expansion as medieval commerce and Islam advanced, the centres of import being Gujarat and Bengal (Kidwai 1990: 85).

Some female slaves worked as water carriers, and in agriculture, textile production and mining. However, girls and young women were valued particularly for their sexual attractiveness and reproductive capacity. This profoundly affected the shaping of Afro-Asian communities. Rulers and the wealthy, most of whom were men, surrounded themselves with female slaves who, as secondary wives, concubines, entertainers and domestic servants, enjoyed a lifestyle and a respect often superior to that of female peasants, while their lot was generally much easier than that of male slaves. There are instances of concubines in the Middle East sending for family members to join them – albeit as non-slaves (Miers 2005: 103-119). Female slaves were also less likely to be sold.

In terms of preferences for Africans, in the Middle East, Berber, Nubian and Ethiopian females were valued as sexual partners. Ethiopians were considered excellent entertainers, Berbers and Nubians as good child rearers and domestic servants. Sub-Saharan women were considered docile, robust, and excellent wet nurses, but were less sought after as concubines than Circassians and North Africans (Hunwick 1999: 27; Goody 1980: 21, 32; Brunschvig 1999).

In highlighting males of African descent, conventional accounts overlook the fact that African women were also sometimes able, even in male-dominated societies, to rise to positions of considerable wealth and influence. Indeed, their slave origins, which marked them as social inferiors, sometimes provided advantages and liberties which local women lacked. In Muslim countries, those with the requisite talent could, for example, earn renown and fortune as poets, singers, musicians and dancers. Such activities often involved years of training that included mastery of the Arabic language and literature, which they in turn through their compositions, helped shape and enrich (Montigny 2002: 221).

In this context, there was a long tradition in the Middle East of the *kayna (*pl. *kaynât / kiyîn*), or female slave singer of African or mixed Afro-Asian descent, most of whom put in song interpretations of Arabic poetry. Young beautiful slaves were encouraged, even trained in this musical pursuit by their masters, for it added to the slave's commercial value. In medieval Egypt, an untrained Black female slave sold for about 500 dirhams, whereas singing girls and other female slave entertainers fetched from 10,000 to 20,000 dirhams (Lewis 1990: 13). As part of their training, relatively inexperienced *kaynât* were hired out by their owners to perform at cabarets, drinking sessions and, on other occasions, to private individuals. Many *kanât* would use such occasions to impress elite hirers in the hope that they might be purchased as concubines and thus improve their social status. Ibn Battuta (d.1062) considered that the ideal slave was a female Berber who from nine to twelve years of age lived at Medina, from twelve to fifteen at Mecca and then lived nine years in Iraq perfecting her musical education. Indeed, following the conquest of the Maghrib, *kaynât* were trained on the spot (Pellat 1999a and b).

The most valued slaves attained high levels of education in music, the Arab language and intellectual culture. From the seventh century, the *kaynât* became more specialised, and were in high demand, particularly in Medina, Basra and Baghdad, a major aspect of songs being elegies to rulers and members of the elite. The latter proved eager to be entertained by them and frequently took them as concubines. Their compositions indicated no sense of "African" identity, but did play a considerable role in the development of modernist (*muhdath*) Islamic poetry (Pellat 1999a and b).

2. Eunuchs

Young female slaves commanded generally higher prices than male and older female slaves. The exceptions were eunuchs ("males made female"), who were universally the most highly prized (Miers 2005: 103-119; Watson 1980a; Lewis 1990: 13). In medieval times, Black eunuchs on the Egyptian market sold for three times the price of ordinary Negro male slaves (Lewis 1990: 13).

In the Islamic Middle East, eunuchs were in high demand as bodyguards, household and harem surveillants, and servants and door-keepers of the Friday mosques of Mecca and Medina. Whites castrated in Spain were initially the source of most eunuchs in the Middle East, but, as time progressed, were increasingly replaced by Africans, notably from Sudan (exported via Egypt), followed by Lower Senegal, the Maghreb (Berbers), and Ethiopia (Pellat 1999a and b). As Islam forbade castration, it was generally carried out before the slaves entered the Muslim world (Harris 1971: 39-40; Goody 2003: 29; Hunwick 1978: 27, 29-30). One report estimates that between 100 and 200 Sudanese slaves were castrated each year in Upper Egypt (Pellat 1999a and b). A report from 1835 indicates that over forty eunuchs, chiefly Africans (some channelled

North through Darfur), castrated at the age of eight to twelve years, policed and cleaned the Ka'ba at Mecca, that they earned a considerable revenue from tips given by the faithful, and also that they engaged in commerce (Pellat 1999a and b). Indeed, castration was sometimes performed at the behest of the slaves who viewed it as a means to a privileged position (Harris 1971: 39-40; Goody 1980: 29; Hunwick 1999: 27, 29-30; Bosworth 1999).

Salim Kidwai considers the source of most eunuchs in India was Bengal, although Hunwick argues that the demand in Muslim courts was chiefly for African eunuchs as personal bodyguards, some of whom rose to top positions, wielding immense military and political influence (Kidwai 1990: 92; Hunwick 1978: 31-32; Hardy 1999). It may be, as was the case with the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria, that eunuchs filled the top ranks of military corps in order to prevent pederastry, keeping older soldiers away from younger recruits/slaves (Ayalon 1999).

3. Males

According to Bernard Lewis (1990: 11), most slaves from sub-Saharan Africa were employed in unskilled, menial tasks. However, male slave functions were far more varied than in the Atlantic system where slaves were identified overwhelmingly with mine and plantation labour. In the Middle East, during the initial expansion of Islam from the seventh to the ninth centuries, Black African male slaves were probably most in demand for arduous tasks like clearing the Mesopotamian marshes for cultivation, and the mining and smelting of gold and silver. Mines employed between 300 and 1,000 workers in the pre-Islamic and up to 2,000 or more slave labourers in the early Islamic era. They also included Persians, Jews and Arabs who worked in such mines (Heck 1999: 382-86). Harris (1971: 5) emphasises the role of African gang labour in the Middle East, on date plantations in Basra, Bandar Abbas, Minab and along the Batinah coast, and in the pearl diving industry in Bahrein and Lingeh on the Persian Gulf, as well as in dock work and as soldiers (Harris 1971: 5). The Dutch used African slaves to build their forts, and to work on pepper plantations and gold mines of West Sumatra (Arasaratnam 1995: 200).

African slaves also became famous scholars, poets, military commanders and even rulers. Many of Mecca's Qurayshî elite were the progeny of Arab males and African concubines, and the three greatest early Arab poets, 'Antara bin Shaddâd al-Kalbî, Khafâf bin Nudba al-Sulakhî and Sulayk bin al-Sulaka were known as the "Crows of the Arabs" because they possessed Black mothers (Hassad, Mufuta and Mutunda) (Ross 1994: 18-19). Similarly, in the early ninth century, Abû Al-Djâhiz, of probably Ethiopian slave origin, achieved fame and influence in Basra and Baghdad as author of sociological commentaries, theology and politico-religious polemics (Pellat 1999a and b).

In South Asia, local slaves were plentiful and performed possibly the bulk of agricultural work alongside their peasant owners (Patnaik 1985: 2-4, 26). Male slaves also worked as cattle tenders, porters, artisans, guards, traders, domestic servants, councillors, divers and seamen (Heck 1999: 382-86; Arasaratnam 1995: 200). Imported African slaves were used primarily as domestic servants, soldiers and sailors; indeed, there is a hint that some slave crew members were used as a commodity money (Flores 1990: 35).

Most conventional accounts of African slaves in India have highlighted their role as soldiers in the armies (and/or navies) of the sultanates (Sind, Bengal, Gujarat and the Deccan) (Ali 1987: 27; Hardy 1999; Hunwick 1978: 31-32). Foreign slaves were valued because of their dependence upon and thus loyalty to the court and the elite they served (Kidwai 1990: 80-81). Teelock (1998: 851) claims that, as early as AD 1100, Sidis (East African slaves) were established on the Northwest Indian coast as sailors, working later for the Mughal Emperors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ibn-Battuta (1342-9) boarded a vessel at Kandahar, on the West coast of India, with Abyssinian archers and warriors to ward off pirates (Reinaud 1848: cdxvii) while Pires (1944) again noted the prominence of Abyssinians in the Deccan principalities. One "Milic Dastur", as powerful as a lord, was in charge of a garrison and land (Pires 1944: 51).

Africans rose to positions of great political power in the Deccan states of the Bahmani (from 1347 to 1538), Nizam Shahi (1589-1626) and Bijapur (1580-1627). At much the same time as Mamluks transformed themselves into the ruling elite in Egypt, some African slaves transformed themselves into rulers in India. Such was the dynasty established by the African slave Mubârak Shâh in the Delhi sultanate (c.1399-1440) and the rule of African military commanders in Bengal from 1486-93 (Hunwick 1978: 32). They presented no real challenge to a political system the parameters of which they accepted and worked within (Kidwai 1990: 82-83). In the sixteenth century, the challenge posed to Gujarati nobles by the local Ethiopian slave-soldier elite opened the way for the 1573 Mughal conquest, the resistance to which in the Deccan was led by another Ethiopian slave-ruler, Malik 'Anbâr (Hunwick 1978: 32; Ali 1996: 1987: chs 4-5, 27). The Sidis of Janjira, an island 45 miles South of Bombay, from 1618, established a naval and military presence and a degree of political independence that endured well into the nineteenth century (Harris 1993: 327-31; Ali 1996: ch.8)

European powers also used African soldiers. For example, in the 1630s some 300 Africans served in the Portuguese army in Sri Lanka (Hunwick 1978: 31-32; Jayasuriya 2002; Alpers 1997: 75). The further away from Africa, the more expensive and valued the African slaves became. In East Asia, many were acquired as symbols of conspicuous consumption, to reflect the power and wealth of slave owners (Boomgaard 2004: ch.7).

In Mongol China (1260-1368), it was *à la mode* for elite households to possess Korean maidservants and Negro menservants (Irwin 1977: 169).

Overall, conditions were rarely universally harsh. Some slaves depended for sustenance on their owners, while others were given land for subsistence cultivation. Yet others were rented out or left free to seek livelihoods. Although generally remitting from 50 to 75 per cent of their earnings to their owners, they were often able to accumulate funds (Warren: 2004: ch. 9; Reid 1983:11). Slave porters in Imperial Madagascar, who hired out their services, could sometimes earn an income that made them the envy of ordinary non-slaves (Kopytoff and Miers 1977: 28; Reid 1983: 14). Slaves of the rich and powerful sometimes held important positions as household stewards, traders and officials that could bring them considerable wealth and prestige. Indeed non-slave commoners were frequently described as poorer and less content than domestic slaves, despite the inferior legal status of the latter. In wet-rice economies, owners were often expected to provide their male slaves with a bride whereas peasants were frequently incapable of raising a bride price, or to do so became indebted (Reid 1983: 8-9). The particularly good treatment of skilled slaves contrasts sharply with the position in some regions of non-slave artisans subject to state imposed forced labour (Campbell 1988).

At the start of the twentieth century in Qatar, it is estimated that well over 50 per cent of the population of the two main cities of Doha and Wakra were Africans, both slaves and manumitted. Slavery was abolished there in 1952 (Montigny 2002: 215). While those of "African" descent are clearly visible and, with few exceptions, suffer from poor living and working conditions and are socially stigmatised, they are Muslim, speak Arabic and claim an Arab identity, to the point of denying an African heritage. While local Arabs incorporate them as the fifth and lowest "tribe" according to purity of descent, the Afro-Qatars claim that they were integrated into the ranks of noble tribes, as soldiers (male) and concubines (female), and thus lie second in the tribal ranking (Montigny 2002: 214, 216-17). They thus fought to establish an identity and ranking within the terms of local society, claiming to be Arab because of their knowledge of Arabic, and all aspects of Arab culture, including oral traditions, and their code of honour, as well as their contribution to Arab history and Arabic literature (Montigny 2002: 223, 226). Of the music of "African" inspiration played by people of African or part-African descent in Qatar, Anie Montigny comments: "It is above all for its liberty of expression that music is taken up, and Blacks do not search through it to return to their roots, nor to contest their social condition. Rather, they emphasise its arabicised character, taken as a proof of their Arab roots" (2002: 223-24).

Similarly, many Sidis have re-invented their identity in local terms. Sunni Sidis insist that they be called "Muslim Sidis" and claim direct descendance from Mohammed, although many were originally Catholics from Portuguese Indian territory (Ali 1996:

226). Sidi devotees of Bava Gor claim an Indian and deny an African identity (Shroff 2002), while the Sidi Hindus of Karnataka have become part of the local caste hierarchy, claiming a status superior to that of the Bandhis and Namadaris (Ali 1996: 225-26). In such contexts, it could prove futile to search for a slave class or "slave modes of production", constructs which, as the case of Imperial Madagascar illustrates, sometimes bear little relation to historical reality in the IOW (Lovejoy: 1997: 234, 238-39; Klein 2005: 180-197; Bloch 1980: 10-12; Campbell: 1988).

Nostalgia

Lovejoy (1997) posits that "a diaspora by its nature cannot exist without a homeland and the quest to re-attain that homeland." However, in Afro-Asian communities, there is no evidence of an awareness of a common African homeland and heritage, backed by a memory, real or imagined, of that homeland.

The only case of Africans in Asia returning to the "motherland" of Africa as such in order to promote its development was the result of Western pressure: from 1874, CMS missionaries to India sent Africans placed in a special asylum at Nasik, 100 miles from Bombay, to establish a mission at Freretown in Mombasa, the activities of which continued to the 1930s (Akyeampong 2000: 197; Basu 2002). Otherwise, attempted returns were sporadic, generally the result of escape bids by freshly captured young adult male slaves, like certain Malagasy shipped to the Mascarenes (Campbell 2005c: 50-65; Mampilly 2001). Such attempts in no way represented an African diasporic consciousness. Indeed, when offered passages back to Africa, many African or Afro-Asian slaves in Asia refused (Miers 2005: 103-119). For many present-day Afro-Asians, Africa is seen as an undeveloped region whose populations they might wish to proselytise, but with whom they do not wish to identify (Montigny 2002: 223-24).

Current Afro-Asian Identity

There exists a certain tension between the overwhelming tendency for Afro-Asians to become assimilated into local society and the desire of Afro-centric scholars and some politicians to identify and nurture an Afro-Asian diaspora. Reacting to the burgeoning interest in the African diaspora outside the Americas, and possibly provoked by Edward Blyden's comment that "The countless caravans and dhow-loads of Negroes who have been imported into Asia have not produced, so far as we know, any great historical results" (Quoted in Shepperson 1976: 4), academic "essentialists" have taken up the campaign first launched by Joseph Harris in 1982 to examine the culture of genetically Afro-Asian communities in order to identify and publicise traces of an "African" heritage (Prashad 2000: 189-201; Wilson 1997: 118-22; Alpers 1997: 62-81, 2000: 83-99; Rashidi 2002; Obeng 2000).

Afro-centric scholars are backed by politicians whose purpose it serves. In believing that Sidis were genetically supremely gifted for sports, the Indian government

Sports Authority in 1987 established a special programme to recruit and train Sidis for international competitions. The strategy has failed due to poor Sidi motivation according to government spokespeople (Drewal 2002; Cooper 1999). Again, when Nelson Mandela visited the sub-continent, Gujarati Sidi *goma* dancers, sporting the so-called traditional exotic "African" costumes (peacock feathers), were called on to perform before the visitor. Bollywood has subsequently portrayed them in the same costumes to embellish films (Shroff 2002; See, also, Fernandes 2003).

Such moves underestimate the degree of assimilation that has occurred. The assertion by outsiders of a diasporic or pan-Africanist identity for Afro-Asian communities also carries social, political and economic risks for those communities precisely because it accentuates their "foreign" and often "slave" origins. For this reason, most researchers, when probing such communities for an "African" connection, have been met with a denial of any "African affiliation". The "affirmative action" programmes that can promote the social and economic standing of members of the "African" communities in the West and its historic enclaves, such as South Africa, do not exist in most of Asia. The much vaunted exception, the recognition in India of certain Indian Sidis as a "Scheduled Tribe", is not certain to improve their lifestyle (Singh 2000; Drewal 2002). Historically, the best chance of promoting the social and economic standing of those of African descent is not to accentuate their difference from local society, but to promote the process of assimilation into it.

In sum, in contrast to the Americas where it is asserted that local communities of African descent either underwent creolisation or developed a consciousness as a distinct part of the African diaspora, an overwhelming majority of the people of African descent in the IOW quickly, and often deliberately, shed consciousness of their African origins, and largely became assimilated into the locally dominant society, albeit in some cases at or near the bottom of the social hierarchy.

Assimilation

The essential difference between the Atlantic and Asian slave systems was that most slaves in Asia were subject to forces promoting assimilation into local society rather than separateness and alienation from it (Campbell 2004a: vii-xxxii). In part, this stemmed from the religious values of Islamic societies that dominated much of the region from the Middle East to Indonesia. Assimilation was particularly high for slave women and their offspring. The *sharia* also taught that manumission of slave converts was meritorious. Slaves could redeem themselves while children resulting from the sexual union of slave masters and concubines inherited a non-slave status, as did a concubine mother upon the death of her owner. The rate of manumission could theoretically be high; whereas a rich Muslim was legally restricted to four wives, the number of concubines he might possess was unlimited (Brunschvig 1999; Lewis 1990: 14).

Manumission, relatively common where close owner-slave relationships existed, was accorded more readily to domestic slaves than to those employed in activities and areas that separated them from the slave owning household. Thus, under most Islamic slave regimes, the number of manumitted slaves was considerable. Of Bahrein's "African" pearl divers in 1831 and Kuwait's "African" population at the start of the twentieth century, an estimated one third were non-slaves (Sheriff 2005: 94-102; Clarence-Smith 2005: 120-36).

Assimilation of ex-slaves was assisted by the racial tolerance of Islam. In practice, the relative absence of colour prejudice characteristic of the early Islamic era changed radically with Arab expansion, notably from the late seventh and early eighth centuries – although John Hunwick claims that a more tolerant racial attitude spread from the start of the second millennium when the issue of Arab supremacy was no longer in doubt (Lewis 1990: 19, 26-27, 32-41; Hunwick 1978: 35-36). While racial preferences were expressed, as for example, in females of Caucasian and lighter skinned Ethiopians being valued more than darker skinned Africans as concubines, this made little difference in terms of their legal treatment (Goody 1980: 29). Some of the most renowned men of Arab antiquity, like the warrior-poet "Antara" ibn Shaddâd who lived in central Arabia in the sixth century, as well as later Muslim monarchs, had African mothers, whose memory was cherished (Irwin 1977: 54, 58). Some African slaves achieved fame, often as poets, teachers, or jurists. One such was Atâ ibn Abî Rabâh, born in Saudi Arabia of Nubian parents, who became a celebrated Muslim teacher and jurist at Mecca (Irwin 1977: 66).

Rules governing slave castes were sometimes openly ignored, while unofficially sexual liaisons frequently occurred across the slave-free lines as is confirmed by genetic studies revealing considerable gene flow between groups of "African" and other local groups (Ramana *et al* 2001; Singh *et al* 2001). Again, in one study more than 40 per cent of the maternal gene pool of the Makrani of Pakistan derived from Africa, most from Mozambique, but only 8 per cent of their paternal gene pool did so – a pattern that reflects the importance of the IOW slave trade in females, and of concubinage.[14] In rare cases, as Sheriff (2005) notes for Bahrein, "free" women married slave men. In Imperial Madagascar some female slave owners broke caste rules with impunity and took male slaves as their sexual partners (Poirier 1942-43:100 n.1). In Islamic societies and European territories in the IOW, slave soldiers were usually freed after a period of service, married local women and were assimilated (Lewis 1990: 10, 15; Basu 2002). In Hyderbad, the Nizam encouraged his African soldiers to marry Arab girls; in Makran and Gujarat some African males formed liaisons with local members of low castes and with tribal peoples (Harris 1971: 112).[15] The Sidi Hindus of Karnataka have intermarried to a great degree with local Hindus and display less physiologically negroid characteristics than that of Christian or Muslim Sidis (Ali 1996: 225-26). For some, this has resulted in positions of high office and wealth. Thus, the Sidi elite of Janjira merged through intermarriage with the Ismaili Tyabji who in the nineteenth century emerged as leading entrepreneurs and bankers (Basu 2002).

Under British administrated Ceylon in the early nineteenth century, "Kaffir" soldiers (from Africa, notably Mozambique and Madagascar) intermarried with Sri Lankan women to such a degree that this depleted the Afro-Sinhalese community despite the nominal ruling that all children of such unions assumed the father's "ethnicity", and continued intermarriage threatening to lead to its disappearance (Jayasuriya 2002). In Southeast Asia, which possessed many "open" systems of slavery, even adult male slaves found it relatively easy to fit into their "host" society (Reid 1983: 13, 25-26). While not necessarily effacing the "outsider" status of the slaves, it certainly facilitated the erosion of that status.

Language, Religion and Culture

An essential part of the assimilation process was acculturation, notably the adoption by slaves in the Asian world of the language, religion and general culture of the dominant slave/ex-slave-holding society. In marked contrast to the slaves in the Americas, possibly a majority of the African slaves in the IOW were employed in sensitive positions - within the household, court, administration or commerce – where some, notably child and young female slaves, had intimate relations with their owners forbidden to non-kinsmen. For most owners, it was vital that slaves spoke the local language; at the very minimum, they needed to understand orders. Children rapidly learned the local language and customs, and there existed strong incentives for slave wives to do likewise if they wished to advance their own and their children's prospects. In such circumstances, the native languages of slaves quickly ceded to that of the dominant society. In Southeast Asia, this process was assisted by the fact that many slaves originated from societies with linguistic and cultural backgrounds similar to that of the dominant society (Reid 1983:13, 25-26). In China and Imperial Madagascar, language classes were established in slave reception camps to facilitate the process (Delaye 2004: ch. 10).

Many young and almost all second-generation African slaves largely shed their cultural origins, and became monoglot speakers of the host community's language (Harris 1971: 99-100, 111-12; Mirzai 2002: 241; Chauhan 1995: 261, 263; Jayasuriya 2002; Bhattacharya 1970: 579-80; Ali 1996: 224; Drewal 2002). There now exist only some 500 speakers of Sri Lankan Portuguese Creole, the mother tongue of the Afro-Sinhalese community (Jayasuriya 2002). The vestiges of all other singular "African" languages, such as Makhuwa in Madagascar, are fast disappearing. While Swahili is still current in Muscat (Alpers 2000: 93-94) and spoken by members of some Afro-Asian communities in other coastal areas of the Middle East, this reflects more Swahili as a *lingua franca*, utilised throughout the western Indian Ocean, rather than as a mother tongue. Thus, a number of Afro-Iranians from southern Iran speak Swahili, Persian and Arabic, while numbers of sea-faring and coastal Arabs speak Swahili (Mirzai 2002: 237-38).

Often intimately associated with language was the religious ideology of slaveholders. Acceptance of the dominant society's ideology was a pre-requisite for slaves employed in sensitive posts in the royal household, army and administration. It also justified slavery. The conversion of imported child brides and concubines to local belief and value systems was crucial so that these might in turn be transmitted to their children whose position was secured if as offspring of the owner they became integrated into the slave-owner's lineage (Kopytoff and Miers 1977: 28-29; Watson 1980b: 249)

Most Afro-Asian communities genetically belonged to local religious groupings, from Muslim in the Middle East-Persian Gulf-Pakistani-Gujarati regions, to Hindu and Christian in other regions of India and Sri Lanka, to Christians and devotees of ancestor worship in Madagascar (Harris 1971: 99-100, 111-12; Mirzai 2002: 241; Chauhan 1995: 211, 213; Jayasuriya 2002; Bhattacharya 1970: 579-80; Ali 1996: 224; Drewal 2002). Children of slaves in Dutch Sri Lanka gained their freedom if they converted to and were married by the Dutch Reformed Church, while their parents could not be sold, and were freed upon the death of their master (Jayasuriya 2002). Again, slaves employed by British families in Bombay in the late eighteenth century were usually freed by testament will following the death of their owner (Chakravarti 1997: 83). In Imperial Madagascar (c.1790-1895), manumission was considered meritorious for *zazahova*, or Merina were enslaved chiefly for indebtedness, with whom slave owners shared a common religious and cultural heritage, but not for non-Merina Malagasy or African slaves (Poirier 1994: 331-79).

Moreover, in many cases, slaves and their descendants managed to manipulate the traditional religious system in order to establish for themselves a role of power within it. Harris indicates that many Afro-Asian Muslim communities constructed their own mosques (Harris 1971: 122; Mirzai 2002: 235). In nineteenth-century Madagascar, many slaves sought religious roles either within the early Christian church where temporarily they achieved positions of considerable importance, or within the traditional system as ancestral mediums (Campbell 1992: 409-53). Afrocentric scholars have seized on these as evidence of an assertion of African heritage (Alpers 1997: 67-68, 73; 2000: 90-91; Drewal 2002; Fernandes 2003). However, while the practices and some of the words employed in them demonstrate an African affiliation, they are employed in a local cultural context, with the local language predominant (Montigny 2002: 21-22). In many cases, it is a means by which the local Afro-Asian community attracts local non-African clients and thereby gains for itself a status in local society. It is thus a process of empowerment (Ghatwai 2000). For example, the Bava Gor cult serves to give the Sidi, the mediums of the saint, ritual power over their former owners and an honorific place in local history and society (Basu 2002; Shroff 2002). It thus cements their identity as Gujaratis and they deny any implication that they are African (Shroff 2002). The same can be said of other Sidi cults, centred around male and female saints (Mai Goma, Sidi Mubarak Nobi, Bava Habash, Mai Mishra), all of whom are used to stress a Sidi identity as part of local Indian, rather than African history (Basu 2002), the *Nobân* and *Gwâti/ Damal* healing ceremonies of southern Iran and Baluchistan respectively, and the essentially female-dominated *Zâr* spirit possession/healing cult of probably Ethiopian origin practised in the Middle-East-Persian Gulf-Baluchistan regions (Hunwick 1978: 37).

Another and often associated African influence throughout the same regions is song, music and dance (e.g., the Sidi Gujarat *dhamal* dance performed in the November *Urs* festival) (Bhattacharya 1970: 581). The lyre and big drums are central "African" components of such activity. The dancers and singers are widely employed by the local populations of non-African descent on both private familial and public occasions, notably amongst mariners, and at weddings and parties (Harris 1971: 112; Mirzai 2002: 241-45; Bhattacharya 1970: 579, 581-82). In the music and dance associated with Bava Gor, there appear clear associations with Tanzania (Basu 2002), while those of the Afro-Sinhalese bear strong Mozambique and Tanzanian influences (Jayasuriya 2002).

Although some of the literature tends to emphasise the role of males,[16] the role of women in song, dance and possession cults was major – and may be interpreted within the Arabic context whereby such virtues were traditional ways by which, in a male-dominated political society, women could gain a major influence over men (Nelson 1974: 555-56). This can be linked in history to the tradition of the *kayna* slave singer of African or mixed Afro-Asian descent (Lewis 1990:13). Since Abolition, the tradition has continued with "free" female singers who sing at family feats and solemn ceremonies. This tradition, noticeable in the Makran, also exits in Morocco (Pellat 1999a and b).

The sexual and age profile of slaves also promoted assimilation, children and women being absorbed into slave-owning societies quicker and more thoroughly than men. Many developed close dependent relationships with their owners, becoming integrated members of the slave-owning households. Terms for slaves were frequently cognates of those used for "children", "foster children" or "nephews" and "nieces". (Reid 1988: 89). They and their descendants often retained strong emotional bonds with that household with which they identified far more closely than with others of African origin and descent (Montigny 2002).

Second-generation slaves possessed local kinship ties, sometimes with non-slave lineage groups. In most African societies, it was considered "unseemly" to sell a second-generation slave, although in times of crisis they were sold before non-slave members of the lineage (Kopytoff and Miers 1977: 35).

Indeed, the aim of most slaves was to secure a niche within the dominant society, improve that position over time and, if granted non-slave status, to assume a new ethnicity. Individual slaves therefore sought to forge linkages not with other slaves but with slaveholders who alone could ameliorate their conditions and station.

There is considerable debate as to the meaning of and extent of assimilation in imperial Madagascar which some authors consider to have possessed a “closed” Asian model of slavery as opposed to the generally “open” systems of slavery on the African continent.[17] In general, African slaves quickly became assimilated into lowland Malagasy societies such as the Sakalava whereas African slaves and their descendants in the highlands retained a separate and socially inferior identity (Lambek 2004; Evers 1996).

Conclusions:

The conventional scholarly view ascribes the lack of an Afro-Asian diaspora to negative demographic influences, as most Africans in Asia were concubines, soldiers or eunuchs and thus did not have the possibility of reproducing the Black community (Akyeampong 2000: 189) and to the absence of an articulate Western-educated elite (Alpers 2000: 84-85). However, this stereotyped image of African slavery in Asia does not correspond with the reality, for slaves in Asia performed a wide variety of functions and possessed many different lifestyles. Some became highly literate and articulate (Campbell 2004a: vii-xxxii). There was no automatic identity of white with slave-owner and black with slaves as in the Atlantic system, and assimilation weakened any tendency towards the formation of separate and inter-generationally durable communities of slave origin. The slave elite articulated themselves within the parameters of the slave-owning society. In similar fashion, most ordinary Afro-Asians became steeped in local traditions and religious beliefs, and used them to establish for themselves a clear identity as part of local society. Currently identifiable Afro-Asian communities, while mostly the product of the nineteenth century slave trade, and generally impoverished and of low status, are equally undergoing assimilation. Vestiges of cultural origin, such as the Zar healing ceremony practised by ex-slaves in the Gulf, were insufficient basis for a separate consciousness to be maintained (Sheriff 2005: 94-102). Indeed, they were used rather to establish for their Afro-Asian practitioners a power base within local society. This strategy has to an extent succeeded. Some existing Afro-Asian communities through assuming a particular niche in local society, have empowered themselves, and in so-doing have established their local identity and denied attempts to identify them as “Africans”.

Annexe 1: Current Afro-Asian Communities[18] (given as Annexe 4.1, p. 763)

Annexe 2: Local Terms in Asiatic Societies for Communities of African origin[19] (given as Annexe 4.2, pp. 764-66)

Notes

[1] See, Shen *et al* 2000, "Population Genetic Implications from Sequence Variation in Four Y Chromosome Genes" (4 April 2000), http://www.google.fr search? q=cache: HqFVH_Y71goC:hpgl.stanford. edu/publications/P.

[2] See e.g. R.Qamar *et al*, "Y-Chromosomal DNA Variation in Pakistan", http://www.faseb.org/genetics/ashg99/f2228.htm. For India, see the site http://www.kamat.com/kalranga/people/afro-indians/2478.htm; Runoko Rashidi, 'The African Presence in India: An Historical Overview', http://www.mumia.org/wwwboard/messages/1221.html

[3] Edward Alpers discusses the recent African element in Madagascar but omits any reference to an older migration and does not view African migrants to Madagascar as an Afro-Asian community – see, Alpers (2000: 86-7).

[4] E.g., Madagascar is considered to be part of the Asian world by the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), at the University of Leiden.

[5] Some Scholars consider that Islam *per se* greatly stimulated the slave trade. However, something more important has occurred again with the rapid expansion of the international economy in the nineteenth century, see, Richard M. Eaton 1993.

[6] The Dutch landed the first cargo of 41 Malagasy slaves at Colombo in 1693.

[7] See, e.g., introductory chapter in Campbell. ed. 2005a.

[8] "Baluchistan" in the 1911 Edition Encyclopaedia; http://82.1911encyclopaedia.org/B/BA/BALUCHISTAN.htm.

[9] By contrast, the British limited the number of Indians the French island of Reunion could import. See, Marimoutou 1989.

[10] See, e.g. the debate over the identity of the Zanj rebels in ninth-century Iraq.

[11] See, chapters by Boomgaard and Alpers in Campbell. ed. 2004b; and also chapter by Shariff in Campbell. ed. 2005a.

[12] Alpers (1999: 18) asserts that state was such a consciousness, but he could find no evidence of it.

[13] For a discussion of the parameters of the slave impact in the Atlantic world, see Paul Lovejoy 2000.

[14] "Slavery and Gender in the Indian Ocean", African Diaspora Forum Topic, Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora, York University, http://www.york.ca/nhp/forum/fold/forum05.asp.

[15] Edward Alper's comments in *Slavery and Gender in the Indian Ocean, African Diaspora Forum Topic,* Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora, York University, http://www.york.ca/nhp/forum/fold/forum05.asp

[16] E.g. the Gujarati Muslim saint Baba Gov, of reputedly Ethiopian origin – see, Alpers 1997: 74.

[17] For the debate, which centres around the concepts of "kin" and "slave", see Meillassoux. Anthropology of Slavery, and Kopytoff and Miers 1977: 3-84; Watson 1980; Bloch 1980.

[18] See, Angenot and Jayasuriya 2003; Campbell 2004; Montigny 2002: 222; see, also the the list compiled by Alpers 1997: 75.

[19] See, Ali. 1996: 20; Alpers 2000: 87; Angenot and Jayasuriya 2003; Basu 2002; Beckingham 1999; Bhattacharya 1970: 579; Boivin 2000; Campbell 2005a; Chauhan 1995: 261; Jayasuriya 2002; Cole and Altorki n.d.; Ewald 2000; Harris 1971; Irwin 1977: 170; Mirzai 2002: 232; Montigny 2002: 222; Lewis 1990: 10; Sheriff 2005; Teelock. 1999: 3-8; Verin 1999; Vijayakumar *et al* 1987: 98; Watt 1999.

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3

Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora
An Ongoing 21st Century Project

Carole Boyce Davies

The African Diaspora Encyclopedia Project

Encyclopedia, like anthologies, are often seen as creating canons, as definitive, when in reality these contain only a selection of the available material based on access, time, resources and reach and of course, the force of scholarly knowledge production and the nature of publication arrangements. The *Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora* is an attempt to bring together a range of research endeavours, from various scholars in various locations with the hope minimally that these be in conversation with each other. With this intent, the *Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora* engages the contemporary, covers the emergence of new levels and discourses of blackness, and deliberately extends to include areas such as the African diaspora in the Indian Ocean and other areas of the world like the Mediterranean often not covered in African diaspora projects. We recognize at the outset that an encyclopedia of this type, at its best can only offer preliminary research: documentation of the phenomenon, insights into its people, and an understanding of its continuing processes. Indeed, one of our assertions is that the African diaspora, a worldwide phenomenon, requires much larger space than what is available institutionally. Each work, then, merely adds to our understanding of this global experience of African people's existence worldwide.

The range of other particular encyclopedias emphasizes the point about coverage as each geographical region, several particularized groups, fields, and subject areas have each produced, or require, their own encyclopedia. There are already several encyclopedias of African American history, biography, and major events, perhaps largely because U.S. African Americans have been at the forefront of making their voices heard, establishing their presence through various media available and clearly because U.S. capitalism has often marketed itself via media. More particular regional encyclopedias provide more detailed coverage than general field encyclopedia. *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African-American Experience* (in CD version called Microsoft's *Encarta Encyclopedia Africana)* began as an attempt to complete the Du Bois project but ended up dealing more with the relations between Africa and the Americas. The updated version was extended to five volumes, signifying its more expansive coverage.

Interestingly when the original *Encyclopedia Africana* project was described, it had the support of the entire state apparatus of the republic of Ghana under Kwame

Nkrumah, who had invited Du Bois (who died before seeing its realization) to manage its completion. This of course was in the days prior to the technological advances we assume today such as those offered by the world wide web. A speech on September 24, 1964, in which Nkrumah charged the editorial board, offers interesting insights into the intent. At that time, Nkrumah saw it as a way of challenging the racist ignorance and lack of knowledge about the African continent and its peoples. Thus, its aim was to provide the kind of knowledge that would accompany larger Pan-African political projects. Still it cautioned that such an Encyclopedia, "not romanticize or idealize the African past, not gloss over African failings, weaknesses or foibles, nor endeavour to demonstrate that Africans are endowed with either greater virtues or lesser vices than the rest of mankind." (website 7)

Producing an *Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora* is potentially a mammoth undertaking. The realization of this work was driven by the fact that many colleagues and community supporters were clear that this was a project that needed to be done and, therefore, supportive of its intent. Additionally, advances in communication with far flung colleagues, through conferences and via the internet, have allowed us to have greater access to areas otherwise not well represented. I consulted first with Babacar M'Bow, Coordinator of International Programmes and Broward County who had seen the *UNESCO General History of Africa* take shape under the leadership of Makhtar M'bow, then General Secretary of UNESCO. Next we called on a range of scholars who have had experience in the field and enlisted their support as members of the Editorial Advisory Board. We were pleased as well that such a project could come out from the South Florida area which it has been our mission also to contribute towards making it an African diaspora knowledge site as well. To this end, we have been aided by a parallel project *"Intersections of African Diaspora Knowledge Communities: The South Florida Model"* which was funded by the Ford Foundation, and has been absolutely essential in advancing the field of African diaspora studies in the South-South, as some of us call Florida, as opposed to assuming that knowledge always comes from the North-East, or from Europe, across the Atlantic. We developed a website (see website no. 6) to provide information and update contributors on the project.

We also began with a meeting of consultants from a range of areas across the African diaspora in order to develop a pool of intellectuals that we could engage, call on, encourage to contribute subject essays on their specializations. That group decided on the pattern that we have used which covers *subject entries* of major aspects and disciplines of the African diaspora people; *selected biographies and ethnic groups* of those who have contributed to the African diaspora or had significant impact on the advancement of the discourse; *regional and country essays* on some critical areas of the African diaspora and topical essays on African diaspora concepts; created entry format models, which included original research, a full covering of the field, in well-documented and concise entries, including recent discoveries and theories. As promised in the initial proposal, entries were organized in terms of places (geography), people (personalities), movements (such as Pan-Africanism), theories (e.g., Negritude) in a straightforward A-Z order. Each entry also provides cross-references. At the end of each entry is a "See also" listing that provides researchers with a way of finding additional material on a topic and a "Further Reading" list.

In terms of scope, the volumes are, therefore, international in reach, covering the five continents with documented African diaspora communities. We had excellent coverage from Latin American communities like Colombia, Bolivia, Brazil and Dominican Republic, with young scholars from those areas like Paula Moreno (Colombia). We were also fortunate to have the contribution of Leana Cabral, a niece of Amilcar Cabral to do an entry on Cape Verde. More experienced scholars like Marco Polo Hernandez on Afro-Mexico or Quince Duncan on Costa Rica were contacted to contribute their research. Juan Angola Maconde of Bolivia entered this project following the ASWAD conference in Rio-de Janeiro, Brazil in 2005. These have provided knowledge of their research on their own communities. Many of these scholars have been working on their own communities in isolation and are pleased to have a location for collaborative research. And the Indian Ocean Diaspora was well covered because of the advances in the knowledge of scholars like Shihan da Silva from that area and the TADIA conference in Goa, in January 2006. Subject essays from expert scholars in their fields like Nkiru Nzegwu on art and the African diaspora, Joseph Inikori on the political economy of the African Atlantic system, Monica Jardine on the Caribbean Migration, Brian Meeks on Caribbean Black Power have been important contributions. Many of these were presented at a conference held at Florida Memorial University in 2005. In this regard, we also encouraged and solicited entries from graduate students allowing them by these means to have a publication profile and benefiting from the fact that they are usually the ones doing the freshest work in the field.

Defining and Conceptualizing the African Diaspora

Studying the African diaspora is indeed studying the world. This is the first realization that any scholar of the African diaspora experiences very early in the process, for at least two reasons: 1) Africa is the birth place of human civilization and from there human beings migrated to various locations worldwide; 2) African peoples in our contemporary understanding (continental Africans and African-descended peoples) exist globally, following a series of subsequent migrations. While all migrations do not necessarily create a diaspora, what is particular to diaspora creation includes first of all a migration, but also some historical, emotive, political, economic and cultural connections to that homeland and a consciousness of that interaction. The study of the African diaspora has involved various generations of scholarship, various disciplinary approaches, various conceptual formulations, various identifications and interrogations of what and/or who constitute the African diaspora.

The African diaspora refers to the dispersal of African peoples all over the world. As such it is a globalization and therefore, internationalization of African peoples created through centuries of migrations. The word "*diaspora*", coming from Greek actually means ["*dia*" = through and "*spora*" = the process of sewing].[1] Thus, it refers to "dispersal of seeds" as well as "the result of the dispersal". The implications of "through" in the first part of the word, also allows us to have a metaphorical sense of the movement aspects of diaspora, i.e., "through different routes". In this reading, then, "diaspora" can be seen as a kind of harvest of peoples, cultures, knowledges which travels from Africa to other locations. Stuart Hall (2007) calls the formation of diasporas the "dark side" of the globalization process. Indeed, African diaspora peoples have been the products or the recipients of this economic globalization, often the demographic/human resource engine through the expropriation of their labour for the advancement of current economic and communication structures now defined as globalization (Friedman 2001: 2-11).[2] As a result, it has a different intent and political identity than the globalization created for economic oppression.

The African diaspora refers to the dispersal of Africans through: (1) *voluntary* (economic and pre-Columbian exploratory journeys); (2) *trade, servitude and military* (early Indian Ocean trade journeys from the sixth century); (3) *forced* migrations (trans-Atlantic slavery over at least four centuries in the modern period 15th to 19th centuries); and (4) *induced,* the more recent 20th and 21st centuries migrations of African peoples based on world economic imbalances. These have resulted, thereby, in the relocation and re-definition of African peoples in a range of now international locations.[3]

While one aspect of the definition of the African diaspora is fairly constant in terms of its association with dispersal or scattering, there is a plurality of interpretations (from disciplines – history, anthropology, political science, literature and art; from varying ideological and regional positions) of the nature of the result of that dispersal, i.e., what constitutes the African diaspora. Some would argue that this plurality is in fact a good thing as it allows for multiple perspectives which engender further research and additional subjects of study. Others see forced exodus as the most important constitutive element in diaspora creation. As far as the Atlantic end of the diaspora, in terms of numbers, Inikori (see Davies 2008) has argued that the conservative Curtin statistics of eleven million people moved via trans-Atlantic slavery and the more generous nineteen million people are not a source for debate, as the numerical basis for the forced migration (which of course does not include the uncountable numbers lost in passage) is enough to make the arguments about demographic shifts as well as the transformation of the economic patterns on both sides of the Atlantic, but largely benefiting Europe and America.[4]

The use of the term African diaspora is linked to decolonization activity and therefore, has political intent, and that is to account for the "status and prospects" of various peoples of African descent scattered around the world, often being denied their humanity. Thus, one sees at least two broad tendencies in African diaspora studies: 1) to account for dispersal mainly from a common source in Africa; and 2) to account for those communities which have migrated in various directions and thereby have reconfigured identities in those new home locations. By these means, there is often a sense of studying 1) Africa and the diaspora or the continent and the dispersal; and/or 2) the African diaspora itself as a unit including the continent and the various intra-African migrations and movements. We propose to bring these two tendencies together in this *Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora.*

A number of scholars over the years have provided definitions and history of the use of the term "African diaspora". George Shepperson's *African Diaspora: Concept and Context* (1993) documents the usage of this particular combination and provides much of the language that is used still to define the African diaspora, identifying the origin of the use of the term to refer to the Jewish diaspora,[5] and therefore, also the "homeland" element. The first usage of the term for African peoples, he identifies, as linked to the rise of Black political organizing of the immediate decolonization period beginning in the 1950s, particularly around the time of the First International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in 1956 and the International Congress of African Historians held in Dar es Salaam in October 1965.

Shepperson (1993) is careful to point out, though, that while the expression "African diaspora" began to have usage in the mid twentieth century, the concept has older usage than its twentieth century definition, taking it all the way back to the Biblical reference that "Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands" (Psalm 68:31). Shepperson credits Edgar Wilmot Blyden with his 1880s' "Ethiopia Stretching Out Her Hands unto God: or, Africa's Service to the World" as one of the first places to see the conceptualizing of the African diaspora in an intellectual approach. For him, though, African diaspora is a framework for comparative study, it has to be approached through different languages, it cannot be only a statistical rendering but has to engage ideas and also not deal with only dispersal outward, as it "loses much of its force if it is limited to dispersal in an outward direction only" (Shepperson 1993: 44). But even before Blyden, in the U.S. context, David Walker's 1829 *Appeal* was directed to the *Coloured Citizens of the World*, already with a consciousness of political challenge of oppression that would be echoed later in Fanon, but already definitely with the sense of an African diaspora in its conceptual framing.

Edwards (2003), then, is a very important intervention as it addresses the particular ways in which diaspora has been put to use for political, emotive, cultural reasons. But one also has to consider the disjunctures (see, Appadurai 2006) and differences in terms of application. In this particular case, the political connections between the Anglophone and Francophone diaspora become importantly identified via the political organizing of George Padmore (Trinidad/UK/Ghana) and Garame Kouyate (Ivory Coast/Paris).

Thus, in terms of the first tendency, the concept of the African diaspora is much older than its contemporary formulation. If we accept that the birthplace of human beings, based on archaeological evidence is Africa, and from there began its dispersal, around the world, then we can argue logically that the African diaspora is the first constituted formulation of human migration. Therefore, some aspects of African cultures have touched all societies. Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya in her entry on Indian Ocean and the African diaspora concludes by saying the following:

> *Africans were in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaysia, Maldives, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Phillipines, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, Syria, Timor, Turkey, and Yemen. It is important to ascertain why this African presence has received little attention (See, Davies 2008: 568).*

The African diaspora framework is broad enough to accommodate specific research on communities hitherto made invisible; and narrow enough for targeted studies on specific communities. In this context, one has to return to some of the earlier and credible historical research in this area as well as engage in new projects guided by scholars who have been doing work in those specific areas. Chancellor Williams in *The Destruction of Black Civilization,* for example, identifies the early migrations from then "Ethiopian empire which once extended from the Mediterranean to the north and southward to the source of the Nile" (Williams 1987) in present day Ethiopia, based on a series of human and natural disasters. Thus, there are particular historical movements, periods, and places, which allow us to identify specific communities, cultural, social, economic and political formulations in our contemporary realities. Nkiru Nzegwu's subject entry on "Art in the African Diaspora" seems to follow this logic as it identifies seven formulations of the African diaspora and insists that the categories received from European scholarship have been arbitrary and indeed limit our fuller understandings of African diaspora as it relates to creativity and the arts at least. More expansive than the five phases of Colin Palmer, she identifies seven phases as follows: The Paleolithic, the Egyptian, the Kemetic, the Kushitic, the Atlantic, the colonial and anti-colonial, and the postcolonial. In this way, art-related creations for those earlier periods, she argues, also fall under African diaspora. Importantly, then, in her formulation, she would want to include the Egyptian or Ethiopian diaspora.

The intellectual work of the pre-modern African diaspora can be traced to the universities in Alexandria, Egypt, the University of Timbuktu and Djenne in the actual republic of Mali as well as in the various centres of learning of the West African kingdom of Ghana (University of Kumbi-sahel) burned by the Almoravids in the 14th century. The Library of African Diaspora Studies then will eventually have to address this earlier information, even as it extends into the contemporary, thus, *temporally*, the research here can move in two directions, backward to the early historical periods as Afrocentrists began to do and forwards to embrace new formations of African diaspora; *spatially* to address the range of existing communities worldwide; *conceptually* examining the nature of epistemological contributions of the African diaspora.

While we acknowledge the existence of a pre-slavery migration to the Americas (Williams 1987), the more contemporary African diaspora, which constitute our second tendency, can be more firmly identified in the period following European enslavement and forced migration of Africans to the New World. Following the work of the first Pan-Africanists such as Edgar Wilmot Blyden (1886) in his famous speech in Liberia College, twentieth century studies of the African diaspora have made major contributions towards the understanding of the dispersal of African peoples. Early and mid 20th century scholars, like Anna Julia Cooper, W.E.B. Du Bois, Melville Herskovits, Carter G. Woodson, Katherine Dunham (U.S.A.); J.J. Thomas and George Padmore, Una Marson, Fernando Ortiz (Caribbean); Casely Hayford, Funimalayo Ransome Kuti, Cheikh Anta Diop, (Africa); Nina Rodrigues, Abdias do Nascimento (Brazil); have helped to provide frameworks of analysis as well as documented research and activism which advanced possibilities of studies of various aspects of the African diaspora.

Ruth Simms Hamilton in "Conceptualizing the African Diaspora" (1995) works theoretically within the framework of world systems analysis. She defines African diaspora as a social formation which includes a "global aggregate of actors and subpopulations differentiated in social and geographical space, yet exhibiting a commonality based on shared historical experiences conditioned by and within the world ordering system" (Moore *et al* 1995: 394). She deploys three historical characteristics to identify the diaspora as distinct from other groups:

A. Geo-Social Displacement and the Circularity of a People (The historical dialectic between geographical mobility and the establishmentof "roots");
B. Social Oppression: Relations of Domination and Subordination (Conflict, discrimination and inequality based primarily, although, not exclusively, on race, color and class); and
C. Endurement, Resistance and Struggle: Cultural and Political Action (Creative actions of people, a subject of their history; psychocultural and ideological transformations; social networks and dynamics).

Hamilton's work offers here important categories for situating a range of African diaspora movements, histories, cultural transformations, and above all, not only the issues of dominance and subordination but also resistance. Her diaspora as a "field of action" predates "unit of analysis" formations and identifies a more dynamic praxis as it also includes a range of literary, cultural and political movements. And her formulation of "circularity" offers avenues for work on areas of cultural production like music.

Historical Background and Geographical Range of the Contemporary African Diaspora

The long history of forced migration which displaced African peoples across Europe and the Americas, via trans-Atlantic slavery from the 15th century onwards has been well addressed. The history of Euro-American imperialism's border transgression and its larger assumption of control of human and physical resources, unlimited space and movement serve as one contextual background for the Atlantic African diaspora. The development of triangular trade routes through the "middle passage": the economics of slavery and colonialism facilitated the rise of European modernity. Contemporary notions of globalization, we can conclude then, have always already been economic and used African people's labour in its processes. Pre-existing frameworks for operation that ensured European control of the world's resources were put in place with the rise of European modernity. The result of all these processes of free and forced migration was the appearance of Africans in the Americas, in Europe and in Asia and the simultaneous re-creation of socio-cultural practices in these various locations, making them essentially a global people.[6]

Historians of the African diaspora have continued a process of documenting the ways that this trans-Atlantic slave trade disrupted the lives and displaced the peoples of numerous already intact African nations, locating them in the "New World" for the services of plantation systems. Subsequent industrial developments in the Americas (15th to 19th centuries) were facilitated with slavery only being abolished in the various New World locations in a sliding 19th century date arrangement based on decisions in the various colonizing centres of power (French, Spanish, English, American, Portuguese) from 1838-1888.[7]

The work of historians of the African diaspora has been fundamental in backgrounding and detailing the nature of these movements. Joseph Harris's lead in this area has been absolutely pivotal in the development of the field. From the late 1970s Howard University conference which produced the landmark, *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora* (Harris 1998), Harris, has maintained the African diaspora as a subject of study and as its own unit of analysis, pushing as well for an expanded scope beyond the Atlantic diaspora. This recent phase also has been advanced by works such as Colin Palmer's whose *"Defining and Studying the Modern African Diaspora"* (1998: 21-25) led into the American Historical Association conference on *"Diasporas and Migrations in History"* for 1999, which raised a number of questions about definition and identified five major African diasporic streams: the first dispersal which he puts as happening about 100,000 years ago and constituted the beginning of dispersal of humankind; the second, about 3000 B.C., with the movement of Bantu-speaking peoples from around West Africa to other parts of the continent; the third, the trading diaspora to parts of Europe, the Middle East and Asia beginning around the 5th century; fourth, the trans-Atlantic migration of enslaved Africans from the 15th century; the fifth, the movement post 19th century to the present of Africans and peoples of African descent and resettlement in various societies. For this reason, the framework that Patterson and Kelley (2000) use, *Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World*,[8] provides a conceptual overview for the logic of the diaspora as a process still in formation as it summarized the important literature and theoretical positions advanced in African diaspora up to the end of the 20th century.

The work of a variety of other historians, like Michael Gomez (1998, 2005a, 2005b), has been critical. Earlier, Hine and McLeod, from another conference, produced the book, *Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in the Diaspora (1999),* which provided useful additions to the Library of African Diaspora Studies. And Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's "Making Invisible Africans Visible: Coasts, Ports, Regions and Ethnicities", in her *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas* (2005), provides a good analysis of the various studies of the African diaspora in the Americas and ends up identifying from her related data bases, the various movements of African diaspora peoples and their ethnic origins.

This relocation of African people to different geographical locations often meant subordination or dispossession. So, even though some like Gwyn Campbell (see pp. 43-82) would make hard distinctions between the nature of the Atlantic African diaspora and the Indian Ocean diaspora, suggesting that the latter is not a "victim diaspora", today in India, African Indians or Indo-Africans who describe themselves more particularly as Siddis or Habshis, still live visibly oppressed by the state and its elites, located as "backward tribes" and later, "scheduled tribes", and accorded little benefits of citizenship (Prasad 2005).

Still, there are other groups whose lives remained consistently debased in their new locations. The condition of African peoples in the Americas is an example. Following enslavement in the Americas, the most glaring of inequities continued as a period of colonialism in which Africans as colonial subjects were powerless until formal political independence some three hundred years later to fully represent their rights both in Africa and the Americas. Post-independence nation-states have often been neo-colonial systems which were, therefore, not reliable protectors of rights because within them were already imposed race and class based hierarchies which subordinated sometimes majority populations.[9]

In many countries, these peoples remained disenfranchised under various colonialisms (English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Arab and Asian), without the means to return to their native lands and subject to horrendous conditions violating every tenet of human rights and with no other legitimate recourse but to fight for those rights. Throughout the Americas, conditions of abuse of labour, of the denial of rights, and beatings, maimings and other forms of physical brutality accompanied the processes of colonialism that succeeded plantation slavery. The trans-Saharan passage and the opening up of the Arabian Peninsula and the circum-Indian Ocean geography, located a range of African peoples in what is now called the African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean (Jayasuriya and Pankhurst 2003). While the Atlantic Diaspora (14th – 21st centuries) has been much more studied, scholars have begun to advance the study of this earlier migration, to the Indian Ocean, (6th century onwards) ensuring that this migration was driven not so much by enslavement but often by sailors, merchants, soldiers, some of whom became members of royalty and attained political and military leadership as did Malik Ambar in India. Thus, earlier migrations across the Mediterranean Sea, the Eritrean (Red) Sea and the Indian Ocean, both as free and enslaved people from approximately the sixth century have now to be central to the understanding of the formation of the contemporary African diaspora.

Political Movements and Projects: African Peoples, Diaspora and Pan-Africanism

The African diaspora is also understood as a political and cultural category. At the political level, its primary ideological formations have been expressed as Pan-Africanism, a political philosophy articulated through a variety of congresses and projects. For some scholars, like Tony Martin, the rudiments of Pan-Africanism exist in the yearnings of Africans displaced via transatlantic slavery to return to their homelands, thus the flying back stories are seen as a kind of proto-Pan-Africanism, as are some of the myths and legends, songs and spirituals but also spiritual possessions and chants which talk about wings and homes and heaven, and have continued to give meaning to African entities and practices present in other diasporic locations. There has been always a logic which linked diaspora to Pan-Africanism from the start as St. Clair Drake (451-514) identifies in his analyses of the relationships between these two discourses. Thus, diaspora can be seen as a condition and Pan-Africanism as a political project.

The primary motivation of Pan-Africanism can be summarized as follows: since a range of capitalist policies and projects have produced African peoples who live all over the world, how then can we represent their rights fully if the various nation states in which they live do not always guarantee those rights? How can we produce a political system that coordinates these emerging nation-states and provides structures to what were fast becoming disparate communities? What are the political projects that need to be advanced in a coordinated way? What are African citizenship rights as internationally understood while still dealing with issues of nation-state sovereignty, jurisdictional issues and the rights and duties of citizens who are located in nation states everywhere to which they may have primary loyalty. This formulation then would create usable policies for transcendence of limitations of geographies, nation-state boundaries, ethnic and linguistic differences for progressive social transformation of the lived realities of African peoples globally. Kwame Nkrumah's vision of Pan-Africanism on the continent, Malcolm X's vision of an OAAU as linked to, and expressed at the OAU meeting in Cairo had additionally attempted to make some of these connections. In similar ways, Kwame Toure's All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party describes itself in terms of the practice of Pan-Africanism already identified. But even before that, the work of Marcus Garvey and his *Africa for the Africans* and *Back to Africa* constructs critiqued the oppressed conditions of Black peoples in the diaspora as they articulated a possibility of a conceptual (if not a physical) return and began the process of instituting economic systems which could ensure that possibility became the reality which it is for many today. The problematic knot, though, is the extent to which African peoples can give primary or sole allegiance to the nation-states in which they live, particularly when those nation-states often not identify or respect their human rights.

All African Union instruments have so far used the formation of "peoples" to describe this multiplicity. These include the "Constitutive Act of the African Union" (July, 2001) which begins in its preamble with a direct assertion concerning African peoples, invoking generations of Pan-Africanists. (website No.1).[10] The African Charter (*Banjul*) which consistently refers to African peoples, in the plural, thus leaving in the possibility of including a multiplicity of peoples across the continent of Africa. This definition of African peoples is an advance in the sense that it allows space for a definition of African peoples in a broad continental and diaspora sense. And beyond that, the African Union's acceptance of the diaspora as its "Sixth Region" has meant the possibility of some sort of political assertion for the African diaspora. The full articulation of this structure is yet to be fully worked out though there have been deliberate, though, slow movements towards this happening. *The Lusaka Summit Decision,* on the "establishment of a strategic framework for a Policy of Migration in Africa," gestures, therefore, towards the development of a definite future relationship with the African diaspora.

An African Union Diaspora Conference in Washington D.C. during December 2002 had as one of the two of its objectives the development of "capacity building projects by Diaspora Civil Society Organization in the Western Hemisphere Diaspora"(website no.2). This body had as one of its initiatives the proposal of an African diaspora component to the African Union and its representative bodies, particularly the Pan-African Parliament (Article 17) and the Commission (Article 20) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union (website no.3). A technical workshop in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, in June, 2004 elaborated a framework and recommendations on the relationship between the African Union and the diaspora (website no.4).

The definition of diaspora, an operational definition, which came out of this workshop and which was finally approved in 2005, privileging peoples as in the initial Constitutive Act, is as follows: "Peoples of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union. It includes communities created by the movements and cultures of persons from the continent of Africa and their descendants throughout the world – Asia, The Pacific, Europe and the Americas including United States and Canada, the Caribbean, South and Central America" (website no.1). The operational definition interestingly includes *willing* membership in the African diaspora as opposed to generic descent or other historical connections, and therefore, becomes a different kind of 21st century political definition than in the initial usage of the term "African diaspora".

African peoples in *the Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora* are similarly defined as those who have historical origins in Africa irrespective of time-period and current geographical location. In this way, descendants of those who were displaced from the continent forcibly and voluntarily in the Indian Ocean migrations, those moved forcibly during the period of trans-atlantic slavery, as well as those who have migrated more recently for economic, educational, social and other reasons, also have claims to the status of African peoples or African-descended peoples as used in Latin America. African peoples in this understanding refer to peoples of African origin, comprising a variety of African ethnicities, on the continent of Africa and in the international African community termed African diaspora.

A number of contemporary nation-states and regions have also begun to claim their own diaspora. The Jamaican diaspora as well as the Haitian diaspora already have major impact on the politics and economics of their home communities, particularly in the areas of remittances, often more than the GDP of these countries and increasingly on the politics of their home countries, such as the right to vote and the choices for political leadership. And while the trade and circulation of people and commodities bring people, places and things into contact, at times, in diaspora, that can be collaborative or conflictual or they can lead to more heightened articulations of particular nation-state diaspora. Relatedly, a number of larger nation-states (such as India) are recognizing their communities abroad as essential to the full access of all their human and material resources. And work is taking place on specific African nation-state diaspora created by contemporary migration, such as the Somali diaspora by Issa Farah, a young Somali scholar in Australia. His research, presented at La Trobe

University, Australia seminar (March, 2007) identifies at least one million Somalis in diaspora with significant populations in North America (Canada, United States from as early as 1915 based on photographs taken in Chicago), Europe (England, Scandinavia, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and France), Middle East (UAE, Saudi Arabia), Australia and New Zealand.

Regional definitions are also being articulated, as in the African diaspora in the Andean region of South America and the Caribbean diaspora. The Caribbean is already well recognized as a place for the practice of overlapping or intersecting diasporas, as say the Indian and African communities, but also the African and native Carib, Arawak and Taino communities as well. In Canada as well, African diaspora works on indigeneity (to a lesser degree in the U.S., though work on the Black Seminoles in Florida in relation to maroon communities is increasing) mean a recognition of the importance of native peoples and the ways they have been dispossessed of their land even as Africans claim their diasporic existence in those same expropriated land. This poignant articulation from native Americans has to be consistently re-addressed, by African diaspora peoples, also themselves exploited, so as not to avoid the errors of settlers who assume appropriated land as theirs as happened in the Americas and Australia and to maintain earlier collaborations. While these competing claims to geographical location can make for conflict, they can also make for collaboration as one struggles against these earlier and contemporary imperialist projects which have indeed driven and in some cases created these diaspora. Andrea Smith in *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (2005) describes well how these issues of imperialism are/were carried through sexual violence and often literally on the backs of women. Another work, by Greg Thomas, the *Sexual Demon of Colonial Power* (2007), indicates a similar set of arguments of the intersection of sexual constructions and indeed sexual exploitation in the advancement of colonial projects.

But resistance has also overlapped or intersected. The importance of Indian *ahimsa* or non violence as advanced by Mahatma Gandhi, who gained his understandings of oppression in apartheid South Africa where as a young activist lawyer he was thrown off a train, had a significant impact on the Indian anti-colonial struggle as it challenged offensive traditional practices, like child marriages. Gandhi, in turn, influenced Martin Luther King and his particular strategies to resist white racist dominance, as manifested in Jimcrowism and segregation in the United States. And a politico-cultural movement like the Afro-bloco, *Filhos de Ghandy* in Salvador-Bahia, Brazil also demonstrates the logic of diasporic collaborations in their appropriation of the meaning of Gandhi for carnival production. In reality, a political statement in the midst of Brazilian demonization of Afro-Brazilian cultural practices, this group initially of stevedores began to articulate itself as coming out in peace, and therefore, used Gandhi paraphernalia and iconography as it also combined with the symbology of the Yoruba derived *candomble.* And African and Indian cultures converge, even as political allegiances diverge. Thus, Tassa drumming in Trinidad, an instrument played by Siddis (Afro-Indians) in India, who indicate that the *tassa* is an African drum, is also played by both Africans and Indians. Food like roti and curry are now staples of the Eastern Caribbean and Guyanese (Afro-Caribbean) diet and the exchanges continue based on close proximity as in the pejorative "douglarization" ("dougla" – a word, which is even worse than *mulatto* (little mule), and which, in various languages ranging from Persian to Hindi, means, among other things, according to Shalini Puri in a lecture at Florida International University, Interad, Summer 2006, "bastard", "stain", "blot", "polluted" and "dirty") and other terms even more offensive. It is the formation, which some still embrace to challenge logics of single belonging, that provids an interpretation of miscegenation in terms of what their dual heritages mean in this particular version of hybridity. Many also who use "dougla" as definition are not fully aware of this historical meaning of the term, and embrace it in a way similar to how some re-appropriate other offensive terms used to describe Black people. The existence of self-identified Indo-Africans or Siddis provides alternative political readings of this particular blend.

Socio-Cultural Projects: Complicating the African Diaspora Story

The question of how best to identify African diasporan peoples and their cultures continues to be a source of important scholarly debate. Zeleza, using Appadurai's framework of flows, identifies demographic, cultural, economic, political, ideological and imagistic flows. The hyphenated logic is one which has been followed by a number of communities as they attempt to account for these dual heritages, such as U.S. African Americans, African Caribbeans or Afro-Caribbeans and for Afro-Latin Americans, at the start of the 21st century and *Afro descendientes* (African-descendants) is the agreed upon descriptor. Some sort of connection to the African continent is assumed either in terms of direct and discernable historical lines, physiognomy and clearly recognized socio-cultural practices.

Thus, in the field of anthropology, the early work of Herskovits and his contemporaries have been preeminent as they led to a variety of discussions about how to recognize and/or measure African cultural patterns and practices; how to name African communities world wide. Though this early work of Herskovits has been criticized by subsequent generations of anthropologists for operating on the basis of some versions of African essentialism, and/or for making too easy conclusions (J.D. Elder, personal communication, 2003) based on not enough research, the idea of identifying aspects of African culture in New World cultures has not died. For many in the Caribbean and Latin America, this kind of work was one of the only sources for claiming a history and human identity which was being erased or denied by dominant cultural formations.

The follow-up work by scholars like Robert Farris Thompson (Yale University) bridged into the contemporary period of cultural studies work, providing specificity to more general contemporary assertions. Thus, the study of Africanisms and/or African cultural retentions, raised through the group of anthropologists who worked on this throughout the early and mid twentieth century is not as important today in terms of proving one to one correspondences and equivalences which held sway in the early twentieth century period of African diaspora research. Thus, questions of transformation or re-elaboration continue to be addressed substantially in the Americas.

In the contemporary early twenty-first century, the task of building one to one correspondences via the study of Africanisms has been replaced by discussions of representation and transformation. Tendencies in the field still demonstrate that the nature of these latter movements and the meaning of African-generated cultural practices are worth fighting for in many locations, particularly since a people's culture is the place from which they can begin to assert their freedom.

Indeed, current discussions about creolization, syncretism and even hybridity assume some combination of African cultural forms with either European or indigenous/native American patterns. Creating hybrid cultures (plants and animals) was precisely the project of enslavers in the immediate post-enslavement period. Hybridity and creolity have long antecedents in the range of "blood" and proportional categories created such as mulatto, creole, octoroon and the others by which the slaving class tried to literally "breed" ideal and complicit and interesting variations of Africans as they similarly did animals and plants.

What connects the diaspora continues to be a fundamental issue. For some it is related to socio-cultural formations, for others it is history, the human chain of slavery, and above all contemporary realities of subordination, for others it is political practice. The definition of blackness is, therefore, an aspect of, though not an equivalent to, these African diasporan definitions. A consciousness of racial identification and oppression generated from enslavement and other forms of subordination is one of these connecting points (Hanchard 1990, 1991), which is present in all the early attempts to examine the status of African peoples. Though disparagingly called "victim diaspora" by scholars like Robin Cohen (1997) in his *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*[11] some of these points of connection, generated as we have established for political effect, have found their bases in prior or present situations of oppression and the need to effect some sort of political solidarity in order to challenge these.

Works such as *The African Diaspora: African Origins and New World Identities* (Okpewho, Davies and Mazrui 1999), which also was generated from a conference by the same name, include contributions from a range of African diaspora locations in the Americas, as they pursued issues such as theatre, art, photography, music, literature. In this regard, the cultural studies work of scholars like Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy become important as they engage the idea of membership (Braziel and Mannur 2006). For Gilroy favours the "routes" model over the "roots" preferring to look at contemporary formations rather than some difficult to prove historical connections (Gilroy 1993a; 1993b). Stuart Hall (2007) wisely sees both the political strategy in the construct as well as its articulation possibilities and difficulties. But it is precisely in culture as expressed in music, literature and art where some of these connections have been most visible.

The lyrics of Peter Tosh, "No matter where you come from/as long as you are a black man/you are an African" resonate with the logic of African diaspora and Pan-Africanism. The wide range exportation and dissemination of reggae music and the culture, lifestyle and politics of Rastafari with Bob Marley as a leading exponent, are also critical signs of the mobility of African diaporic cultural practice.

Recent DNA work, as championed by Henry Louis Gates of Harvard University, however, has seemed to be able to make some direct connections using scientific evidence available through also sampling continental African peoples and creating thereby a database for subsequent matches with people in the African diaspora (as in Oprah's Roots, a television inquiry into the genealogy of the U.S. African American talk show host and billionaire, aired in January, 2007). Pretty soon one may know with some scientific certainty, using some definite types that exist already in DNA databases collected on the continent, that which has been relegated so far to speculation based on physiognomic appearance. This brings a bit more certainty to genealogical studies like the oral history work of *Roots* by Alex Haley (1976) as has already been done. In this regard, the new scientific work gives a kind of contemporary restatement of the kind of early scientific work undertaken by Cheikh Anta Diop in his carbon dating projects as far as the original human diaspora in Africa is concerned.

The Field of African Diaspora Studies

The field of African diaspora studies can be seen through the generations of intellectual projects and their products. These have ranged from initial and individual or group scholarly research of people like Edward Blyden, J.J. Thomas, Melville Herskovits and more contemporaneously Joseph Harris, Michael Gomez, Sheila Walker, Robert Farris Thompson, Darlene Clark Hine, Colin Palmer in each generation. These individual projects have produced disciplinary studies of various communities which have then made some connections to the larger field of African diaspora studies.

The second major way in which the field has advanced has been scholarly conferences of specific institutions or organizations which have been able to produce their collections as described above. For example, at Florida International University, the conferences, which produced the *African Presence in the Americas* (Moore, Saunders and Moore 1995) and *Decolonizing the Academy: African Diaspora Studies*

(Davies 2003), attempted to intervene in the production of knowledge, all challenging the Eurocentric assumptions of knowledge of U.S. and European institutions, but also those in the Caribbean, Africa, Latin America, Australia, Asia, all formed as auxiliaries for the maintenance of European hegemony. Each conference brings forward additional connections as for example did the African Diaspora in Asia (TADIA) Conference in Goa, India in January, 2006 (van Kessel 2006: 1-14) with an earlier publication *The African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean* (2003) edited by Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya and Richard Pankhurst. Jayasuriya's work also appears in this encyclopedia. The Conferences of Intellectuals of the African Diaspora (CIAD I & II, Senegal, 2004 and Salvador Bahia, 2006) have papers as well as declarations available on line at the African Union website (website no. 1). The ASWAD Conferences and the forming of an association to do some of this work has similarly advanced the field in innumerable ways. The first tangible product of ASWAD has been *Diasporic Africa: A Reader* edited by Michael Angelo Gomez (2006).

In literature though, for at least thirty years, *Callaloo* has titled itself with the logic of diaspora through Callaloo, itself a food which comes out of the African diaspora. Its sub title: *A Journal of African Diaspora Arts and Letters* and the leadership of Charles Rowell, have indeed presented creative and critical work from a wide range of African diaspora communities. The more recent creation of journals like *Diasporas*, though, has advanced the discussion of the larger field of diaspora studies in general, specifically targeting the diaspora as an area of study and the variety of overlapping or intersecting diaspora that have an impact on these various world communities. In a similar way, *Wadabagei, A Journal of the Caribbean and its Diaspora,* has supported the development of a Caribbean diaspora knowledge field. But a variety of particular journals like *Caribbean Quarterly,* out of the University of the West Indies and the work of scholars like Maureen Warner-Lewis in her study of language and culture has maintained an ongoing space for the discussion of a variety, of diasporic subjects as they manifest themselves in the Caribbean.

A range of professional organizations like the African Literature Association, Caribbean Studies Association, American Historical Association, and their publications must be referred for the discussion of aspects of the African diaspora as they pertain to those fields. Encyclopedia production is another strand in this process, pulling together a range of scholars and their research but also creating necessary library of materials that advance a field.

The Congress of Negro Artists marked the beginnings of African diaspora intellectual and creative work in the middle of the 20th century as we have already established. And formed in the late1970s, the African Literature Association, through its conferences and publications, has been a place where African diaspora literatures have been consistently addressed. Thus, literature has been one of the foremost ways by which diaspora identities have been articulated and a primary area in which this field of African diaspora studies has taken shape. Some of the best pieces of literature have confronted this issue directly. The definition of "African Literatures", in the plural, that comes out of journals like *Presence Africaine* and the African Literature Association refer to the range of genres and types of African literature one finds on the continent but also in other parts of the world. A vast field with specialized encyclopedias, bibliographies, year books, journals and numerous publications has been documenting these literatures. We have included salient writers, themes, concepts and texts in most categories.

A range of helpful and related concepts have come out of these literatures as we develop frameworks for doing relational work. Literary re-imaginings have come through the work of writers like Ishmael Reed, Fred d'Aguiar, Alice Walker. Aime Cesaire has talked about unboundedness in his "no-fence island" expressed in his long poem, *Cahier,* and Edouard Glissant has developed *errance* or wandering. He has also advanced the discussions of creolization as conceptualized by Kamau Brathwaite whose *tidalectics* is as fluid a construct as is Benitez-Rojo's *repeating island*, both driven by water, the sea. In this way, Gilroy's "Black Atlantic" (1993a), also a theoretical re-articulation of Farris Thompson's "Black Atlantic Civilizations" (1983: 226), provides tremendous theoretical mileage. Discourses of migrations in a range of fields from history, literature, continue to drive research on diaspora. And re-memory makes literature one of the central places where creative articulations take place. Aboriginal Australians have a theoretical and cultural category called "dreaming" which is worth invoking here as it has to do not only with the flow of the imagination in a range of fields from story telling to art but also history and movement in terms of life experience. Thus, for U.S. African Americans, concepts like polyrhythms and improvisation as articulated in jazz or quilting, as have vernacular theory and signifying have had great utility. Rinaldo Walcott's call for a diaspora reading practice, which allows for "the uncovering of the histories, memories, desires, free associations, disappointments, pleasures and investments we bring to any given texts" (2003: 118), resonates with "diaspora literacy" (Veve Clark) or "cultural fluency" (Janis Mayes).

In the same way, as far as music in the African diaspora is concerned, we have included a range of African diaspora music forms – Afro-beat, blues, jazz, hip-hop, highlife, salsa . The vastness of the field forbids reduction and synthesis. A related project then to which one can refer is *The African Diaspora: A Musical Perspective* which includes a range of essays on different aspects of African diaspora musical forms, genres, and styles. The field of ethnomusicology is a rich one through which much of the early African diaspora work was carried out. Work done by Alan Lomax, J.D. Elder, Alan Waterman and others documented a range of forms which demonstrated African rhythmic patterns that could be subjected to structural analysis (see Davies

2008). Recent collections such as "*Songs of the Orisha Palais, Trinidad and Tobago* (2005)" could only be credibly mounted and sustained with that earlier sustaining work already in place. In this regard, the work of Maureen Warner-Lewis in linguistics has also been amazingly solid. Her *Trinidad Yoruba* and subsequent *Guinea's Other Suns* (1991) have been formidable in documenting African religions in the Caribbean at a time when African diaspora work was not popularly engaged in research field that it is today.

In this contemporary period, one can identify a range of academic programmes and departments dedicated to the study of the African diaspora. Some with Ph.D. programmes like University of California, Berkeley, one of the first programmes to specifically target an advanced degree in African diaspora studies. Numbering approximately twenty-five programmes (see the website no. 6), several units which name themselves Africana Studies Programmes and/or Departments have been doing diaspora work. Courses like Spelman College's two semester "African Diaspora and the World," attempt to give a general coverage of the African diaspora akin to the Western Civilizations courses and staples of the major universities, in order to provide their students with knowledge of the major historical, philosophical, artistic and scientific developments of the African world. Therefore, work on African diaspora communities within the larger construct of African diaspora can be advanced. Quite a number of scholars have engaged or are engaging Afro-Brazilian communities in various ways, and Afro-Brazilians themselves are beginning to be the major and best articulators of their own history and culture. Work on the Caribbean has become as well a very dynamic field advanced by scholars and associations in this area, now existing internationally and as far as the Australian Association of Caribbean Studies, whose conference "Mo(ve)ments: Local, Regional, Global in Caribbean Popular Culture" (February, 2007, Melbourne), had engaged in issues of migration and thereby of diaspora. In this regard, the work of Linda Heywood, Maureen Warner-Lewis, J.D. Elder has deliberately engaged diaspora as a theoretical framework and, as we have indicated, the work on specific Caribbean diaspora (Harry Goulbourne, Winston James, Stuart Hall, Beryl and Paul Gilroy, Alrick Cambridge, C. L. R. James, John La Rose, Claudia Jones, Amon Saba Saakana), as it relates to Caribbean communities in the United Kingdom, had often offered theoretical leadership in articulating this construct, as have a range of scholars in the U.S.

The broadening of the definition of Afro-America to include the North as well as the South brings back into focus the African diaspora communities throughout South America and, as indicated, work on Asia and the Maghreb is increasing. Work on Australia, I believe, is another area which will soon be advanced. Besides the pre-modern migration which produced Black aboriginal inhabitants in Australia, from 1888-1901, Black convicts were reported to have entered Australia, including a group of thirteen coming with the first shipment, often convicted for minor crimes and a kind of debt peonage. And, in the early 1900s, there is a reported Sydney branch of Marcus Garvey's UNIA, some with maritime connections and documents of letters of representatives sent overseas are available in the Garvey archives. This is an area well worth a fuller exploration.

Overlapping or intersecting diasporas allow further relational work that looks at Indian, Jewish, Arab, Asian, Native American, Aboriginal, Latin American, and Caribbean diasporas. These also overlap or extend the boundaries of the African diaspora which is also going to be very significant in the future. And a new African diaspora, as created by the Africans migrating for economic reasons in the 20th century to various metropolises and to other continents, is another key area for research, given that by some counts, more Africans have crossed the Atlantic in this period than in the earlier trans-Atlantic slavery period. The products of some of these overlapping or intersecting diasporas have been often mis/named and claimed under douglarization, creolity, mulatto consciousness, hybridity, mestizaje, concepts.

Gender and Sexuality

The question of gendering the African diaspora is one that is long in being fully articulated from the early work of conferences like the Michigan Black woman writer in the African diaspora in 1985. Audre Lorde's work, in building a Black woman's community internationally, has to be seen as articulating in Europe, Africa, The Caribbean and the U.S. the kind of Black women's diaspora politics that parallels earlier work done by Pan-Africanists as far as creating a "Zami" community as well. Her essay, *Sisterhood and Survival*, available in *Sister Outsider* provides the impetus for a Black woman's diaspora. Lorde also felt that some kind of international network of Black women was absolutely essential (1988: 129-131). The journal *Sage* at Spelman College, throughout the 1980s, had an African diaspora orientation in terms of the kind of research it included from Black women internationally.

A series of conferences and the publication of their proceedings have advanced some of this early work. These include: *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora* (Terborg-Penn, Harley and Rushing 1989) which has also been significant, recalling as it does the work of Filomena Steady in *The Black Woman Crossculturally* (Steady 1989). Both contexts have influenced at least two generations of scholars studying women and the African diaspora. Describing itself as producing concepts, methodology and projected guidelines for studies of women and the African diaspora.

In literature, *Daughters of Africa: An International Anthology of Words and Writings by Women of African Descent from the Ancient Egyptian to the Present* (Busby 1992) is an expansive and ambitious project. Similarly, *Black Women's Diasporas*, V. 2, of *International Dimensions of Black Women's Writing* (Davies 1994/

1995), is perhaps one of the only places that one can see that formation, i.e., Black women's diasporas in practice. Another would be Miriam de Costa-William's edited collection, *Daughters of the Diaspora: Afra-Hispanic Writers* (2003). Since then a conference was held at Dartmouth College, organized by Judy Byfield on the subject of "Gendering the African Diaspora" in 2002 to study, as its subtitle indicates, "Gender, Culture and Historical Change in the Caribbean and Nigerian Hinterland", one of its general aims, though, was to "encourage the production of scholarship that both extend(ed) and challenge(d) our current writing of African and Caribbean women's history/cultures, and integrates gender analysis more systematically into our conceptualization of the African Diaspora."

The Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora, while it does not specify a section of women in the African diaspora, covers the issue of women in specific entries. It includes, proportionately, a large number of entries on and by women, and includes subjects not often covered in general works on Black women, like an entry on the activist 1950s, Black women's organization, "Sojourners for Truth and Justice."

Audre Lorde's "Zami" formation as one model in which issues of Black women's sexuality has migrated across the African diaspora from Carricacou, and the eastern Caribbean, its origins to the U.S., Germany, the U.K. and even South Africa in terms of Lorde's organizational schema. By these means, submerged discourses of Black female sexuality which challenged heteronormatives began to be articulated. Gloria Wekker's *"Mati"* work (1993) has also articulated another version, this time coming out of Surinam and the Dutch Caribbean. It is in many ways a sexual formulation which is not identical, though related, to Black lesbian constructions in the U.S. And though Ifi Amadiume resists the limitation of the meaning of her work to issues of sexuality in the European-American sense, her discussion of some aspects of African gender constructions in *Male Daughters, Female Husbands*, has opened up issues of gender in the African context, with variations by Oyeronke Oyewumi in her subsequent work (2002).

A 2006 special issue of *Feminist Africa*, guest-edited by Rhoda Reddock (2006) who was on a Fulbright professorship in Capetown, South Africa and subtitled, *Diaspora Voices*, included a range of essays from scholars in the African diaspora. Reddock, in her introductory essay, brings together for analysis the passing of *The African Protocol on Women* in relation to the passing of the *African Union African Diaspora Definition,* both in 2005, to underscore an AU recommitted both to gender equity and to the solidifying of its ongoing relationship between the continent and the diaspora.

As far as Black gay communities are concerned, work on Black gay experience in places like the U.S. has been advanced by poet/activist Essex Hemphill's work and the filmic interventions of Marlon Riggs such as *Black is Black Ain't.* Dwight McBride's work on Baldwin and in advancing a more inclusive Africana studies in general has done some of the kind of institutional work that allows the clearing of the field and that is required to advance this discourse. More substantial work has been produced for a special issue on Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Literature and Culture (v. 23: 1, Winter, 2000) for the journal, *Callaloo.* Thomas Glave's edition of literature of Caribbean/ Antillean Gay communities, *Our Caribbean: A Gathering of Lesbian and Gay Writing from the Antilles* (2008), is described as the first anthology of lesbian and gay writing from the Caribbean.

Conclusions

For scholars who problematize essential identities, one has to always foreground the dialectics of diaspora. While "the home and exile" is one formation raised by Elliott Skinner in Harris (1998), some would argue that this borrows too much from the Jewish diaspora. While a consciousness of homeland is critical, often returning to that "homeland" as in the case of Palestine, but also Liberia and Sierra Leone, can be laden with conflict as it means dispossessing people already occupying that place and with similar claims. Diaspora discourses can look relationally at a range of communities, even as it evokes some older historical realities. Thus, What does it include? What does it exclude? What are the erasures and disclosures? What are the loci of contradictory or contestatory understandings of diaspora?

While we have attempted to get entries on as wide a range of African diaspora forms and manifestations which display cultural connections, we are conscious of the need to expand even further the knowledge base in a range of areas. We have included subject essays or smaller entries on health, sports, carnivals, hair, dance, music and religion. For scholars in the field, a number of subject areas still remain under-researched. These include style and fashion in the African diaspora, body, sound, food, architecture, livity or lived experience, language. New work is being done on the relationships of diaspora to transnationalism and, definitely, the theorizing of diaspora (Braziel and Mannur 2006)[12] continues. Additional work on contemporary African diaspora in places like Australia, the Southwest Indian Ocean and the South Pacific is taking place. Some work on the Arabian peninsula and the Mediterranean is being carried out.

As we connect the nodal points of the African diaspora via various knowledge exchanges and publications like this one, we advance understandings of world communities in that still unfinished process of reclaiming the epistemologies and thereby the humanity of African diaspora peoples.[13]

Notes

[1] Thanks to Greek diaspora writer, Konstandina Dounis at La Trobe University in Melbourne, Australia and Dean Kalimniou, an expert in languages and a lawyer in

Melbourne, for providing details of usage in the Greek language and it pertains to the Greek diaspora as well. This information is benefited from a Seminar on Diasporas which I gave at LaTrobe University in February 14, 2007 at which he fortuitously met Konstandina.

[2] Friedman (2001) and IMF Staff (2000/2001) offer some discussion of the economic implications. See also, Sassen and Appiah (1999).

[3] A useful study of some of the theories of African diaspora is available in Morehouse (2006).

[4] Interview for "African Diaspora Knowledge Exchange" conference, Florida Africana Studies Consortium (FLASC), at Florida Memorial University, Miami, Florida, May, 2006. Available on CD, FLASC 2007.

[5] Indeed the *Encyclopedia Americana* indicates Danbury: Scholastic Library Publishers, 15 editions, 22 volumes, under its entry on "Diaspora". See also "Jews".

[6] Diop 1981. The range of Diop publications are reliable sources of this information based on substantial research. See also Williams 1987.

[7] The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, created to ensure the protection of rights and freedoms, was very clear about the need to make a statement on slavery.

[8] African Studies Review, April 2000, 43:1: 11-45. This entire issue of African Studies Review on African diaspora includes essays on Brazil and the Indian Ocean which along with its introduction ("Rethinking the African Diaspora") by guest editor Judith Byfield, (Nos. 1-9) is an important resource in the field of African diaspora studies.

[9] Examples of the most egregious of these include apartheid in South Africa, U.S. Segregation Laws and in Brazil official processes of "racial democracy" which functioned still to disenfranchise the majority African-derived populations.

[10] A range of Pan-African activists, thinkers, strategists from the continent and the African diaspora met repeatedly in Pan-African Congresses beginning in 1900 and continuing throughout the century in order to produce the independence of Africa from colonial rule, to produce independent states, and secure a place for a range of displaced African diaspora peoples. These include W.E.B. Du Bois, Anna Julia Cooper, Sylvester Williams, George Padmore, C.L.R. James, Marcus Garvey, Edgar Wilmot Blyden, Casely-Hayford, Kwame Nkrumah and others. Du Bois, who was at the first Pan-African Congress, retired to Ghana, died and is buried there. George Padmore was an assistant to Kwame Nkrumah and a major architect of Pan-Africanism as articulated by Nkrumah of Ghana.

[11] Cohen (1997) also attempts some classification of diaspora communities, not specifically African diaspora communities, but ranging from Chinese to Sikhs and Zionists in his "Global Diasporas frame".

[12] This gives a nice selection of essays in a variety of areas, and helpful additional reading lists and bibliography at the end of each section.

[13] The suggestion of the now deceased activist / sociologist / filmmaker, Lino de Almeida, was that a web-based encyclopedia, with the ability to be constantly updated

is the way of the future, with the idea that it be housed in a place like Brazil. Scholars in Australia have also suggested something similar.

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Website No.5: http://diaspora.northwestern.edu (This site is now closed).

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II

THE AFRICAN DIASPORA IN INDIA

4

From "Invisibility" to "Visibility": Africans in India through the Lens of Some Select Sources from the Late Classical Period to the Late 18th Century A.D.

Fitzroy André Baptiste

Introduction

> *"In the East, the African presence has been relegated to a virtual invisibility in the history books, with some exceptions. The surety is that current research is helping to lift the invisibility off the African/Black presence in Asia generally and the Indian sub-continent particularly. We are sure to hear more about this subject as the new millennium enters."*

The author made the above comment in the final paragraph of a two-part article on "The African Presence in India" that was published in the *Africa Quarterly,* the journal of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, in 1998. The article derived from the research the author had carried out during a visit to India between the middle of December 1996 and the end of January, 1997. His prediction that we were on the verge of a new explosion of scholarship on the "invisible" African thread in the history of Asia, generally and of the Indian sub-continent, East, particularly, of the Suez Canal, the Red Sea and the coast of East Africa is being realized.

To illustrate: Two very important books, published in the 1990s by Indian scholars on the African presence in India (Chauhan 1995; Ali 1996), represent a significant departure from the traditional silence of academia in the sub-continent concerning this subject. I shall be dealing with the cultural reasons for this silence. Suffice it to say, the Islamic and Brahmanic Hindu culture-system of the sub-continent attach negative connotations to "blackness" and things "African" and, by association, have tended to marginalize the contributions made by Africa and Africans to the history of the sub-continent.[1] Eight years after the appearance of the books by Chauhan and Sadiq Ali, *The African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean,* edited by Shihan de Silva Jayashuriya and Richard Pankhurst (2003), hit the market in the West. The book contains articles on different aspects of this vast subject by leading western and non-western academics such as the editors themselves, Edward Alpers, Malyn Newitt and Helen Basu. In turn, the articles reflect some of the growing output of scholarship from conferences, seminars and workshops on diaspora studies, African diaspora studies and Indian Ocean studies between 1995 and the present, especially in the United

States. In early January 1999, the 113th Annual Conference of the American Historical Association, held in Washington D.C., was devoted to the theme "Migrations and Diasporas". Between September 20 and 23, 2000, the Department of History, New York University and the Schomburg Center for Research in Black co-sponsored a conference entitled, *Crossing Boundaries: The African Diaspora in the New Millenium.* The African Studies Association of the United States followed up with "Africa and the African Diaspora: Past, Present, Future" as the theme of its 44th annual meeting that was held in Houston, Texas during November 15-18, 2001. Not to be undone, the annual conference of the Organization of American Historians in Washington D.C. between April 11 and 13, 2002, targeted "Overlapping Diasporas: Encounters and Conversions" as its theme. Just prior to this conference, "Cultural Exchange and Transformation in the Indian Ocean World" was the theme of a workshop at the Lenart Auditorium, Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles.[2] In all of the preceding arenas, there were papers presented on aspects of the two-way historical relationship between the coast of East Africa and the islands and countries located within and flanked by the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea. Overall, the scholarly surge mirrors the shift in the status of diaspora studies and African diaspora studies in the United States from "maverick" to "mainstream", between the 1960s and today. The cap to this "process history" and "process geography" is the establishment of The- African-Diaspora-in-India Network or TADIA under the coordination of Jean-Pierre Angenot of Universidade Federal de Rondonia {UNIR}, Brazil and Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya of King's College, University of London, Great Britain. It lists, on an on-going basis, the scholars, the institutions and the inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary research on the African diaspora to Asia East of Suez and the coast of Africa and the presence of African-descended communities in islands and countries from Arabia to China, Japan and Australia located in and flanked by the Arabia Sea and the Indian Ocean particularly. Formed, scientists believe, between about 160 and 50 million years ago as a super continental mass called Pangaea and separated by continental drift to form Laurasia (consisting of today's North America, Europe and northern Asia) and Gondwanaland (comprising today's South America, Africa, southern Asia, Antartica and Australia), the Indian Ocean stretches over 3,000 kilometers from South Africa to South Australia. It covers, however, only one-fifth of the world's total sea surface. This makes its land-sea region relatively compact. This compactness has served to facilitate contact between the African, Arabian-Middle Eastern, Indian, Malaysian and Indonesian sides of the Ocean, using the monsoons and the oceanic currents. In a simplistic sense, the wind and oceanic currents move from the West and Southwest to the North and Northeast in the summer months between about May and October. In the winter months from October to May, the winds blow in the opposite directions. The movement of the sea currents, however, does not correspond neatly with those of the winds. Wind and current movements converge in the Gulf of Oman and in the Arabia Sea, above the parallel of 10 degrees South. This is not so below this line. There, in the zone of the trade winds, sea currents tend to be more constant. With this mix of complementary and contradictory movements of wind and sea currents, navigation of the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean must have posed challenges to human populations from prehistoric to historic times (Verlinden 1987: 27-29).

Prehistoric African Populations in India and Elsewhere in Asia

Nonetheless, archeological and DNA data have been revealing migrations of pre-sapient and sapient populations from Africa to land areas as far as China. By 2.6 million B.C., a bipedal, tool-using and tool-making form called Homo Erectus or Erect Man or Homo Habilis [Handy Man] had evolved in the African continent in the line of the African Rift from South Africa to Ethiopia. The form then radiated to modern Afghanistan, Pakistan, North India, China and the Indonesian archipelago by 2 million B.C. The same form was present in the Black Sea region of Georgia in the former USSR by 1.8 million B.C. Homo Erectus/Homo Habilis, in various regional or geographical forms, continued to be present in Africa, Europe, the Middle East and Asia until about 100,000 B.C., when DNA analysis suggests the full sapient frontier in humankind was crossed (Stringer and McKie 1997). Sankalia reported the presence of a "First Punjab Man" in the Kashmir region of Pakistan and Northwest India, with an Acheulian tool-kit, including handaxes, that are similar to the kit of Homo Erectus in South, East and North Africa and in China (Sankalia 1977: 38). Next, K. Srinivasulu (1983) published a survey of Acheulian localities in Andra Pradesh in South-central India. Lastly, Petraglia la Porta and Paddaya (1999) published what they described as "the first Acheulian quarry" in the Hunsi and Baichal Valleys in the Gulbarga District of Karnataka within the Deccan Plateau in south-central India. Though none of these publications gave a dating of the finds, the Acheulian tool-kit, that included a prototypical hand-axe, was in vogue in Africa, its source, and in Europe, the Middle East and Asia from about 2.6 million to 60,000 B.C. Outside of India, the presence of either developed Homo Erectus groups or modern men and women like ourselves have been reported in Australia by or before 176,000 B.C. This date is some 100,000 years earlier than previously known. Clearly, it seems, there is evidence for the presence of Africa-origin populations in Asia, including India, by or before 100,000 B.C., the date of the DNA sapient frontier.

DNA places the crossing of the sapient frontier for humankind in Africa along the line of the same African Rift where the Homo Erectus had evolved and whence they had radiated to other lands. DNA plots a comparable "out-of-Africa" migration of this sapient population. The Chinese Human Genome Diversity Project, a consortium of seven major research groups in the People's Republic of China, on the one hand, and the Human Genetics Center at the University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston, Texas, United States, on the other hand, conducted a major genetic mapping of 28 of China's official population groups that comprise more than 90 per cent of the country's population in order "to better understand the roots of complex chronic diseases like diabetes and hypertension". The study then sheds light on the ancestry of people in East Asia. It has concluded: "Populations from East Asia always derived from a single lineage, indicating the single origins of those populations. It is now probably safe to conclude that modern humans originating in Africa constitute the majority of the current gene pool of East Asia". A similar study by the Whitehead Institute/ Massachusetts Institute of Technology Center for Genome Research on 300 chromosomes from people in Sweden, Central Europe and Nigeria, found that modern European also originated from an "out-of-Africa" origin as recently as 25,000 years ago. These two DNA-based analyses challenge a rival theory among members of the genetic community in modern China and Europe that modern humans evolved simultaneously in Africa, Europe and Asia from multiple early humans.[3] For India, the Indian Statistical Institute conducted its own DNA analysis, using blood samples from 30 different ethnic groups in India. The groups included members of a tribe known as the Oraon that is believed by anthropologists to be among the most ancient in India. The finding is: "that the first populations [in India] arrived from Africa, then rapidly expanded and diversified" (Shrieve 1999: 42-75, 72-73).

Surviving "Small Blacks" or "Negritos" in Contemporary Asia, Including India: The Andamanese of the Bay of Bengal

There are currently pockets of so-called "small blacks" in China, Japan, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, the Indonesia, Australasia and India (Rashidi and Brunson 1995: 158-61). In India, the terms used to describe these "small Blacks" include "Negrito" and "Proto-Australoid". Such communities are distributed in the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal. The largest clusters are the Jarawas, the Great Andamanese, the Onges and the Sentinelese (Pandit 1985: 111-31; Singh 1991: 152-68). In the late 19th century, Gaston Maspero, the well-known French Egyptologist, noted the presence of "small blacks" in the civilization of Elam in the Middle East or "Fertile Crescent" and their distribution into Asia. Maspero expressed the opinion that they were remnants of "that Negritic race which inhabited a considerable part of Asia in pre-historic times" (Rashidi 1985). The latest archaeological and DNA studies are lending credence to what Maspero opined in the late 19th century. Further credence has come from intensive studies on the Andamanese by Indian anthropologists since India's independence in 1947. The studies have used finger or dermatoglyphic print, hair or histological, anthropometric and blood or serological data. For example, the serological study on the A, B and O blood that is so common to people of African origin and descent has established that the four major "Negrito" groups in the Andaman islands are not only by migrations that are of African origin but that they came, long past over a wide area of South eastern Asia, from the Arakan region of Burma most directly. As a group, however, the blood groups of the Andamanese differ from those of other Asiatic "Negritos" such as the Semang and the Aeta in Malaysia and in Indonesia, as they diverged in some distant past (Mourant *et al* 1958; Tandon 1987).[4] The hair print or dermatoglyphic study on the Jarawa, however, confirm a close relationship to the Malaysian and Indonesian "Negritos" and, more distantly, to the Pygmies, Bushmen and Hottentots in the Central and Southern African "homelands". The hair of the Jarawa was closest to that of their Andamanese neighbours (Pandey and Shukla 1993).

Habshi and Siddi: The Historical Africans in India

In this article, however, we are mainly interested in the diaspora of a later group of Africans from Africa to adjoining lands from Arabia to India and as far as China from recorded history in Late Classical Times to the 19th century. This group of Africans is called "Habshi"/"Habashi"/"Hubsee" and/or "Siddi"/"Siddy"/"Syddy"/"Sidde"/"Siddee"/"Siddhee"/"Sidi"/"Seedi"/"Seedy"/"Sheedi" or "Kafra"/"Kafrai"/"Kaffre"/"Kaffir"/"Kafir"/"Kaphir"/"Coffre"/"Coffrey".

Using some select travel accounts, we wish to identify their places of settlement in India; their status within the Muslim-Brahmanic Hindu culture systems of the sub-continent from the mediaeval to the contemporary period; and the role that they played in diplomacy and politics among states in India before 1650 A.D. and in diplomacy and politics between Indian entities and the incoming European Powers from about 1650 to 1850. Their "presences" in India will also be established by other lines of data: blood; coins or numismatics; epigraphy; portraiture; anthropology; linguistics; musicology and dance and religion.

The Terms "Habshi", "Siddi" and "Coffree"

The etymology of the term "Habshi" is not clear at all. According to one school of thought, its root is the Ancient Egyptian "Khebsi", meaning the people of Punt or Ancient Ethiopia. Punt was also called by the Ancient Egyptians "Neter" or "The Land of the Gods" or "the original abode of the gods and from where they traveled to the Nile Valley where they finally settled" (Sellassie 1972: 21-23). In support of this, Wilfred H. Schoff (1995: 62-64) stated that Ancient Egyptian inscriptions used the word "Hbsti" to describe one of the people of Punt and linked the "Hbsti" specifically with a trade in incense. In this regard, it is to be noted that the Amharic word for the natives of Ethiopia is *Itiopyavan.* In turn, the root of this word is the Amharic word "atyob". It means "incense". Seen thus, one can translate "Hbshi" as "gatherers of incense". As used by the Ancient Egyptians, the "Hbshi" included peoples of Yemen, Eastern Somaliland and the island of Socotra in the Indian Ocean. Schoff noted, too, that

"Hbsti" is the root of "Habash" or "Habashat", the Arabic words for Abyssinia or Ethiopia. The sense of both words is "gatherers of incense". By or before the times of Ibn Battuta, however, "Hbshi"/"Habshi" had come to be associated with a trade in enslaved Africans from northeastern and eastern Africa to the Muslim state-systems in mediaeval Egypt, Arabia, the Middle East, India and beyond. The traffic continued with the coming of the European era from the early 16th century, especially in the Indian Ocean circuit. Hence, J. Burton-Page wrote:

> *"Habshi, term used in India for those African communities, whose ancestors originally came to the country as slaves, in most cases from the Horn of Africa, although some doubtless sprang from the slave troops of the neighbouring Muslim countries. The majority, at least in the earlier periods, may well have been Abyssinian, but certainly the name was applied indiscriminately to all Africans, and in the days of the Portuguese slave-trade with India many such 'Habshis' were in fact of the Nilotic and Bantu races" (Encyclopedia of Islam (3): 14-16).*

Tracing the etymology of Siddi is also a challenge for researchers into the African presence in the Indian sub-continent. Anirudha Gupta provides what this author considers to be a concise summation of the etymology of the word and its interchangeability in usage, historically, with "Habshi": "According to the *Oxford Dictionary* (1933 IX: 22), the word Sidi has originated from the Arabic 'Sayyid' meaning 'lord' or 'prince'. According to Wilson (1885: 482), the word Siddi [originally and more correctly, Saidi] is a honorific title given to the descendants of African natives in the west of India, some of whom were distinguished officers of the Mohammedan princes of the Deccan. According to Russell (1916 I), Siddi is the name given to Africans – whether Abyssinian or Negro. He regarded it as a corruption of Saiyad – the designation originally given to the descendants of the prophets, but later used as [a] term of respectful address, like Shahib in North Africa. Russell referred to another term also, Hubshi, which means one coming from El habish, the Arabic name for North-East Africa. According to 'Bhagavadgomandal', an encyclopaedia compiled under the patronage of Maharaja Bhagvatsinhji of Gondal, Siddi means a Hubshi or Negro. Enthoven (1922 III: 332) also considers Siddi as synonymous with Hubshi, which literally means a master. It, however, appears that while the word Hubshi is used more in a general way for all Negroes, the word 'Siddi' has a narrower application for a particular group of people of Negroid origin living on the Western Coast of India."

There are, however, other views on the etymology of the word. "Siddi" or "My Lord" is said to come from Urdu and Marathi. The former is a pidgin with many Persian and Arabic words that is still spoken among an descendants of Siddis or Habshis who served in the militia of the Nizam of Hyderabad up to and including Hyderabad's takeover by independent India in 1948. Marathi is a Hindu language in the Deccan and

South of India. The Marathi or Maratha succeeded somewhat to the legacy of the Ethiopian-born Siddi or Habshi slave-soldier, Malik Ambar, who played a significant role in the history of the Deccan between the late 16th century and his death in 1626. Accordingly, Urdu and Marathi "Sidi" may be crossovers from the Arabic word. Indeed, the earliest mention of the word "Seedi" was in W. Bedwell's *Arab Trudgman* in 1615. "Seedi", according to Bedwell, was "a name or title of honour, yet attributed unto meane persons" (Simpson and Weiner 1989: 435).

Though, in the Nile Valley etymology, there was no association between Khebsi'/ "Hbsti" and "slave", there is no doubt that such an association had developed by 1500-1600 A.D. within the Indian Ocean circuit. The sense was positive, but the trend was toward negative. The negative association increased in *tandem* with the growth of the international slave trade in both the Atlantic and Indian Oceans in the European era of history. We hear of "seedy-boy" or "Seide boy" who plied the land-sea areas of the Indian Ocean, together with the "Chinaman" and the "Arab" and "Lascars". The term is associated with "a form of disease" (sexually transmitted disease?). The term "Siddee" or "Seddees" is also used interchangeably with "Coffree" or "Caffree" (Simpson and Weiner 1989: 435). "Coffree"/"Caffree" and its multiple forms come from "Kaffir", the Arabic word for infidel. As early as 1599, however, the word appears in western literature in association with enslaved Africans in Mozambique. In South Africa, by and before the 19th century, "Kafir" had become the generic name given by white settlers to the indigenous African peoples (The Oxford English Dictionary: 765). The view of this author is that "Habshi/Siddi"/"Coffree", mainly African or African-descended, represented a phenomenon within the rim-land and islands of the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, before the advent of the Christian era. The phenomenon was that of a community of peoples that networked this vast land-sea region. Their migration or diaspora was both voluntary and enforced. A key feature of the community was its mobility, with members, mainly males, putting down roots in some specific country and blending more or less with the host populations through time and space. This explains why, after the ending of the international slave trade in the Indian Ocean circuit in the 19th century, there existed few of these communities in the land-sea region of the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean at the turn of the 21st century and a new millennium. The situation, however, was different in the last three millennia B.C. and the first two millennia A.D.

Pre-Periplus Commerce between Northeast Africa and the Indian Ocean Region

There is growing archaeological and documentary data for direct and indirect commerce between four cores of early agricultural-urban transformations in the Old World. I refer to 1. the Nile Valley in Africa [Ancient Ethiopia or Neter/Punt, Ancient Kush or Taseti and Ancient Egypt or K'mt]; 2. "The Fertile Crescent" [Elam-Sumer-Mesopotamia]; 3.

the Indus Valley in the divide between today's Pakistan and India; and 4. the Ancient China. Denise Schmandt-Besserat has adduced data in the form of *abanati* and *bullae* for a direct commerce between the "Fertile Crescent" core and the Nile as far back as the ninth millennium B.C. *Abanati* were geometric objects, some of them with marks of animals; while *bullae* were hollow clay balls. Their distribution stretched from Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria and Palestine to Abydos and Khartoum in the Middle and Upper Nile. They are said to have been an early system for recording commercial transactions astride this developing zone. In short, Denise Schmandt-Besserat sees the *abanati* and *bullae* as a proto-writing system in the Neolithic phase prior to the rise of complex societies or civilization in the Nile-Middle Eastern region by 4-3,000 B.C.

By that time, we have firm data for a direct Dilmum-Magan-Meluhha commerce between the Persian Gulf and the Indus Valley. The following identification of the three places is now agreed on by scholars: Dilmum was in the Persian Gulf, especially the islands of Tarut, Bahrain and Failaka; Magan in the Oman peninsula and the Iranian Makran across the Persian Gulf; and Meluhha in the Indo-Iranian borderlands and the Indus civilization. Shereen Ratnagar and others have documented the goods that were traded between Dilmum, Magan and Meluhha before 3,000 B.C. They included heavy items such as several species of wood, copper, ivory and gold. The transportation of these had to be by sea and in ships of some size and durability to cope with the winds and currents of the Arabian Sea and even the Indian Ocean in this region. In short, the trading community had to have knowledge of navigation and proper shipbuilding so far back in time. That the Harappans possessed such knowledge is suggested by representations of their ships, both in terracotta models found at Lothal in "Gujarat", Harappa as well as on Indus seals from Mohenjo-daro. The ships are similar to traditional houseboats with a rectangular cabin still in use on the Indus by the aboriginal Sindhi tribe called Mohana. That tribal name figures in the name of Mohenjo-daro or Mohan-jo-daro, meaning "the mound [situated in the area] of Mohana". There is no evidence that the Dilmun-Magan-Meluhha commerce took in the Nile directly. However, an indirect Nile-Indus via Dilmun link cannot be ruled out (Ratnagar 1981; Caspens 1979; Boxnall 1989; Stelman 1996; Vogt *et al* 1996).

From 3,000 B.C. onwards, the data bring out that the Egyptian State was investing in the sort of ships that were capable of coping with the waters of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea down to Bab-el-Mandeb and beyond. In 1952, two large Old Kingdom ships were found in the Great Pyramid. One of the boats, consisting of 1,224 pieces of wood, measures 43.4 metres long, 5.9 metres wide, and has a capacity of about 40 tonnes. The side planks are 13 and 14 centimetres thick. Its draught is apparently very light in relation to its mass. There is no keel; and nails are not used at all (Mokhtar 1990: 108-09). The wood for the shipbuilding came from Byblos in the Palestine-Syria area. Byblos was also a source of copper. Egyptian crafts were operating not only in the waters of the Eastern Mediterranean as far as Cyprus and Crete but also down the Red Sea. The Red Sea was reached overland from Eastern Delta to where Berenice was in the time of *the Periplus* and thence along the coast to the Bab-el-Mandeb. Alternatively, the Red Sea was accessed upriver to the First Cataract, thence overland to the Fifth Cataract in Kush-Taseti and thence by land again through Punt-Neter to the Red Sea coast. Ancient Egypt's commercial interest in Punt-Neter and in the Red Sea was in incense, required for her religious-funerary rites; antimony; electrum; gold and gold dust; lapis luzuli; malachite and silver; animal products; and wood and related products such as incense, frankincense and myrrh (Sellassie 1972). These very items crop in the Dilmun-Magan-Meluhha commercial system; and one cannot rule out this region as the source in a relayed network. By 2,400-2200 B.C., commerce between Egypt and Punt was so common that one official recorded seventeen trips to Punt. He had also made several trips to Lebanon and Syria (Sellassie 1972: 138).

The rhythm of this Egypt-Punt-Syria commerce was disrupted, for a time, by the instability associated with the First and Second Intermediate Periods in Nile Valley history between about 2180 and 2040 and between 1730 and 1552 B.C. respectively. During the same period, Crete was destroyed by the massive Theran earthquake (Bernal 1991: 364). In the Indus and Kutch, a key part of the civilization was apparently abandoned between 1,900 and 1,800 B.C. Was this the result of a complete halt of international sea trade? Were land resources for farming subsistence exhausted? Or did the silting up of the Rann of Kutch had an adverse impact on transport, with the mud plains being neither navigable nor crossable by foot? (Herman 1996: 105). These related happenings in the Mediterranean-Africa-Asia divide were bound to set back commerce and movement of people by land and sea.

Commerce rebounded with the new stability imposed by Egypt of the New Kingdom or Empire from 1552 to 1069 B.C. Then Ancient Egypt ruled the East (Steindorff and Seele 1957). By "East" was meant the Eastern Mediterranean, including the recovering Aegean Islands; parts of the Middle East up to Iraq and Iran; Kush-Taseti in the Upper Nile; and Punt-Neter. The geographical space of Ancient Egypt of the Empire took in Somalia and the Horn of Africa and probably pointed in the direction of the space of the earlier-mentioned Dilmun-Magan-Meluhha network. There was contact apparently between the New Kingdom and Ancient India. One index, according to Saxena, is the sketch of a *barn door* cock, indigenous to India, in the architecture of the Empire's founding 18th Dynasty (1552 to 1305 B.C.). The New Kingdom also imported sandalwood and lapis lazuli from India. Saxena (1965) concludes:

> *"So by the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C., there is concrete evidence of a network of trade linking up the whole area from the Tigris to the Indus and the Oxus and its extension West of the Euphrates as far as the Nile. This traffic involved movement of goods and, side by side, of people."*

A very commercially minded Pharaoh of the 18th dynasty was a woman, Hatshepsut (1490-1468 B.C.). She sent trade missions to the Middle East and to Punt. Her tomb at Deir-el-Bahari in the Valley of the Kings in Thebes-Luxor recorded the success of the missions to Punt, rich in the products already mentioned (Tyldesley 1996: 144-53). Between about 747 and 656 B.C., Ancient Egypt and Kush were reunited for the first time since the end of the Empire by the 25th Kushite or "Ethiopian" Dynasty. One of the great Pharaohs of this line was Taharqa (690-664 B.C.) (UNESCO). The Ramayana and Puranic literature of India referred to him as "King Tarksya". His subjects were said to be birds and their representatives were called bird knowers (Saxena 1965: 202). This can be interpreted as evidence not only for close Nile-India contacts in this period, but as pretty intimate Indian knowledge of the Pharaonic religious and political system. Birds such as the falcon and the ibis were symbols of Divine Kingship and sovereignty in the Nile Valley civilizations from earliest times. The falcon was associated with Horus, a member of the Osiris-Isis-Horus Trinity that figured in the story of the Egyptian Resurrection from Death (Budge 1973).

The Periplus in the Graeco-Roman Era in the Nile Valley History

The pace of contact between the Nile Valley, the Middle East, the Indian sub-continent and beyond quickened further with the entry of Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome as imperialisms in the Nile Valley, the Middle East and parts of Northern India from the 4th century B.C. to the 4th century of the Contemporary Era. "Western" Rome was followed by "Eastern" Rome or Byzantium up to and including the coming of Islam in the 7th A.D. In Western historiography, the ancient Greeks and Romans were the first to "discover" or master the behaviour of the monsoons and the sea currents of the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea. The reality, however, is that people of Africa, the Middle East and Asia had been navigating the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea and developing commercial and other links long before. The era of Ancient Greece, Rome and Byzantium was a stage in this continuum just as the ensuing Muslim and modern European eras built on the Graeco-Roman contributions. For the first time, a host of Graeco-Roman, Tamil and Chinese sources provide us with a more scientific account of the Africa-Asia contacts. The Tamil, Sri Lankan sources include the *Mahaniddesa*, the *Milindapanha* and the *Jatakamala*, with pictures of ships dated to 525-650 A.D. at the Ajanta caves in the Deccan in India. They tell of Sri Lankan contact with Roman Egypt by the 2nd century A.D. The Chinese sources, dated to the 5th to 7th centuries A.D., include I. Chieh Ching Yin I. It tells of the visits to South Asia of Fa-Hian and Li Chao, respectively (Gunarwardana 1987).

The Graeco-Roman sources include Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (first century A.D.), *The Complete Description of the World and Its Peoples,* a unique "economic-geographical encyclopaedia" of the late Roman Empire written about 350

A.D.; Procopius Caesarensis' *History of the Wars of the Romans with the Persians, Goths and Vandals,* dated to the 5th century A.D.; and, also dated to the same century, *The Christian Topography of Cosma Indicoplou or Cosmas Indicopleustes* (Kobischanov 1979: 263-77). Pliny himself recorded the first Sri Lankan trade mission to the court of Rome in Egypt, stating that the envoys told him of Sri-Lankan-China commercial links. Procopius also informs us about the presence of Axumites or ancient Ethiopians and Persians in Sri Lanka (Gunarwardana 1987: 59, 65).

Our knowledge of these links has been enriched by recent epigraphic discoveries and publications. The former pertains to an *ostrakon* dated to the 2nd A.D. found at old Leukos Limen, the important Red Sea port of Roman Egypt mentioned in *the Periplus* and known today as Quseir al-Qadim (Casson 1989). The inscription lists goods or stores belonging to three individuals named Halaka, Vanhudata or Visnudatta and Nakada. The names are suggestive of a Deccan origin; while the script resembles a South Indian variety of Brahmi also found in sites in South India 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. (Salmon 1991). The publications include *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade* edited by Vimala Begley and Richard Daniel De Puma (1992). By general consensus, *the Periplus Maris Erythraei* stands out among the above as the most scientific source on trade and trade routes of the Erythraean Sea in the 1st millennium A.D. It was written in the 1st A.D. by an unknown author who lived in Roman-ruled Egypt and who was very knowledgeable about the developing commerce between Rome and Asia via the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea. People, however, moved with trade and trade routes. *The Periplus,* therefore, is an invaluable early source of the points of origin of Habshis or/or Siddis and their migration across the land-sea region of the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea by the first century A.D (Casson 1989).[5]

Points of Origin and Migration of Africans in *the Periplus*

(Numbers within brackets refer to the Casson's version of *the Periplus*)

A. Red Sea Coast of Egypt and Ethiopia:

Clysma or Arsinoe (6.2.24). Identified as Suez and connected to the Delta by a canal from the B.C. era. Another name for the port is Clysma-Arsinoe-Qolzoum (Sidebotham 1992).

Myos Hormos (1.1-2-4). Mentioned too by Diodorus Sicilus [3.39.1-2]; and Strabo [2.5.12 16.4.24].

Leukos Limen (1.1.2-4). Today's Qusier al-Qadim. It was the closest to the Nile River at Coptos.

Berenice (1.1.2-4 and 19.6.26-28). Founded by Ptolemy II Philadelphus [283/282-246 B.C.] and the main southernmost Red Sea port of Egypt well into the Byzantine period. Inland of Berenice was the Aswan region of the Nile.

Barbarike (2.1.7-10). The barren and inhospitable coastal and hinterland strip South from Berenice to Adulis, the main Red Sea port of Axum. It was inhabited by peoples variously called "fish eaters" or Ichthyophagoi; "wild animal eaters" or Agriophagoi; and eaters of edible shoots and stalks or Moschophagoi.

Meroe (2.1.11). Though the manuscript is defective here, there is an apparent reference to Meroe, the centre of Kush-Taseti at the turn of the Contemporary Era. Meroe was gradually overtaken by Axum, its neighbour and rival in Ancient Ethiopia.

Ptolemais Theron (3.1.14). Also founded by Ptolemy II Philadelphus. It served both as a base for the capture of elephants for the state's elephant corps and as a port for the ships that transported them up the Red Sea. By the time of *the Periplus*, these usages were no more. The port then apparently fell within the orbit of the kingdom of Axum.

Adulis (4.1.19-2.15). Comprising the Gulf of Zula [Zeila] and the island of Dissei and identified today with Massawa in the modern state of Eritrea. Adulis was, at the time of *the Periplus* and after, the main Red Sea port of the Kingdom of Axum.

Koloe (4.2.6). Identified with Kohaito, a spacious plateau on the road between Massawa and Adulis.

Axomites (4.2.8). This is the earliest reference to the kingdom of Axum that, some two centuries later, ranked as one of the most important in its part of the world. It was ruled by one Zoskales. At its height, from the second half of the third to the seventh century, Axum embraced a rectangular that stretched East-West from the Red Sea to about longitude 30 degree and North-South from latitude 17 degree to 13 degree. In this latter respect, Axum abutted the land of the "Barberoi" or "Barberia" or the Somali Horn.

Kyeneion (4.2.9-10). Scholars are divided on its identification. Some say it is Sennar, just across the Blue Nile some 350 airline miles west of Axum; others place it on the Takezze or Mareb rivers North of Axum in Eritrea; while Count Rossini, the noted Italian historian, said it is Cohain, in the loop of the Mareb and later, an administrative district in Italian-governed Eritrea.

Alalaiu (4.2.14). These are the islets of the Dahlach group just opposite Massawa.

B. Bab el Mandeb, Horn of Africa, East Africa Coast to Tanzania:

Barbaroi (7.3.10-32; 9.4.1; 10.4.7-17; 12.4.20-28a; 13.5.3). The term describes the African side of Somalia up to Cape Guardafui, Ras Hafun, and the "far-side" ports of Malao, Mundu, Mosllyon, the Spice Port and Opone.

Avalites (7.3.13-14). Avalites is identified with Zeila, on the southwestern shore of the Gulf of Aden and later on, a major centre in the Indian Ocean circuit. Its counterpart on the other side of the Gulf was Muza or Mocha.

Malao (8.3.27). Identified with Berbera.

Mundu (9.4.1). Identified with Heis Island on the North Somali coast.

Mosyllon (10.4.7). Not identified, but clearly a point between Heis Island and Cape Guardafui on the North Somali coast.

The Spice Port (12.4.20-21). Identified with Cape Guardafui or today's Ras Asir. Later in *the Periplus*, it is referred to as "the Promontory of Spices".

Opone (13.5.3). By universal agreement, this is Hafun, the excellent harbour on the South shore of Ras Hafun, the prominent peninsula some 85 miles south of Cape Guardafui.

Azania (15:5.17 to 16.6.13). The coast of Africa from Ras Hafun in Somalia South to Rhapta, believed to have been located near modern Dar es Salaam between Zanzibar and Tanzania. "Azania-Rhapta" embraced later ports such as Magadishu, Merka, Brava, the Lamu archipelago and the islands of Pemba, Zanzibar and Mafia. The locals are reported to have made sewn boats, an apparent reference to the cord-sewn plank boat, the mtepe, constructed by East African coast boat-builders in later centuries; to have used dugout canoes; to have fished using baskets; to have had "very large bodies". They are said to have behaved "each in his own place, just like chiefs". In other words, they belonged to small, local, independent communities that recognized no higher authority, whether indigenous or South Arabian.

C. Points of Contact in the Region of the Erythraean Sea

Leuke Kome (19.6.26-28). Identified with modern Aynunah at the top of the Red Sea, opposite Myos Hormos and linked inland to Petra and Medina in Arabia. Between *Leuke, Kome & Muza* (19.6.31-71 to 20.7.16-17). There are references to places such as Karna, Karnana, Mariaba [Marib], Qataban, Sabata and Katakekaumene or "Burnt" Island. They articulated the overland caravan trade between the Red Sea, Arabia and the Persian Gulf. The seas off these areas had dangerous reefs and were apparently plagued by piracy.

Muza (21.7.19). Identified with Mocha or al Mukha, at the Bab el Mandeb, a historic port in the Indian Ocean commercial circuit and an area of long-standing settlement by African peoples.

Saue (22.7.24). Identified with modern Sawwa to the South of Ta'izz.

Mapharitis (22.7.25). Southwest Yemen, with its centre more or less in Ta'izz.

Saphar (23.7.27). Identified with modern Zufar inland off the coast of Yemen and close to Ta'izz and Yarim.

Diodoros Island (25.8.17). Modern Perim Island on the Yemen side of the Bab el Mandeb.

Eudaimon Arabia (26.8.22-23). By universal agreement, this is Aden.

Kane (27.9.1-2). Kane, identified with the area of the prominent Cape of Husn al Ghurab, was located some 250 nautical miles from Aden and was one of the few indentations along an otherwise low and sandy coastline. Some scholars speculate that there was an "open sea" route, using the monsoons, between Kane and the Malabar Coast of India in the time of *the Periplus.*

Omanna (36.12.3-4). This is *the Periplus'* name for Oman in the Persian Gulf. Ratnagar is of the view that Oman was part of the Dilmum-Magan-Meluhha commercial network.

Dioscurides (30.10.3). This is the island of Socotra, a key leg in Africa-Arabia India crossing then and to this day.

Persis (33.11.12). Persis controlled a broad expanse of territory from a point on the Arabian coast opposite to the Kuria Muria Islands to past Oman on the Makran coast. It also controlled the head of the Persian Gulf.

Saraphis & Kalaios (33.11.13 & 34.11.21-23). They refer to islands in the region of the Straits of Hormuz between the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman along the Iranian-Afghanistan-Pakistan route to India.

Skythia (38.12.23). This is the region of Sind, the alluvial plain of the Indus. It extended eastward as far as the Gulf of Kutch, the Rann of Kutch and the Little Rann. Beyond its eastern border lay India proper.

Erinon (40.13.16-17). This is the Rann of Kutch

Gulf of Barygaza & Barygaza (41.14.1-2 & 41.14.9). The references here are to the Gulf of Cambay in India and the important port of Barygaza. This port is mentioned in 19 of the 66 chapters of *the Periplus.*

"The region, very fertile... cotton" (41.14.4-6). Apparently a reference to the region between Broach and Surat, where the soil is rich and yields fine cotton crops especially.

Dachinabades (50.17.2). This is a term for the Deccan in India. At the time of *the Periplus,* the area corresponded to "the empire of the great Andhra emperors extending as far as the Ganges" 47.

Limyrike (47.16.8 & 51.17.15). This is *the Periplus'* term for the Malabar Coast

Suppara (52.17.17). Believed to be located near Bassein, just North of Mumbai.

Kallien (52.17.18). Identified with Kalyan, located 33 miles Northeast of Mumbai

Semylla (53.17.22). Identified with Choul or Chaul, also in the area of Mumbai.

Mandagora (53.17.23). Identified with Bankot.

Palaipatmai (53.17.22-23). Identified with Dabhol

Melizeigara (53.17.23). This is Jaigarh

Byzantion (53.17.23a). Identifies with Vijayadurg

Toparon (53.17.23b & 23-24). Unidentified.

"Around which places there are pirates" (53.17.25-6) *the Periplus*, (See Appendix 5 "India's West Coast, from Bombay to Cape Comorin" in Casson's *Periplus,* 294-299, including Map 295 and Table I: "Identification of the Ports Listed South of Bombay", 297). This is *the Periplus'* reference to piracy along the Malabar Coast. The places included Sesekreienai Is. or Vengurla Rocks/Burnt Is; the Isle of the Agidoi identified as Goa; the Isle of the Kainetoi [near "the Peninsula"] or Oyster Rocks and Karwar. Later visitors, including Battuta, noted the continuity of the practice and the use of "Abyssinian" seamen to curb it.

White Island (53.17.26). Pigeon I.

Naura Mangalore, Tyndis Ponnani, Muziris Cranganore, Nelkynda/Bakare Niranom-Pirakkad, Red Mountain Varkkallai, Balìta Vilinjam in Table I, 297 [Casson].

Keprobotos (54.17.29). This is believed to be a reference to a kingdom in South India termed Kerala in Sanskrit or Ceram/Chera in Tamil. It was one of three such southern kingdoms at the time of *the Periplus.* The other two were Pandya and Chola.

Pandion's (54.18.5-6).*The Periplus'* name for the kingdom of Pandya.

Komar (58.19.18-21). Cape Comorin, the southern most tip of the Indian peninsula.

Kolchoi (59.19.22-23). Also known as Korkei or Korkai, it was a port of Pandya and noted for pearl-fishing. It was supplanted by Kayal or Cail about the time of Marco Polo.

Argaru (59.19.25-20.1). Identified with Uraiyur, capital of Chola. The area is today a part of Trichinopoly on the eastern Coromandel Coast of India

Poduke (60.20.6a). Identified with Pondicherry, also on the Coromandel Coast.

Soparatma (60.20.6b). The identification is unsure, but some scholars link it to Madras on India's East coast.

Palaisimundu or Taprobane (61.20.15-19). Identified with the island of Ceylon or modern Sri Lanka.

Masalia (62.20.21-22). Identified with the port of Masulipatam in the Bay of Bengal.

The Desarene region (62.20.23-24). Identified with Orissa or a river in Orissa.

Chryse (63.21.1). Identified with Burma and the peninsula to Malay or Sumatra

Gange (63.21.4). Identified with modern Tamluk, on the Hooghly River some 30 miles Southwest of Calcutta, Bengal. There are references too to Dacca, Mymensingh and other areas near to Calcutta.

Thina (64.21.13). This is the term for China.

Is there reference to a trade in slaves in *the Periplus* and other sources? The answer is "Yes". We hear of "slaves, but rarely" as an export from the Horn of Africa, along with myrrh; "far-side" incense; the hard cinnamon or duaca; Indian copal; and macir, a medicinal bark from Malabar in India. These commodities were traded to Arabia especially. Socotra and Oman were exporting beautiful slave girls for the harem of the court of Barygaza in the Gulf of Cambay in India. The same court took in slave musicians from western points. Slaves from western ports in the Indian Ocean circuit were even reaching China in this early period. There was an import trade in "slaves of the better sort" from Opone [Hafun] to Roman Egypt.[6] The term "slaves of the better sort" might refer to the importation of eunuchs into Roman Egypt in this early period. Eunuchs, traditionally highly valued, are listed among eastern trade items subject to duty at Alexandria in the *Digest of the Roman Law,* xxxix, xv, 5, 7. 49. From ostraca left by the Nicanor family that operated a transport business between Coptos, the eastern Desert and the ports of Myos Hormos and Berenice for 60 years between the late first century

B.C. and the first century A.D., we know that Tiberius (14-37 A.D.), Caligula (37-41 A.D.), Nero (54-68 A.D.) and one of the Flavians (69-96 A.D.) used imperial slaves, some of whom were eunuchs, to handle their business at Leukos Limen and Berenice and, probably, at other Red Sea ports. Anicetus, Nero's eunuch-freedman, was made commander of the Roman fleet at Misenum, just North of Naples. He helped Nero to murder his mother, while Epaphroditus, another eunuch-freedman and a secretary of state, helped Nero to commit suicide in June of 68 A.D. (Sidebotham 1992: 31-32).

Finally, the community of traders in the Indian Ocean circuit in the time of *the Periplus* and after was already multi-national. It included rich Jews from Alexandria; northern Arabs from Nabataea and Palmyrea; southern Arabs; Indians; and Axumites. We have already referred to the Indian graffiti of three Indian traders in the Tamil-Brahmi script of the first or second century A.D. at Leukos Limen. Another records a male personal name – Catan or Cattan – that is well attested in the Tamil mercantile community in India (Sidebotham 1992: 31-33). Gold coins with the heads of Indian princes of the early centuries A.D. have been found in an Axumite-styled gold crusted box in Debra Damo, one of the oldest Orthodox Christian monasteries in Ethiopia. They attest to contacts between India and Axum then (Kobinschanov 1965). We have already referred to the presence of Axumites in South Indian ports and states. The zenith of this commerce centred on Egypt was from the time of Augustus until the late 2nd A.D. and again between the 4th and 7th A.D. There were downturns in the 3rd A.D. and the early 7th A.D.. The latter coincided with, firstly, the Byzantine-Sasasian wars in the zone of the East Mediterranean, the Red Sea and Arabian and, secondly, the wars linked with the rise of Islam (Sidebotham 1992: 32-34).

The Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Islamic Era: 7th to the Onset of the 17th Centuries

The feature of the period from 650 to 1600 A.D. was the rise of Islam and its dominance of much of the Old World, in succession to the Ancient Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian, Greek and Roman Empires. As Bernard Lewis (1990) and others have noted, a *Pax Islamica* had already been imposed on a wide area of the Old World by 1300 A.D.: North-South from Euro-Asia to the West Sudan in West Africa and the East Coast of Africa; and West-East from Euro-Africa to the Indian sub-continent and even Indonesia and China. By then, Western Europe or Christendom had come close to being dominated by Islam. The Muslim threat was a factor in the Muslim-Christian wars or crusades of the Middle Ages. Most of the Middle East had gone Islamic; and Islam was spreading into Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Indonesia and even into China (Lewis 1968; Sicker 2000).

The Africa Continent had also felt the impact of Islam between 650 and 1600 A.D. All of Africa North of the Sahara had gone Islamic by 1600. The exceptions were Ethiopia and Kush for a while. Kush remained Christian until about 1400 A.D. Then, the independence of Kush was undermined by Islam that entered from Egypt. Christian Ethiopia waged a successful Crusade in Africa against Islam between about 1250 and 1450 A.D. The effort waned in the next 50 years or so; and the kingdom was saved from conquest by an Islamic jihad movement by the timely arrival of Portugal in the Horn of Africa in the first half of the 16th century. In West Africa, the African governing elites of Ancient Ghana, Ancient Mali, Songhay, Hausaland and Kanen-Bornu had embraced Islam, albeit nominally, by 1600. These entities were in the savanna or Sudan belt of West Africa directly under the Sahara. Their commercial and cultural links were via the Sahara to North Africa and the Mediterranean that was dominated by Islam, with Christian Europe becoming a challenger by 1400-1600. By 1400-1600, too, Islam was penetrating to the tropical forest belt of West Africa among peoples North of the modern state of Ghana and among the Yoruba in Nigeria. By then, Central Africa was mostly non-Islamic. Bantu-speaking peoples provided the ruling elites of these entities. The coastline of East Africa, however, that had a Bantu presence was becoming Islamized and "wahilized". Swahili, the *lingua Franca* language, is Bantu in grammar. However, Arabic, Persian and Gujarati Indian words abound in it. The loan words index the commercial links that developed between the hinterland and coast of East Africa, on the one hand, and Arabia, the Persian Gulf, the Indian sub-continent including Sri Lanka, the Singapore-Malay-Indonesia archipelago and China, on the other hand. The entrepots were a number of city-states such as Mogadishu, Kilwa and Sofala on and off the coasts. They were governed by mixed Bantu, Arab and Persian families (UNESCO).

Such was the configuration of the Islamic-dominated Old World to the West and East by 1600. From about 700 A.D., the original political unity of the Arab Empire founded by Muhammad and his immediate successors had given way to a plethora of independent nation-states, often hostile to each other. Notwithstanding, they shared at the leadership levels much in common: a *lingua franca,* Arabic; a faith and Bible, Islam and the Koran; and common institutions of governance. Moreover, they were linked by commerce into the equivalent of a "Common Market". The peace and stability imposed by Islam over such a vast zone in the West and East of the Old World made possible an unprecedented expansion of agriculture, manufacturing and banking. The scale was such that some historians speak of a "socio-economic golden age". Urban and rural areas experienced growth. Some, like Fustat or Old Cairo in Egypt and Basra and Kufa in Iraq were new cities. Older, pre-Islamic cities such as Baghdad in Iraq experienced new growth. Baghdad had 300,000-500,000 people by 1200 A.D. or ten times that of its predecessor, Seleucia-Ctesiphon (Lapidus 1970: 26). In India, cities and towns in Gujarat and Bengal spurted in growth between 1206 and the 17th A.D. under contact with the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526 A.D.) and its successor, the Mughal Empire (early 16th to early 18th A.D.). Gujarat was a key manufacturing and export point for textiles. However, there and elsewhere in the Indian sub-continent, the economic sector took in labour-intensive industries such as metals and minerals (iron, silver, gold); stone brick work; industries using coral and ivory; pepper; leather and sugar (Ashraf 1970).

The beneficiaries of the Islamic "socio-economic golden age" were a so-called new "bourgeoisie". They were of two kinds. Firstly, there were the *mawali*. They comprised non-Arab groups such as Persians, Indians and Africans ("Moors") who had embraced Islam. Next, there were the *dhimmis*. These were non-Arab groups such as Jews, Christians, Parsis and Hindu Jains who were not Muslim, but who were accorded special privileges. In return for the payment of taxes such as the *jizya* or poll-tax, members of these minority Faiths in Islamic countries were given the status of "protected persons" or *"ahl-al-dhimma"*. Indeed, in one of the great paradoxes of history, Jews as a group made their breakthrough to their current dominant position in the world's financial institutions in the period of the Islamic world empire up to about 1600 (Goitein 1957: 583-604; Schwartz 1970: 6-24; Kochan and Litman 2002).

From documents called *Geniza* found from Spain to the Middle East, we know much of the business activities of the rising Jewish businessmen and financiers as well as of their Persian, Indian and African counterparts. Jews consider paper sacred. Hence, the records known as *Geniza* were stored in cellars *etcetera*. The *Geniza* documents of Cairo, for example, tell of the fantastic ease of long-distance travel, with merchants being able to move across the differing and often antagonistic states of the Muslim world. All that was required was a passport in the form of a certificate or *bara'a*, stating that the person had paid his taxes. As stated, political boundaries did not interfere unduly with the unity of religious and ethnic groups. Jewish, Persian, Indian Hindu and African communities networked commerce across the vast Euro-African- Asian zone (Goitein 1967-2000; 1968). Commerce, especially long-distance commerce, was informed by legal codes dealing with business and business ethics. The focal point of the code was the emphasis on reasonableness in business. The underlying principles were opposition to unjustified enrichment [inclusive of a Koranic prescription against usury] and balance of risks. These two principles informed an institution known as *commenda.* *Commenda* consisted of a partnership between lender and borrower, based on a fair sharing of both profits and losses. Guilds and family-ethnic firms mushroomed. Though the history of these institutions and practices predated the Islamic era, they became institutionalized as mechanisms of capitalistic business, especially international business, in the Islamic era. Their institutionalization was aided by the introduction of accounting; the use of letters of credits; promissory notes and/or cheques; and banking (Udovitch 1970: 525-26; Cambridge History of India 1970 II: 525-26).

Essentially, in the period under discussion, the Muslim world, firstly, and the Western Christian world secondly, began to attach transactional value to gold and to people (slaves) on an unprecedented scale. The African continent, especially under the Sahara and in the Red Sea-East Coast, emerged as a major supplier of both commodities. We are interested in the slave trade. Well into 1400, there was no race badge to the international slave trade. In Europe, given the Crusades, "whites" were enslaved. The very word "slave" is of Slav origin and attest to the bleeding that these peoples in today's Balkans suffered at the hands of stronger European and Muslim neighbours from the 9th century A.D. to about 1600 when the rise of Russia to imperial status ended the "white" slave trade. In Asia, Hindu Indians were enslaved and traded as slaves by Muslims, Indian converts to Islam and others. Gradually, however, "slave" came to be equated with "Africa/Black" as the volume of three arms of an African slave trade grew from 1400 onwards. We refer to the trans-Saharan, the Red Sea and the East African Coast between about 650 and 1600 A.D. These arms continued and expanded from 1600 into the 19th A.D., with Europe in the form of Portugal, France, Holland and England as the main players in the Red Sea and East African Coast sectors. They probably continue to this day in subtle forms between the Red Sea/East African Coast and countries flanking the Indian Ocean. Together, these slave trades outlived a fourth one. We refer to the Atlantic to parts of Europe and to the Americas that was articulated by western Europe from about 1451 to 1869.

We have the following estimates for these collective trades.[7]

	650-1600 A.D. [Ralph Austen]	1600-1800 A.D. [Austen/Lovejoy]	1801-1896A.D.
Trans-Saharan	4.8 million	1.4 million	1.65 million
Red Sea	1.6 million*	0.3 million	1.50 million+
East African-Coast	0.8 million*	0 .5 million	
Sub-Total	7.2 million	2.2 million	3.15 million
Atlantic	1451-1869		
	11.0 million [Philip Curtin]. 15.4 million [Joseph Inikori].		

According to these figures, some 4.7 million Africans were traded into the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean towards Arabia, Persia and the Indian sub-continent mainly from 800 to 1896. These figures, dated to the 1970s and 1980s, are today held to be far too low. More recent scholarship in the past ten years suggests 10,000 a year over 11 centureis from 800 to 1900 or 11 nutron (McPherson 1993). This figure is on par with Curtin's estimate of the exports via the Atlantic to the Americas between 1451 and 1869. We shall never know either way. This is especially true for the Red Sea and East African Coast trades. Records were not kept by the Muslims and *dhimmis* involved in the trade before and after 1600. There are better records for the "European trade" from 1600 into the 19th Century A.D. as well as European records of the "Muslim trade" in the 18th and 19th Centuries A.D. By general agreement, however, they do not come anywhere near to a reliable, scientific census.

Slave Occupations in the West and the East

In the 12th century A.D., Al-Saqati, a Spanish Muslim, wrote a manual on the slave trade to the Islamic Mediterranean. In it, he gave the principal occupations to which male slaves were destined as follows:

> *"In regard to males, Indians and Nubians are suitable for looking after property and persons, Zanj and Armenians are good for heavy labour and service which is rewarded, while Turks and Slavs are suitable for war and acts of bravery" (Hunwick 1993: 289-323).*

The Muslim source did not list the occupations for female slaves. By and large, however, female slaves served mainly in the domestic sector: cooking, cleaning, washing, waiting on ladies of the house, as nursemaids for children and for the aged; and as concubines. Data for 19th century A.D. Egypt, projected back in time, show a pecking order for female slaves based on colour. "White" female slaves were at the top of the order. They were preferred as wives or concubines for masters and their sons. Next were Ethiopian slave women or habashiyyat. They resented serving "White" women. They were usually preferred as concubines for middle-class males and did only minor household chores. At the bottom of the ladder were dark-skinned African women. They disliked serving Ethiopian, lighter-skinned slave women, but were willing to work with "Whites". They did the heavier manual chores, cohabited with middle-class males and stood at the base of the ladder.

Negative Image of "Blackness" and of "Blacks/Africans" in the Islamic, Brahmanic-Hindu and Other Cultures Astride Euro-Africa-Asia by 1600

The preceding alerts to the fact that Islam of the medieval period was trending towards a negative imaging of "Blacks" and "blackness" contrary to Koranic teachings and the writings of a "pietist" school of thinkers exemplified by al-Jahiz (776-869 A.D.) in his book, *The Boasts of the Dark-Skinned Ones Over the Light-Skinned Ones.* However, the "pietists" were replaced from 900 A.D. by the "non-pietists" who began to equate "Blacks/Africans" and "blackness" with "bad", "ugly"; "genetically inferior" and other negative traits. The reasons for this are not clear. To some extent, the Islamic "non-pietists" had begun to buy into negative imaging of "Blacks" and "blackness" from Graeco-Roman, Christian, Jewish and Persian literature of the pre-Islamic era. There were the Aristotelian-Greek ideas of slavery as the natural lot of certain people in a rule-system: "Some are born to rule and others to be ruled". These ideas developed in the context of rule by Ancient Greeks and later, Romans over Egyptian and other African people in Egypt and North Africa. Galen, a Greek Egypitian of the 2nd A.D., who served as official doctor to the gladiators in Rome and Asia Minor, had crafted a crude "Scientific Racism" about African/Black men. He had set down eleven unfavourable traits of such men: [a] thick lips; [b] broad nostrils; [c] frizzy hair; [d] black eyes; [e] furrowed hands and feet; [f] thin eyebrows; [g] pointed teeth; [h] smelly skins; [i] long penis; [j] great merriment; and [k] defective brain and weakness of intelligence.. From Christianity and Judaism, there was the "Curse of Ham" concept. By 600 A.D., Christian and Jewish theologians and others were deploying it to demonize "blackness" and, ultimately, to provide a religious justification for the enslavement of African peoples. From Persian culture, there was the notion of *Mani*, developed between 230 and 270 A.D., that Light and Purity were opposed to Darkness and Evil (Drake n.d.). Finally, *the Laws of Manu,* dated between 200 B.C. and 300 A.D. had sacralized a four-fold caste system according to colour. *Brahma*, the priestly caste and fair-skinned, stood at the apex; followed by *Kshatriya*, rulers and warriors and of yellow skin; followed by *Vaisya* or commoners of red/brown skin; followed by dark-skinned *Shudras* or servants. Relegated beyond the pale of this caste system were the millions of Untouchables (Hopkins 1995; Sharma 1990).

While the preceding bears some consideration, other factors in the history of Islam fed negative notions of "Blacks" and "blackness". One such was the fierce revolt of Zanj or East Africans against their enslavement in the Tigris-Euphrates area at the hands of the Umayyads and the Abbasids, the two earliest Muslim Caliphates, in 689-90, 694, 749-50; 755; and 869-883 A.D. The last slave revolt was of fourteen years duration (Popovic 1998). Such was the Black Rage and the long resistance of Zanj in 869-883 that it scared the Muslim mind thereafter. The Zanj was equated with the "Devil" himself. By 1400-1500, anti-African stereotyping was given a ring of "science and anthropology" by a Muslim school. Leading exponents included Ma'sudi (d. 956 A.D.), Ibn Sina (10th A.D.), Kai Kaus (12th A.D.) and Ibn Khaldun (14th into 15th A.D.) (Drake n.d.).

Accordingly, the Habshis or Siddis who were caught up in the Muslim-dominated slave trade from the Red Sea and Africa's East Coast from about 800 A.D. entered a Brahmanic Hindu and Islamic culture sphere in India and adjoining countries that knew slavery/caste and that fused negative images of "Blacks" and "blackness" (Mendelsshon 1949: Chanana 1960). Muslim anti-African prejudice and discrimination showed up markedly in sexual relations between enslaved and free African males and Muslim upper class women. In theory, the doctrine of *Kafa'a* or equality of birth and social status sanctioned marriage between an upper class Muslim woman and an

African man of equal status. In practice, custom across the Muslim world of the West and East frowned on such marriages or liaisons. The sayings were:

> *"Do not bring Black into your pedigree" [attributed to the Prophet]"Do not intermarry with the sons of Ham, for they are the distorted among God's creatures, apart from the Akwa" [Mas'udi] (Lewis 1990: 88).*

In law and custom, Brahmanic Hinduism disallowed such unions or relationships. There were, however, certain differences in attitude about "Blacks" and "blackness" between Islam and Brahmanic Hinduism. Islam provided a window of upward social mobility for privileged persons, even Black slaves, to a greater extent than did Brahmanic Hinduism. Ali Mazrui describes the Islamic culture-system as one of *ascending miscegenation*: "In a racial mixed marriage, or in the case of mating between a master and his slave-concubine, the offspring *ascended* to the more privileged parent. The power of patrilineal descent pulled the progeny *upwards* to the status of the father."

Next, two other features made for upward social mobility in Islamic systems in the period under discussion. One was the concept of mercenary/slave soldiers and, arising from this, notables and military corps of mercenary/slave origin. The other was the employment of eunuch and their positioning often at the centre of politics in Muslim state-systems. Both created opportunities for accession to state power by mercenary-slave-soldiers and by eunuchs in states from Spain to India. Shams al-Din Iltutmish (1210-1236 A.D. or 607-633 A.H.), one of the founders of the Sultanate of Delhi, was apparently of "White" slave origin. Under him and his successors, the power factor in the Delhi Sultanate became the *bandagan* or soldiers of mostly "White" slave origin. However, a few of them might have been of African origin (Kumar 1994; Lal 1994). In the period of *Iltutmish,* there were African slave soldiers as well as eunuchs in the service of Emperors of China. There was one Habsh Amid, servant to the Ogtai-Chaghati uluses or Mongols of Central Asia who had imperial designs on India about 12th century A.D. (Habib and Nizami 1970: 97).

In Muslim Egypt under the Abbasid Caliph, al-Muktadir (908-932 A.D.), Black eunuchs numbered between 7,000 of 11,000 in the palace. The North African-origin Fatimids that succeeded the Abbasids in Egypt employed Black regiments or '*abid al-shira* (slaves obtained through purchase), as well as royal concubines and eunuchs, that became power factors in the state. Kafur al-Ikhshidi (966 A.D.), a Black eunuch, served as Regent of Egypt, supported by Black regiments. Al-Mustansir, Caliph of Egypt between 1035 and 1094 A.D., was the son of a Sudanese mother and the Caliph al-Zahir. Described as a remarkable woman, this Sudanese woman actually ruled Egypt after al-Zahir's death and in the minority of her son. Backing mother and son in rule was an *abid* force estimated at 50,000. Likewise, the mothers of the Caliph al-Muktafi

(d. 1160 A.D.) and another royal, Prince Ibrahim al-Mahdi, were a "Negress" and a Nubian, respectively. They were backed by Black regiments. This state of affairs provoked resentment from "White" regiments or *mamluks* of Turkish-Circassian origin. Eventually, they gained the upper hand in successive Islamic regimes in Egypt by the time of Iltutmish in India (Talib 1988; Popper 1965: 86-87, 92-95; Marmon 1999; Ayalon 1979; 1999; Scholtz 2001). Muslim-ruled Spain of this mediaeval period also had its rulers and regiments of African origin (Lane-Poole 1990; van Sertima 1992).

The Travels of Ibn Battuta across the Mediaeval Muslim World of the First Half of the 14th Century: His Mapping of the Sources of the African Slave Trade and of an African Presence in the Land-Sea Region of the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean (Gibbs 1958-1994).

A distinguished visitor to the Sultanate of Delhi at the height of its power in the mid-14th century was Moroccan-born, Ibn Battuta. His visit to Delhi and to India was part of a tour of the Islamic-dominated Old World. The tour took him from Morocco to China and back. He visited the East Coast on his way West to East. Having returned to Morocco, he was then dispatched by his Spanish Muslim monarch on a diplomatic-cum-commercial visit to the Empire of Ancient Mali and adjoining entities in the West Sudan of West Africa. The account of Ibn Battuta of his travels textures for us the Muslim world of "socio-economic golden age" by the 14th century A.D. In the context of our essay, it does more. After *the Periplus,* it pinpoints for us the sources of the African trade in slaves and other commodities to countries as far East as China; and the presence of Habshi or Siddis from Egypt to China.

Sources of the Habshi/Siddi Slave-Trade Diaspora in East Africa

(v.2, chapter 7, pp. 373-381). Visit to "the city of Zaila, the city of the Barbara…a people of the negroes…black in colour"; then to "Maqdashaw which is a town of enormous size" and whose "merchants are possessed of vast wealth"; then to "the country of the Sawahil [Coastlands]", with the object of visiting "the city of Kulwa in the land of the Zinj people"; then to "the island of Mambasa, a large island two days' journey by sea from the Sawahil country"; and thence to "Kulwa"itsef, "a large city on the seacost, most of whose inhabitants are Zinj, jet-black in colour". Its Sultan regularly engaged "in expeditions to the land of the Zinj people, raiding them and taking booty": a clear reference to slave-raiding with a view to selling the captives into the Indian Ocean circuit.

Encounters with Habshi, Abyssinian, Nubians and Other Africans from Egypt to China

v. 1, chapter 1, p. 24). His meeting in Alexandria with Yaqut al-Habashi, "the Ethiopian" who died soon afterwards on 17 March, 1332. Yaqut, in Battuta's words, was "a man of outstanding gifts" whose chain of Islamic mysticism went back via his teacher, Abu'l-Abbas al-Murat (d. 1287) to the Moroccan cleric, Al-Shadhili. Al-Shadili is credited with founding the Sahhiliyya brotherhood, one of the greater brotherhoods in mediaeval Islam..

(Same, pp. 68-69). Visit to Aidhab, terminal point of the trade with Yemen and with India of the 11 to 14th Century A.D. Its inhabitants were "Bujah, black-skinned people, who wrap themselves in blankets and the headbands, each about a fingerbreadth wide, round their heads". The Bujah are identified with the Bejas whose traditional home was the Eastern Desert/Red Sea coast of Egypt and Kush and who are mentioned in *the Periplus.*

(v. I, chapter II, p. 128). Visit to Damascus, where he saw a railed-off enclosure on the eastern side of the Great Mosque that was "appropriated" to "the Blacks of Zaila".

(v. 2, chapter 7, p. 361). Between "Judda" and "al-Yaman", he traveled in a jailba or boat that "belonged to Rashidi al-Din al Alfi of al-Yaman and of Abyssinia by origin".

(Same, p. 375). Hosted by the qadi of "al-Yaman", Ibn al-Burhan, who was "an Egyptian by origin".

(v. 3, chapter 10, pp. 631-632). His account of the love affair between Sultana Radiya of the Delhi Sultanate and "a slave of hers, one of the Abyssinians". It cost Radiya her throne and her lover his life: an example of the then attitude to intimate relations between Muslim women of rank and African men in Muslim cultures in the West and in the East of the Old World.

(Same, p. 664). The participation of prominent Egyptian, Moors as well as Khurasanian, Iraqi and Syrian "foreigners" in the state and court ceremonies of the Sultanate of Delhi.

(Same, pp.722; and v. 4, pp.800 & 815). In Delhi, he was attended to by a eunuch named Sunbul who was apparently a Habshi. "Sunbul" meant "hyacinth". It was the practice for Habshis-Siddis in India to be named after sweet-smelling substances or precious stones (Khalidi 1989). Battuta, who had a slave-concubine with him,was warned by Sunbul about a decree by the Sultan, later modified, that "every person who has with him his wife or his slave girl shall be put to death". Sunbul accompanied Battuta on his journey along the pirate-infested Malabar Coast (see next item), until he was one of the several persons killed when the fleet was wrecked by a violent storm around "Qaliqut".

(v. 4, chapter 16, pp. 800, 814). His reference to the employment of 50 "Abyssinian men-of-arms" on the ship on which he traveled down India's Malabar Coast that was plagued with piracy. The Abyssinians were "the guarantors of safety on this sea; let there be but one of them on board and it will be avoided by the Indianpirates and idolaters". Some of the ships were junks owned by Chinese.The slave men had their women and children with them in their mobile sea and land sea life. (Same, pp. 899ff.) In China, he ran into a community of prominent African clerics and merchants, including one from Ceuta. Later on, he was to meet the brother of this man on his mission to Mali via Morocco on his return from his "Old World" tour.

Prominent Markets and Ports in the Commercial Nexus and References to the Presence of Male and Female Slaves, Some of Whom Were African

(v. 1, chapter 1, pp. 41-42). His description of Egypt, with its "continuous series of bazaars from the city of Alexandria to Cairo, and from Cairo to the city of Uswan [Assuan] in Upper Egypt" Cairo or Misr was "mother of cities and seat of Pharaoh the tyrant, mistress of broad provinces and fruitful lands, boundless in multitude of buildings…."

(v. 2, chapter 6, p. 344). Qazan Bazaar in Baghdad, "one of the finest bazaars I have seen the world over. Each trade has its own location in it, separate from every other".

(Same, pp. 371-372). The "city of ʻAdan, the port of the land of al Yaman, on the coast of the great sea". It was "the port of the merchants of India, to which come great vessels from Kinbayat [Cambay], Tanah, Kawlam [Quilon], Qaliqut, Fandaraina, al-Shaliyat, Manjarur [Mangalore], Fafanur, Hinawr [Honavar], Sinbadur [Goa], and other places. The merchant community of Indians and Egyptian merchants had "enormous wealth".

(Same, pp. 372-373). Over 20 slaves and servants in the household of a wealthy Aden merchant, Nasir al-Din al-Fa'ri, who normally entertained 20 merchants to dinner every night.

(Same, p. 375). Slaves in the household of the Egyptian-born qadi of Yemen.

(v. 2, pp. 484-489). A large number of slave girls – "Greek, Turkish and Nubian" – in the entourage of senior royal women of the Khatuns in Central Asia. There were also male slaves.

(v. 3, pp. 555-556 & pp.740-741). Battuta's slave-girl bears him a daughter in Central Asia on the way to India. The child, however, died two months after his arrival in Delhi

(v. 3, p. 586). High mortality of slave-boys and girls brought from India to "the mountain called Hindukush" on account of "the extreme cold and the great quantity of snow". The nickname of Hindukush was "the slayer of the Indians".

(v. 3, pp. 664-669). The place of slaves, including eunuchs, in the household of the Sultan of Delhi. At ceremonies, the Sultan bestowed gifts of the slave daughters of "the infidel Indian kings" captured in war on his amirs et al. Other slaves, male and female, were emancipated and married.

(v. 3, p. 740). The existence of *dulahs* or litters in Delhi, drawn by slaves. A *dulah* was used by Battuta's slave-girl-wife in movements to and from the palace of the mother of the Sultan who rewarded the slave-girl-wife with riches. Battuta disposed of them partly because he was in the bad graces of the Sultan for a while. The Sultan, he said, had his "intelligencers" report "about everything that concerned me".

(v. 3, p. 741). The Vizier of the Delhi Sultanate presents Battuta with a gift of ten captive slave girls.

(v. 4, p. 849). In Ceylon [Sri Lanka], Battuta was moved about in a palanquin borne by the slaves of the Sultan. The ruler also assigned to Battuta four *jugis* or Muslim clerics; three "Brahmans", 10 others from his entourage; and 15 men to carry provisions. In Ceylon, he also visited Puttalam. The town is today the home of a long standing Habshi-Siddi-descended population. He noted, too, that it was the custom of the slave girls of Ceylon to wear necklaces of multi-colored rubies on their heads, arms and legs.

(v. 4, pp. 850-880s). In the Maldives, he was appointed qadi and, among other things, dispensed Islamic justice in a case of adultery between a concubine of the late Sultan and a male Negro slave. Both were flogged, but the stiffer punishment was meted out to the male Negro slave. In the Maldives, too, Battuta married several women of rank and also had relationships with slave women. He divorced the wives before leaving. On his return to Qaliqut, he learnt that one of his Maldives slave concubines had given birth to a son. He returned to the Maldives to see the child; left him with the mother; and continued with his journey. By contrast, he witnessed native justice in another adultery case in Bengal in a culture where men moved about virtually naked, had 30 wives on average and engaged in sex with women in the open. Adultery, however, was forbidden; and, by order of the Sultan, the testicles of a male slave adulterer were cut off and the slave impaled on a cross. The punishment for the woman was free sex by males until she died. Her body was then thrown into the sea.

(v. 4, p.883). A slave of the Sultan of Mul-jawa [Java] commits suicide in the presence of Battuta in a ritual of loyalty to his Sultan. The grateful Sultan gave a pension to the wife, children and brothers of the deceased slave.

(v. 4, pp. 902-909). Noted the existence of a large slave population in the capital of China. It was housed in several quarters of the capital of China. The population included Abyssinians. In the court ceremonies of the Sultan of Qan, three galleries of eunuchs were posited at the seventh or last gate to the palace. One gallery was "for the Abyssinians". The other two were for Indians and Chinese. Each corps of eunuchs was under a Chinese officer. The Qan himself used slaves in his business operations. They had "fetters on their legs" and lived "outside the palace and (were) allowed to go to the city bazaars, but not to go outside the gate". They were checked daily, a hundred at a time, to ensure against running away. Ten years of service earned a slave the removal of the fetters and the option to continue in the Qan's service unfettered or to go anywhere within the territory of the Qan. At 50 years of age, the slave was freed and supported; while the status of a minor without legal penalties was bestowed on those who attained the age of 60.

(Same, p. 908). Four slave-girls and six of the favourite *mamluks* of the Qan were buried with the ruler who died while Battuta was in China. He noted that this practice, called sacral kingship by Africanists, was similar to what obtained "in the country of the Blacks" under the Sahara in Africa.

Mamluks, Slave-Soldiers and Other Forces

(v. 1, chapter II, p. 178). In his trip from Damascus to Mecca, Battuta noted the presence of slave soldiers in the military of the Amir of al-Madina. The slave soldiers figured in a power struggle between the incumbent and a rival faction.

(v. 2, p. 377). Noted the role of "Viziers, Amirs and officers of the troops" in the court rituals of the Sultan of Maqdashaw.

(Same, pp. 484-487). His comments about the Amirs in the kingdom of the Khatuns, some of whom were married to influential royal women who had their own entourages manned by slave girls.

(v. 3, p. 556). His description of the Sultan of Transoxiana in the region of Turkestan and Khurasan as "a man of great distinction, possessed of numerous troops and regiments of cavalry, a vast kingdom and immense power, and just in his government". In court, the Sultan was flanked by his Amirs seated on chairs, with their attendants standing behind and before them.

(Same, p. 590). At Kabul, Battuta noted the presence of "a tribe of Persians called al-Afghan" who "hold mountains and defiles and have powerful forces at their disposal". He described the majority of them as "brigands". They made the journey through those parts towards India perilous for travelers.

(Same, chapter 10, p. 593). On his arrival at the river of Sind that marked the northwestern border of the Sultanate of Delhi, one of the most powerful Amirs present was none other than the Inspector-General of the *mamluks* before whom all the troops of the kingdom paraded for review.

(Same, pp. 664—669). The prominent place of *mamluks* of different ranks or "honours" in ornate state festivals in the Sultanate of Delhi.

(v. 4, p. 903). Battuta's meeting with Amir Qurtay, "supreme commander in China". The Amir and his son hosted Battuta during his visit.

(Same, pp. 906—907). In the palace of the Qan in the capital of seven gates, 500 *mamluks,* seated on raised benches, guarded the first gate to the right and the left. At the second, third and fourth gates were 500 *sepahis* or archers; 500 *nizedaris* or spearmen; and *tighdaris* or men with swords and shields respectively. Another force called *jandaris* were at the sixth gate, under their supreme commander. As stated already, the galleries at the seventh gate were for the eunuchs, including Abyssinian ones.

It would be difficult to find a richer account of the Muslim world of the "High Middle Ages" than that of Battuta. In the context of our subject, his account throws invaluable light on the African diaspora East of Suez to India, Ceylon and China.

The Apogee and Demise of the Habshi/Siddi Era in the Domestic and International Politics of the Indian Sub-Continent: circa 1400 to 1850 A.D.

The contours of the world that Battuta described so brilliantly in the first half of the 14th century A.D. changed dramatically in the next five hundred years in Northeast Africa, the East African Coast, the Indian sub-continent and internationally. Internationally, the "The First Age of Overseas European Expansion" had dawned in 15th century A.D., evidenced by Portugal's capture of Ceuta in Morocco in 1415; that state's rounding of the Cape at South Africa in 1498 and the resultant entry into the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea soon after; and Spain's trans-Atlantic entry into the Americas or the New World in the 1490s. The Iberian Powers were quickly followed by France, the Netherlands and Britain principally in a new race to carve out their respective "Empires of Faith and Commerce" in both Asia and the Americas. These developments East of Suez and the East African Coast represented the collective European challenge to the centuries-old dominance of "the Islamic Empire" in the West and East of the Old World. In the Indian, Pacific and Atlantic Ocean's, sea-power, guns and gunpowder rested at the base of the European overseas expansion. They forced the rate of militarization, including that of navies, in entities in Europe and in the land-sea region of the Indian Ocean.

By the 1520s, the Mamluk dynasty that had governed Egypt from about the 1250s was displaced by the Ottoman Turks. Nearby Christian Ethiopia was almost conquered by a jihad movement. Within the Indian sub-continent, the Delhi Sultanate declined and was replaced by the Mughal Empire by the early decades of the 16th century A.D. Meantime, a number of provinces of the Old Sultanate seized the opportunity to break away. They included Gujarat in the Northwest; Bengal in the East; and Ahmadnagar, Bahmani, Bijapur, Bidar and Golconda [later Hyderabad] in the Deccan. There was a lot of fighting between the successor entities to the Delhi Sultanate. This was especially so among the kingdoms in the Deccan that was like an Indian Balkans. To the southern line of the Deccan, Vijayanagar, a Hindu entity, made a bid to advance Hindu *lebenstraum* into the Muslim space to the North of the sub-continent.

In that changing scenario, rulers of competitive kingdoms in the Indian sub-continent imported more and more foreign African and non-African mercenaries as soldiers and seamen between the 15th and 16th centuries A.D. especially. In the 15th century A.D., Afghan *mamluks* in the service of the waning Delhi Sultanate seized power and governed the state for a while (Panday 1956; Rahim 1961), before they were supplanted by the Mughals.

Thereafter, the Mughals kept a close surveillance on Afghan *mamluks* in their service.

The situation in the North of India had an inevitable impact in the Deccan. There, Mahmud Gawan, who originated from the Persian Gulf, rose to become the virtual ruler of the Bahmani Kingdom located in the centre of the Deccan. Gawan met a situation of rivalry, nay civil war between two groups of mercenaries in the kingdom when he arrived about 1447. They were known as the *Daknis* and *Afaqis*. The former, "of Central Asian Turki stock and of Afghan heritage" had come from the Delhi area as representatives of the Delhi Sultanate and had established some permanence in the Deccan. With the Delhi Sultanate waning, they opted to call themselves *Daknis* or *Southerners,* in a clear strategy to establish an independent state of their own. Their allies in this strategy were their "Habashi subordinates", including *Mullawads*, described as the "issue of African fathers and Indian mothers". This group came up against the *Afaqis.* They were newcomers who, with the usual northwestern passes to Delhi cut off by the events there, had entered India "by way of the sea" and "mostly from the coasts round the Persian Gulf or from North as far as the strip of territory on the South side of the Caspian Sea, being mostly Syeds from Najaf, Karbala, and Medinah and Persians from Sistan, Khurasan or Gilan". They were called *Gharihu'd diyar or Afaqis or Cosmopolitans*. Mahmud Gawan was an *Afaqi*. Having effected centralizing administrative and military reforms around the *Afaqis*, Gawan stretched the boundaries of Bahmani to its greatest ever. To the Northwest, the kingdom bordered Khandesh, Malwa and Gujarat; and, to the South, Vijayanagar, the powerful Hindu state. In the middle, its provinces included the successor-states of Admadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda. West to East, Bahmani stretched from the Indian Ocean, including Goa and Bombay, to the Bay of Bengal. We can surmise that Gawan intended to make himself Sultan of Bahami. He had, however, made enemies, among the *Daknis*. One powerful enemy was "Miftah the Abyssinian". This Habshi figured in a palace conspiracy that led to the execution of Gawan in 1481. With his passing, the Bahmani Kingdom declined rapidly.[8]

Before Gawan's time, Bengal had had periods of rule by *Mamluks* as well as by Hindu princes between the 13th and mid 14th centuries A.D. Sultan Fakhr al-Din Mubarak Shah, who established an independent kingdom from the Delhi Sultanate in 1338 A.D. and who hosted Battuta, began to recruit large numbers of eunuchs "to manage the extensive harems and households of the new ruling elite." Some were native; others were Habshis shipped from Abyssinia or from the ports of East Africa (Stambly 1974: 125-30). Thus began a process that was to lead soon after the era of Gawan in Bahmani to the Habshi seizure of state power in Bengal. The antecedent was the rule of a Hindu dynasty in the first half of the 15th century A.D. The last ruler (died 1431 A.D.), however, converted to Islam; and laid the way for the restoration of Muslim rule in

Bengal, with the support of Habshis. By the time of Gawan's execution in 1481, Ruhk al-Din Barbak Shah (1459-1474 A.D.) had a force estimated at 8,000 Habshis in his service. When Jalal al-Din Fath Shah (1481-1487 A.D.), one of Barbak Shah's successors, tried to break the growing power of the Habshis in the state, the Habshis or *ghulams* had him assassinated. They then raised three or four of their own to the monarchy of Bengal between about 1486 and the end of 1493. These Habshi rulers of Bengal were the eunuchs known as Sultan Shahzadeh, who assumed the title of Barbak Shah in 1487; Malik Andil who took the name of Saif al-Din Firuz Shah (1487-1490); Nasir al-Din Mahmud Shah II (1490-1491), said by some scholars to be the son of Saif al-Din Firuz Shah; and Siddi Badr, nicknamed Diwana or mad, who assumed the name of Shams al-Din Muzaffar Shah (1491-1493). The last, whose rule was marked by terror, was removed in a four-month battle that is said to have cost 20,000 lives on both sides.

In what must have been a pattern, some of the Habshis, involved in the Bahmani and Bengal events, sold their services to other rulers with empire-building ambitions. The regional histories of Ahmadnagar, Gujarat, Bijapur and Golconda of the 16th century tell of the efforts of their rulers to staunch the rise of the Mughal Empire, and/or to capitalize on the collapse of the Bahmani Kingdom in the central Deccan; and/or, in the case of Bijapur and Golconda, to hold off the threat of Vijayanagar, the Hindu state to the South. To this end, Gujarat, which had close commercial relations with East Africa by and before 1500 (Alpers 1976), stepped up its importation of Habshis in the 16th century A.D. On the death of Sultan Mahmud I in 1511, the royal army of Gujarat totaled 100,000, including African Habshis and non-Africans. They were an increasing factor in the state's politics, given periods of weak rule. Some reform of the military took place in the reign of Sultan Mahmud II between 1548 and 1555. He was assisted by a *Mamluk*, Asaf Khan. The latter proposed to the Sultan, disciplinary measures for the mercenary troops and the formation of a personal guard of 12,000 of the foreign legions. The Sultan agreed. The new bodyguard included Abyssinians; Yafis from Hadramaut; Turks; Javans; and Portuguese. It was headed by Ulugh Khan Mandal, "one of Asaf Khan's Abyssinian *Mamluks*" The reforms worked for a while. However, chaos resumed. Mahmud II and Asaf Khan were murdered in 1555. Muhammad Ulughkhan, "the Abyssinian, a prominent noble and general in Gujarat" and undersecretary or clerk of Gujarat in 1559, worked with others to restore stability and to hold off the Mughal threat. Their efforts were in vain. In 1572, the Mughals, under Akbar, took Gujarat. At that point, the state had over 12,000 armed horsemen. They were divided as follows: "700 Habshis, 300 Turks, 400 Bahlims, 600 Ghuris, 500 Mughals, 500 Bukhara Sayyids, 4000 Afghans, and 5000 others". Following the Mughal victory over Gujarat, the common people were incited to murder the Habshi population that numbered 5,000 in the capital alone. Some of the Christian Abyssinians captured in war were sent to the Amir of Zabid.[9]

Shanti Sadiq Ali's study, *African Dispersal in the Deccan* (1996), supplemented by older regional histories, reveals to us the growing presence of Habshis in the power structures of Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar, the successors to Bahmani, as well as their influential role in inter-state diplomacy and warfare. The three states were able to unite to inflict a crushing defeat on Vijayanagar in the Battle of Talikota in 1565. The prelude to the conflict was a double dynastic marriage between the ruling houses of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. But mutual suspicions and conflicting ambitions soon led to a return to inter-state rivalries. These were exploited by the Mughals. Habshis were key players in both the domestic and the inter-state politics of the mini Deccan states. We hear of the "Abyssinian party" being ascendant in Bijapur of the late 1580s and brooking "no opposition", not even from the royals (Sherwani 1942; Verma 1974; Shyam 1966). In Admadnagar, the *de facto* ruler of the state was *Chingiz or Changez Khan* under Murtaza Nizam Shah I [1567-1588], known in Deccan history as *Diwana* or the mad one. Though Sherwani, Verma and Shyam are silent on the point, while Shanti Sadiq Ali does not give him a mention, Joseph Harris informs us that Chingiz Khan "was of African origin" and "may well have been a descendent of African mercenaries who served as far back as the thirteenth century in many parts of India, especially in Gujarat, where Admadnagar is located." (Harris 1971: 92). It was Chingiz Khan who recruited an Ethiopian-born Habshi to serve his state in crisis in the closing decades of the 16th century. The Habshi was to succeed his sponsor as *de facto* ruler of Ahmadnagar and to leave a mark on the history of the Deccan, of India and of the African diaspora in Asia. We refer to Malik Ambar.

There was a time when Malik Ambar was treated as "invisible" by historians of India. This is not so today. Malik Ambar is the subject of a growing scholarship by Indians and as well as non-Indian historians on the history of the Deccan in the 16th into the 17th centuries A.D. especially. Prior to World War II, Sheikh Chand in 1931 and Bena Rasi Prasad Saxena in 1933 wrote about him in Urdu and Hindi, respectively. English translations were produced by Indian scholars for Joseph Harris of Howard University in the writing and publication of his 1971 book, *The African Presence in Asia* (Harris 1971: 91-92). In 1945, D.R. Seth published an article entitled "Malik Ambar: An Estimate". The article was reprinted in the same journal in April 1957. Three years later, in the same journal, an article on a canal built by Malik Ambar in his headquarters, Kirki, that he renamed Fatehnagar which Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperor, further renamed Aurangabad, appeared in the name of Mohammed Ahmed Mirza, late Chief Engineer and Secretary of the Public Works Department in Hyderabad. Attached to that article was another entitled "Malik Ambar" by Zubaida Yazdani, then Reader in History at Osmania University Women's College in Hyderabad.

Between 1966 and the present, five books by Indian scholars appeared. There are Radhay Shyam's *The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar* (1966) and *The Life and Times of*

Malik Ambar (1968); B. G. Tamaskar, *The Life and Work of Malik Ambar* (1978); R.R.S. Chauhan, *Africans in India: From Slavery to Royalty* (1995); and Shanti Sadiq Ali, *African Dispersals in the Deccan* (1996). Outside of India, there are Joseph Harris' pioneering book in 1971; the 2003 text, *The African Diaspora in the India Ocean* edited by Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya and Richard Pankhurst; and the 2006 *African Elites in India: Habshi Amarat* edited by Kenneth X Robbins and John McLeod. The list of articles on him keeps growing all the time: in the *Gazeeteer of the Bombay Presidency* in the late 19th century A.D. through to the *Transactions of the Indian History Congress, the Indian Historical Quarterly,* and *the Shivaji Nibandavali* before and after World War II. Another body of data for the period before and after his death in 1626 is the accounts of European travelers to India. Finally, the author has treated Malik Ambar and his legacy in Part II of a two-part article, published in 1998 (see, p. 131).

The author will not go over what is too well known about the progression of Malik Ambar from his enslavement in Ethiopia in the wake of the new flush in the slave trade that emanated from the jihad in the first decades of the 16th century A.D., thence to his career as a Habshi in Golconda and Bijapur in the 1580s-1590s, and, finally, to his tenure as *de facto* ruler of Ahmadnagar between about 1600 and 1626. Rather, he will stress the significance of his period in Ahmadnagar and the Deccan in the first three decades of the 17th century A.D. and the legacy that he passed to his successors, the Habshis or Siddis of Janjira Island up to and including the early 19th century A.D. when the British Raj in India became entrenched. In so doing, he will discuss what four European travelers have to tell us about him and about the Habshi presence in the Indian sub-continent between the 17th and the early 19th centuries A.D. The travelers are 1. William Hawkins and 2. Sir Thomas Roe (English); 3. the Abbé Carré, a French Jesuit; and 4. L. de Grandpré, an officer in the French Army.

In the history of the Indian sub-continent, Malik Ambar's resistance of over 20 years till his death in 1626 A.D. checked the Mughal expansion into the Deccan and the South of India. It also prevented Mughal control of the vital coastline at places such as Janjira Island, known as "African Town" or Habsa'n (Gazetteer of Bombay). Hence, the coalition of Deccan entities that he built and that comprised Bijapur, Golconda and his own Admadnagar helped to bring about the demise of the Mughal Empire and the ultimate ascendancy of the British Raj in India. In this strategy, he enlisted at times the help of the Portuguese, the British and other European interests in India. This is an area that calls for further in-depth research by Indian and non-Indian scholars. Sir Richard Burns, writing in the *Cambridge History of India,* summed up his assessment of Malik Ambar as follows: "He was the ablest man of the period, distinguished alike in the strategic conduct of a campaign, in the battle, or during times of peace in the administration of a kingdom. His death appeared to free the Emperor from menaces in the South."

Emperors such as Jahangir vented their anger against Malik Ambar for frustrating the Mughal advance into the Deccan for over 20 years. Jahangir reported by referring to the African as "'Ambar, the black-faced'; "Ghir" [presumably a reference to some of the African people who inhabited the forests in Gujarat, with the lions]; "the ill-starred "Ambar" or "the ill-starred one"; "Ambar of dark fate"; "rebel Ambar"; "that disastrous man"; "crafty"; and "that 'Ambar, the black-fated one (he was an Abyssinian)"(See Beveridge 1968). Jahangir might well have seen Malik Ambar as the hated Zanj that resisted early Muslim imperialism so strongly. In this regard, the court paintings of the Mughals in India in a manuscript called *Darabnama* dated to 1584-1585 depicted several phases of the war against the Zanj (Lewis 1990).

In retrospect, Malik Ambar's passing from the scene in 1626 A.D. "did not free the [Mughal] Emperor from menaces in the South". Well into the 19th A.D., Janjira was a principality, with its own currency. Its history is replete with the names of Habshi-Siddis personalities (Razzaq and Peshiman n.d.). The Habshi role in the history of Janjira and in wider Indian history from the time of Malik Ambar's death to the 19th century A.D. became intertwined with that of the Maratha imperialism. The Marathas deployed a hit-and-run method of warfare known in the Deccan as *bargigiri*. Not only did Malik Ambar deploy it with great success against the Mughals, but he trained Marathas in his military in the fighting technique. In this way, Malik Ambar helped to lay the basis of later Maratha imperialism (Gazetteer of Bombay). Accordingly, both the Habshis-Siddis of Janjira Island and the Marathas can be seen as carriers of the legacy of Malik Ambar. Their interests, however, did not mesh. The Habshis-Siddis tended to be more pro-Mughal and pro-British; and the Marathas the opposite. We are left to speculate how differently the history might have been, had they found common ground against the Mughals and the British. Instead, they fought each other, to the ultimate gain of the British. Given British naval supremacy in the waters off India's West Coast before 1700, the outcome of the Janjira-Maratha-Mughal-British contestation was foregone, in the author's view. In the end, the Habshis of Janjira faced up to the reality of power; struck a deal with the British; and survived as one of the Indian principalities up to India's independence from Britain in 1947, when the new state dissolved all principalities.

Accounts of English Visitors to India in the 17th Century A.D.

William Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe visited India between 1608 and 1618 and 1615-1619 in the period of the wars between the Mughal Empire, under Jahangir, and the Deccan coalition led by Malik Ambar. In the diary, Hawkins mentioned "Amberry Chapu in Decan" or Malik Ambar thus: "In all his empire there are three arch-enemies or rebels which with all his forces cannot be called in, to say, Amberry Chapu (i.e.Malik Ambar) in Decan; in Guzerat (Gujarat) the sonne of Muzafer that was king (his name is Bahador) (Bahadur, son of Muzaffar Shah III, the last king of Gujarat); of Malva (Malwa), Raga Rahana (the Rajaa Rana of Udaipur, Amar Singh)."

Hawkins also referred to the anti-Mughal resistance of "three great kings...combined, the King of Decan (Ahmadnagar)…the King of Visapor (Bijapur), and the King of Golcunda whose chiefe citie is Braganadar [Bragnagar, the original name for Hyderabad], who also gathered great forces, making head neare Bramport (Burhanpur), upon the Mogolls frontiers, expecting the breaking up of winter [i.e. the rainy season] both armies lying abroad in tents". Finally, he informed that "many Abissines" formed part of the population of "Indostan", along with "Hindoos, "Mahometans", Persians, Tartars and Armenians (Foster 1926).

For his part, Sir Thomas Roe took the Cape of Good Hope route to the Court of Jahangir, transiting Socotra. There, he commented on the presence of "slaves divers Abassines" in the household of the ruler as well on the ruler's possession of "a handsome gally and junke of Suratt [Surat in the Gulf of Cambay], with marriners that serve him to transport his goods for wages by the yeare". The people of Socotra venerated a saint known as "Seidy-Hachim" (Sidi Hashim), who "being slaine 100 years since by the Portugalls once inhabiting here, apperes to them, and warnes them of dangers to come" (Foster 1926). In another version of the journal, Roe tells how he was received "with much shew of honour" by "the General Melickamber"[Malik Amber] who "gave instant order for privie search in all his Campe" for a Persian who had reneged on a promise to repay a debt to his party. The search was unsuccessful in that the Persian fled in the night, apparently to the camp of the Mughals. Still, Malik Ambar's "shew of honour" impressed the English ambassador. Roe went on to describe Jahangir's reception of him on October 2, 1617 after an important victory that the Mughal forces, led by Shah-Jahan, his son and heir, had scored over the Deccan forces led by Malik Ambar. The victory led the King of Bijapur to submit to the Mughals, thereby forcing Malik Ambar also to make terms by the surrender of Ahmadnagar and other territory that he had reconquered from the Mughals. While Jahangir's *Memoirs* extolled the Deccan campaign of 1617 as a great victory, Roe did not. The Emperor, he said, merely managed to persuade "the united Decan kinges" fighting against Mughal oppression "to part with some rotten Castles that may pretend a shadowe of yielding somewhat". Roe's assessment was correct: Malik Ambar and his Deccan coalition was to regroup and continue the struggle up to and after his death in 1626 (Foster 1926).

Account of the French Abbé Çarré

The French Abbé Carré's visit to India was between 1672 and 1674. Somewhat like Battuta, he journeyed through Syria, Iraq and the Persian Gulf to India's West Coast, visiting directly and/or commenting on most of the major ports. He also went inland to the Deccan where, by his account, he contracted malaria and was saved from being buried alive by the keen eye of a slave who came to take away his body and noted movement. Carré's account, relatively unused, is rich in details about the continuing role of the Habshis in the commerce and politics of India after the demise of Malik Ambar. The author presents some of the vignettes (The Hakluyt Society 1947-48).

(v. 1:p. 37)	Map of Syria and Iraq.
(v. 1, p. 87)	Map of the Persian Gulf.
(v.1, p. 129)	Map of India's west coast.
(v. 1, pp. 129-141)	Abbé Carré's visit to Gujarat and his mention of the Mughal's use of the Siddis of Janjira against Shivaji, the leader of the Marathas; He also wrote about Cambay's commerce With Mozambique, among other places.
(v. 1, pp. 139-140, 148n,)	References to Auranzeb, the Mughal Emperor.
(v. 1, pp. 139, 141-2, 148,169-171, 176, 188, 194, 197, 201-2, 206, 215, 230, 308-311, & v. 2, 323, 485-488, 490-491:)	References to Shivaji, the Maratha leader.
(v. 1, pp. 147-148; and v.3)	References to Afghans
(v. 1, pp. 161, 169, 202, 206, 223 & v. 2, 343n., 347-8, 351-4).	His use of the word "Canarin" to refer to Black Konkani on the Malabar Coast.
(v. 1, pp. 172, 212)	His use of the term "Kafirs" & "Caffre" to refer to Habshis or Siddis.
(v. 1, pp.179, 234, 246 & v. 2, 317)	His meeting with the Abyssinian Vizier of Bijapur, Kwawas Khan and reference to Abyssinians at large in India.
(v.1, pp. 188-190,)	Reference to the Siddi fleet based at Janjira Island; and reference (in v. 1, 188n, 247n & 274n) to the death of Jahangir, the Mughal Emperor.
(v. 1, pp. 194-202)	His account of the Siddis of Janjira, including their hostile interactionwith Shivaji and the Marathas.
(v. 1. pp. 207-220)	The Abbé's visit to Goa.
(v. 1, pp. 246-248, 254-5, 260).	Mention of eunuchs, of whom Khawas Khan, Vizier of Bijapur was one.
(v. 1, pp. 271ff).	Abbé Carré's account of his visit to Bijapur and Golconda, including the already-mentioned episode of his escape from being buried alive after a bad bout of malaria in Bijapur.
(v.2: p. 317)	Map of the East Coast of India.

(v. 2, pp. 325-352)	Carre's account of relations between Bijapur and Golconda and reference to Hindus or Banias, Lascar and Rajputs in the states.
(v. 2, pp. 522)	The term "mosses" to describe female slaves at Goa, with whom the Portuguese cohabited.
(v. 2, pp. 518, 596 & 671).	Reference to Vijayanagar, the Hindu state that was crushed by the Deccan Muslim coalition in 1565.
(v. 3: p. 677)	Another map of the East coast of India.
(v. 3, pp. 690-692)	Encounter with Black Catholic priests at Madras.
(v. 3, pp. 690-715)	Visit to the Malabar Coast and to Ceylon [Sri Lanka].
(v. 3, pp. 740, 746, 752)	Further use of the term "Kafir"
(v. 3, p. 767)	Reference to Parsis of Gujarat on the East Coast.
(v. 3, pp. 748-749)	Discussion of the commerce between Mozambique and India's West Coast.

Account of L. de Grandpré

Our final source for tracking the African presence in the land-sea region of the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea some nineteen centuries after the unknown author of *the Periplus,* five centuries after Battuta, and 175 to 120 years after Hawkins, Roe and the Abbé Carré is L. de Grandpré, a French Army officer. He made his "Voyage in the Indian Ocean and to Bengal" in 1790 during the French Revolution and on the eve of the rise of Napoleon in France and in Europe and the ramifications of these events to the Indian Ocean land-sea region, where France had colonial interests to defend against Britain and other European Powers. As such, his journey and his account have the character of a military-naval intelligence survey. Notwithstanding, Grandpré, who traveled from Mauritius to India and back to France via the land-sea region flanking the Arabian Sea, has left for us a track of the "Black" presence there at the end of the 18th A.D. By "Black", Grandpre meant "negro", "caffree", dark-skinned Southern Indians; and, what in the Americas, would be called "mulatto":

The author documents some of Grandpré's vignettes (1814).

(p. 3)	Reference to Lascars or "Black Indians" in the Indian Ocean off Africa.
(pp. 4ff).	Arrival in the Seychelles and his description of the island.
(p. 11)	Anecdote about "Blacks" who had manned the military post of Seychelles and the Isle of France about 1778 when war was declared between France and England; and how they had abandoned the post in order to stop any British takeover of the territories with its economy around the production of cinnamon. Mistaking a French ship for a British, the loyal "Blacks" reportedly destroyed cinnamon

	trees in their possession when they had left the French islands.
(p. 15)	Reference to the “Blacks of Manilla”, one of the islands in the Indian Ocean.
(pp. 18-32)	His arrival at Pondicherry from Ceylon via the Maldives and India’s Malabar Coast. Pondicherry, a French outpost, was then occupied by the British. Its garrison consisted “only of two hundred European infantry, a company of artillery, part of which were Caffres, and a battalion of Black *Spahis* or *Cipahis*”
(p. 21)	Reference to the “Mahrattas” and the Franco-Hyder Ali alliance against the British in the colonial wars in India. He described Hyder Ali as “a deserter from the Black troops”.
(pp. 26-32)	Description of Pondicherry, with a “Black Town” and a “White Town”. He also commented on Pondicherry’s trade links with Bengal in *cambays* or white and blue linens of different kinds. These linens, he said, were used in the trade “with the Blacks”, meaning with East Africa.
(pp. 30-31)	Still at Pondicherry, he made reference to the coast of Golconda, where France owned a considerable aldee called Yanaon, located on the river Godwarin. Yanaon was very populous, with a French chief; regular police and six extremely rich commercial houses. Yanaon was also involved in the linen trade with Bengal and Pondicherry, especially a trade in highly priced,120-thread linens called *conjons*. According to him, the commerce of Yanaon was worth 20 lacs of rupees or about 5 million French livres a year.
(pp. 32-33)	Pondicherry, he informed, controlled Mahe on the Malabar coast, famous for its trade in pepper and beetle-nut. Mahe had been razed in the fighting between the French and the British.
(p. 33)	In 1791, the French in India had a force of 25,000 that included Europeans and “Blacks”.
(pp. 34, 36)	Description of Trincomale or Trinkenomale in Ceylon, held by the Dutch until the recent Franco-British War. Had the Dutch invested in its fortification, Trincomale might have become “a second Gibraltar.” Instead, the Dutch set up a “front fortification” to defend themselves against “the Blacks of Candy”. As used by Grandpré, Candy “Blacks” meant dark-skinned Indians.
(pp. 38, 50)	Reference to the market place of the “Blacks” at Trincomale and environs; to the use by “Blacks” of the “catimaron” at sea where they fell victims to occasional shark attacks. The crafts were also used by the islanders of the Andaman and of the Straits.
(pp. 58-58)	Description of luggage-carriers at Pondicherry called *“dobachis”*.
(pp. 59-101)	Description of the Hindu caste system, especially the sub-caste at “the bottom tiers” comprising scavengers, sweepers or *taligarchi*,

	shoemakers, domestics, carriers or *dobachis*, parasol-holders, barber, nose & ear cleaners, nail cutters, hairdressers and masseurs; and of the manners and customs of the Hindus.
(pp. 96-97-100)	Discussion of facets of the culture of the "Blacks" at Pondicherry and neighboring ports. They sang songs, while working the soil with picotes, an irrigation device for lifting and distributing water, in order to cultivate rice. The "Blacks" of the region also extracted *calou* or palm-wine.
(pp. 114-117)	Departure for Bengal via Madras. Gives a description of Madras: its fortifications including Fort St. George; its churches; and its "Black Town" named "Madras-Patnam" by locals and described as "a spectacle of filth and dirt".
(p. 118)	Description of multi-religious Madras: Hinduism; Islam; Armenian; and Portuguese Catholicism under the See of Goa and served by Capuchins. In a back reference, he noted the presence of Jesuits at Pondicherry.
(pp. 118-119)	Noted that the Catholic Church in Madras had become "Indianised", in contrast to a more orthodox brand of the Faith in Pondicherry under the Jesuits. He then gave a description of the "Indianised" version of Passion Week at Madras. Men dressed in Turkish uniforms ascended ladders in the church and brought down the figure of Jesus. The "Blacks" then accompanied the corpse to the grave, "amidst the noise of some instruments as the Indians use at their pagodas and in their processions". To Grandpré, the ceremonies had been reduced "to a level with the absurdities of idolatry"
(p. 119)	Reference to an unsuccessful British attempt to develop plantation agriculture in cotton in Madras.
(pp. 124-127)	His description of the changing power-politics among the Indian entities, as the Mogul Empire waned: "The geography of the peninsula experiences so many variations, from the successive conquests and usurpations which are continually altering the boundaries of the different states, that it cannot be determined with any certainty; a correct account of it would no longer be so a year hence. We may venture, however, to divide the country into provinces; of which the chief are Trevancore, the Deccan, the Carnatic with Arcot, Madura, Tanjore, Mysore, Golconda, Bisnagar, the Four Sircars, and the territory of the Mahrattas. All these provinces were formerly dependent governments under the Mogul Empire, each having its nabob, and subah. But these viceroys, inspired with presumption and the assurance of impunity from the want of energy in the court of Delhi, conceived the project rendering themselves independent", albeit, with one exception, continuing to

	recognize, symbolically, the "sovereignty" of the Mogul Emperor. The exception was the "Mahrattas", a " people… acting upon principles of independence" that "have …established in the Northwest quarter of the peninsula a formidable republic", with "a numerous cavalry" and with "greatly increased" influence in the affairs of India. He commented that the timely intervention of the "Mahrattas" helped the British under Cornwallis to defeat the French and Tippoo, son of Hyder Ali, in a battle "of the greatest importance in the political system of India."
(p. 127)	Sailed from Madras to Bengal where, on arrival, he described the river Hoogly on which the European settlements were located.
(p. 134)	A "Negro" was in charge of displaying the flag of the Dutch trading post.
(pp. 136-139)	At Calcutta, site of a fort called Fort William; and of another "Black Town".
(pp. 142-143)	The role played by "Blacks" in repairing his ship that suffered some damage while at Calcutta.
(p. 144)	His use of the word "Lascars" again.
(pp. 148-151)	His fuller description of Calcutta with its fortifications, including Fort William that was "larger and capable of a more regular and scientific defence than that of Fort St. George at Madras". He also described Calcutta's churches: "two churches of the English establishment"; "a catholic church belonging to the Portuguese mission, another of the Greek persuasion, in which the service is performed by monks of the order of St. Basil, an Armenian conventicle, a synagogue, several mosques, and a great number of pagodas: so that nearly all the religions of the world are assembled in this capital." He also described the "Black Town [located] to the North of Calcutta, and contiguous to it; it is extremely large; and its population, at thetime of my last voyage, was computed at six hundred thousand Indians, women and children.included."
(pp. 155-156)	His description of the human-drawn modes of transportation in Calcutta: palaquins; carriages; chariots; "whiskies" [a light two-wheeled carriage]; "phaetons" [an open four-wheeled carriage] drawn by "poonis"; and "saddle horses", with the horses of Persian breed. On the river, a craft called *"bazara"* was used. There was ship-building at Calcutta too.
(p. 156-158)	Cowries imported from the Maldives were used as currency.
(p. 159)	He noted the dominance of Brahmin Sircars in the commerce at Calcutta and their linguistic competence, apart from Hindi, in Arabic, Malabar, French, English and Portuguese.

(pp. 163-172)	Described the trade and economy of Calcutta, "the richest town in India": "It is through this channel that the company obtains the saltpetre, and all the muslins which we see in Europe; while it exports to this part Spanish coins, gold thread, copper, lead, iron in bars and wrought, English manufactures of different sorts for the use of the Europeans there, wine, brandy, sea salt, and marine stores of every kind. Individuals there obtain pepper and arrac from the coast of Malabar; raw silks, nankeens, porcelain, and tea from China, to which place they send in return the cotton of the Malabar coast. The grain of Bengal they export to every part of India, receive silks from Surat, send muslins and European commodities to Macao and the Phillippine islands, and give circulation to all these articles in the interior of Asia."
(pp. 166-167)	Described "marriage" between English men in the military and civil establishment of Calcutta and "Indian women of the Moorish cast". In turn, their children "marry women of colour, and their children again become black, with an English family name". There was also a category of part Portuguese- and part "Indian"- descent called *"topas"* in Calcutta, with a wider distribution along the East and West coasts of India. *"Topas"* came from *topi* that meant "hat" in Portuguese. The name *"topas"* was therefore given to "such Indians as changed their own for the European dress, and wear a hat instead of a turban".
(pp. 176-177)	Referred to British introduction of sugar-cane plantation agriculture at Calcutta, using labour from China.
(pp. 180-185)	Described Hindu religious festivals and practices at Bengal, including the *Dourga* Festival and *Sati,* the "inhuman custom of women burning themselves to death on the corpse of their husbands". He also described a Muslim Festival called *"Jamsey"*, in which the ceremony was "of a mournful nature" with a "sort of funeral exhibition ...carried through the street, accompanied with banners resembling standards."[10]
(p. 208, 212)	Visit to Cochin, a Dutch outpost defended by 50 Europeans, 500 Portuguese and some Indians.
(pp, 213-214)	His description of the tricky monsoon crossing from India's West coast to Mocha, on his return leg to France.
(p. 217)	Mocha as a transit for Muslim headed to and from the hajj to Jedda and to Mecca.
(pp. 217-218)	In an anecdote, Grandpre told of "miscreants" on board a Mocha-India vessel who attacked and killed five or six Europeans, including the captain and some of their Lascar crew, before the

Lascars overpowered them and took the craft safely to the Maldives and then to Mangalore.

(p. 219) Mention of the “navigation of the Red Sea” being “confined to vessels, which they call daous and that “go through the water and perform their voyages in a very superior style”.

(pp. 219ff). Description of several facets of the town of Mocha.

(pp. 235, 250) Noted the presence of “Abyssinians” and “Caffres” at Mocha. They formed part of the native soldiery: “They are composed of the lower order of peoples in the towns, the inhabitants of the mountain, and some Bedouins, or Arabs of the desert, who enlist from being unable to maintain themselves at home. They are black, with shining or frizzled hair, according as they are of Arabian or Abyssinian extraction, but generally the former”. The “White” Sayds who formed the “nobility” cohabited with “their Abyssinian slaves” and their children “have a mixture of the African characteristics”. Next, Grandpré gives his personal observation of the African slave trade into Mocha: “They [the Sayds] supply their seraglios with females from Abyssinia, of whom whole cargoes arrive at a time”. Grandpré commented on the beauty of the Abyssinia slave women and on his unsuccessful attempt to buy one: “I have seen among them some women of exquisite beauty; they are black, but nothing is so bewitching as their form, or so elegant and gracious as their motions. I was one day so struck with one of these slaves as she landed from her daou [dhow], that I instantly made a proposal by my Bannian [Hindu Jain trader] to purchase her….but the merchant, seeing it was a Christian who wanted her….refused to treat with me.”

(p. 250) Described his encounter with a “Caffre” sailor.

(pp. 243-244) As at the time of Battuta, the 30,000 population of Mocha comprised, Muslims, some of whom were Arabs; Jews; Bannians [Hindu Jains]; and Christian Europeans. The Jewish sector numbered 12-15,000; and lived in a segregated “camp”. Of the Mocha Jews, Grandpré wrote: “I did not observe among them a single individual who was not a complete negro: they have sleek and shining hair; and are similar in all respects to the Parias in India.”

(pp. 284-287) Finally, in Yemen as in Mocha before, Grandpre noted what *the Periplus,* Battuta and the Abbé Carré had said about their importance in the commerce between the Red-East Coast of Africa and the land-sea region of the Arabia Sea and the Indian Ocean. He also noted the presence of Blacks in the court of Yemen, as Battuta had noted: “The iman of Yemen resides at Sana, a town about forty leagues North-Northeast of Mocha. His court is far from being so brilliant as

> it might be, if he would encourage the Sayds about his person; but whether he fears them, or dislikes their presence, he keeps them at a distance, and is surrounded only by Blacks, who are in entire submission to his will"

Conclusion

Through the data of prehistory and of early recorded history, followed by the accounts of the unknown author of *the Periplus,* of Battuta, of Hawkins and Roe, of the Abbé Carré and Grandpré, we can see the continuity of the African diaspora to and presence in the land-sea region of the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, generally, and in the Indian sub-continent, particularly, across several thousands of years. From the time of *the Periplus,* the population called "Habshi", "Siddi", "Kafir", "Mosse" and other names, has blended into the host populations and are barely discernable today. The exception are the descendants of streams that came into the host societies in the 19th century A.D. when the British ended the international slave trade, mainly in Africans, globally including in the Indian Ocean circuit, and engaged in the suppression of the trade by Arab-Muslim and other ethnicities, with long standing stakes.

In the Indian sub-continent, the overall forced migration of Africans impacted mainly on the western side of the landmass, with lesser impact on the East Coast and inland into the Deccan. We can get an idea of this impact from the current distribution of Siddis or Habshis in the 1996 published book, *Communities, Segments, Synonyms, Surnames and Titles* by K.S. Singh. The book is in the ongoing series, Anthropological Survey of India (Singh).

Current Distribution of Africans: Africans-Sidi or Siddi; and Africans-Somali in India.

Sl.No	State or Union Territory	District
1.	Gujarat	Amreli, Bhavnagar, Jamnagar; Junagadh; and Rajkot.
2.	Daman & Diu, Delhi	
3.	West Bengal	Calcutta
4.	Maharashtra	Greater Bombay or Mumbai.
5.	Andhra Pradesh	Hyderabad
6	Karnataka	Dharwad and Uttar Kannad.

It is the author's view, however, that the distribution of Siddi or Habshi-descended peoples in contemporary India is much wider than Singh's study suggests. The study underestimates miscegenation through time and space between Africans and their descendants and other groups: For the 15th century in the Deccan, we hear of "*Muwallads*". Grandpré, in his account, documents physical mixing between "Africans" and other groups in India. The 1883 *Gazeeteer of the Bombay Presidency* that covered areas of today's Goa and Karnataka states adduced evidence of miscegenation between

Sidis and Hindu Indians to produce a category called "Marathi Siddis" They were described as: "A branch of the Goa Siddis...dark with broad thick lips, curly beards and hair, and slanting foreheads....hardworking and robust."

The same Gazeeteer distinguished the "Marathi Siddis" from a category called "Native Catholic Christians" and "Native Protestants". It noted that the former were "not so black as the Christian Siddis." One hundred years later, the anthropological studies of Lobo (1984) and Palakshappa (1976) have revealed the continuity of the African phenotype in the same area as in the 1883 Gazeeteer for historical and cultural reasons discussed in this essay. However, it is not fashionable to be black in the culture system of India and the adjoining lands from the turn of the Contemporary Era. Accordingly, many a national of India, Pakistan, Iran and Iraq with part African ancestry would not want that to be known.

A variety of tools, other than histories and travel accounts, are beginning to reveal that the African thread in the history of the vast zone washed by the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean is very extensive. For the Indian sub-continent from the 16th century especially, the tools include epigraphy; court art; numismatics; calligraphy; buildings and fortifications; place-names; blood-group data; linguistics; and, most importantly, data from cultural and social anthropological studies. The last comprise the facets that make human beings "cultural": religion; music and musical instruments; and dance. Other presenters in this conference will be dealing with these and other aspects of the subject. This author is bold to speak for the other presenters in saying that their multi-disciplinary effort will contribute to a new level of visibility on the subject of African presence in India and in Asia from prehistoric times to the present.

Notes

[1] See, discussion at pp. 151-54 of this article.

[2] Edward Alpers of the History Department, University of California, Los Angeles, was a driving force behind the last three conferences. The author of this article attended all these conferences except the OAH one.

[3] Robert Lee Hotz, Times Science Editor, "Chinese Roots Lie in Africa, Research Says", http://www.saxakali.com/Saxakali-Publications/china1.htm: China Study and http://1m10fd.law10.hotmail.msn.com/cgi-bin/getmsg?curmbox=F000000003&a=f8bc8bf: European data. For the latest findings that aboriginal Australians and New Guineans share genetic markers that correlate with humans from Africa about 50,000 years ago. Seehttp:/technology.sympatico.msn.cbc.ca/Bell.Sympatico.CMS/int.aspx?type=feed&lang.

[4] Table 1, "ABO Bloods without distinction between A1 and A2, [Asia-South West Asia], 113; [Indian Region-Southern India, Nepal, Pakistan], 117-18 & 128-33; [South East Asia, Malaya, South Asian Archipelago], 137-39; [Northern Africa-Middle Africa], 169-75; [Southern Africa], 175-86; [North, Middle and Southern America], 194-204; [Oceania-Melanesia], 212; Table II: A1A2BO Blood Groups, [America, Pacific], 231-

32; Table III: A1BO Blood Groups where A1 has been proved to be absent in the samples tested, [Eskimos, Europe, Asia including peoples in the Andaman Islands and others in Japan, Malaya, Thailand and the South East Asian Archipelago], 235-36.

[5] The tracking draws on Lionel Casson (1989), especially his general commentary, 94-243 and his Appendix no. 5 on the West Coast of India from Bombay to Cape Comorin, pp.294-298. Casson is supplemented by data in Begley and de Puma (1992).

[6] See Schoff's *Periplus* (1995) for the expression "slaves, but rarely" and "slaves of the better sort", 25 and 27, and Cassin's *Periplus* (1989) for Socotra-Oman-Barygaza slave trade, 18-19 and 21-23.

[7] The figures pull together data in various tables in Paul E, Lovejoy. 1983 *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 1983: based on an essay in H.A. Gemery and J.S. Hogendorn. eds. *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, pp. 23-76; Philip Curtin. 1969. *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*; and Joseph Inikori. ed. 1982. *Forced Migration, The Economic Impact of the Export Slave Trade on African Societies*, 1982. The overall total is 12.55 million from 650 to 1896. The asterisk groups the Red Sea and East Africa coast trades for the period 800 to 1600; while + groups them for the period 1801 to 1896. The grand total for all four diasporas is circa 23.55 million (low) and 27.95 million (high) from 650 to 1896 A.D.

[8] See, Sherwani (1942: 62-63, 161-75) for the Dakins and Afaqis; For the *Mullawads,* see, Majumdar *et al* (1961: 359).

[9] The author was born in Mecca and came to India in 1555, settling in Ahmedabad, capital of Gujarat. In 1559, he entered the service of the Abyssinian, Muhammad Ulughkhan, mentioned above. Indeed, he got his name from this Abyssinian noble. As such, the history is an official, pro-Habshi one, but still useful for the data on the Habshi factor in 16th century A.D. Gujarat. The above pull data from all three volumes, especially v. 2, Introduction, xxvi-xxvii & xxxii-xxxiii, note on "The Habshis of Gujarat". See also Commissariat. 1938: 469-73, 494-497 & 502-503 (mosque built by a Habshi nobleman in the reign of Gujarat's last Sultan before the Mughal conquest). Commissariat's study covers three volumes.

[10] To the author, "Jamsey" seems to be the Shi'ite Muslim Festival of "muharam" to mark the martyrdom at Karbala of Imam Husain, grandson of the Prophet Muhammad via Ali who had married the Prophet's daughter, in presumed defence of the purity of the Caliphal succession. In Pakistan to this day, descendants participate in this festival side by side with non-Siddi Pakistanis: see Part II of author's article in Africa Quarterly, v.38, 1998, 121-122; and it is quite conceivable that siddis did the same along with non-Indian Muslims in Granpré's Calcutta of the late 19th century.

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Manumission of Slaves in Goa During 1682 to 1760 as Found in Codex 860

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Introduction

The centre piece of my presentation is one particular and interesting manuscript of the Goa Historical Archives. I had made my notes of it in the 1970s, while working on my doctorate, but never had an opportunity of exploring it. This codex is numbered 860 and contains details about manumission of slaves in Goa during the period 1682-1760. Curiously, the "Fathers of Christians" involved in this process of manumission were several Jesuits until the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1759. The last four folios cover the year 1760 under a non-Jesuit, probably an Augustinian monk, appointed to take over the Old College of St Paul, while the Jesuits were detained before being deported.

Pre-Islamic and Islamic Practice of Manumission

Manumission or *alforria* as the Portuguese called it and which constitutes the main theme of this paper was a pre-Islamic Arab custom for earning religious merit. Prophet Muhammad recommended it also, and as such it entered in Quran and Hadis. Thus, for instance, if a Muslim failed willingly to observe the fast during Ramzan, the offender could expiate his guilt by the manumission of one male slave (*ghulam*) for every day he broke his fast. The *Hidaya* and *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* are the most authoritative texts for the study of Muslim slavery in medieval India. They deal with all aspects of Muslim law dealing with purchase, sale and manumission of slaves. Muslim society was incomplete without slaves which permeated almost every sphere of Muslim life.

There were at least four types of manumission, known as *wajib* (obligatory), *mubah* or *halal* (in accordance with Sharia), *mustahaj* (pious act) and *haram* (prohibited). It could be done orally or in writing, but there were rules to be observed with proper form and proper words. It is interesting and important to note on this occasion when we are discussing African diaspora, that captured slaves, if *kafirs*, could not be freed. To be a *kafir* was a disqualification, both in *ghulam* (male slaves) and *bandi* (female slave). The female slaves for Muslims were meant for cohabitation and for generating children, and they detested the *kafirs*. The non-Arab captives could be put to death or reduced to slavery. If converted to Islam they could be freed as *Zimmis*. But the *kafir* was also seen as useful for undertaking jobs that were prohibited for Muslims as below their dignity. Once a slave converted to Islam there was always the option of freedom. A Muslim slave purchased by an infidel was considered free after entering an infidel territory, and the slave of an infidel upon becoming Muslim acquired the right to freedom. As we shall soon see, the Portuguese applied quite faithfully the Islamic tradition to slaves converted to Christianity or to slaves of the non-Christians entering the Portuguese jurisdiction.

By the custom known as *tadbir,* a master manumitted his slave by declaring that he/she would be free only after his/her death. Such a slave was then known as *mudabbir*. It was not a very welcome change of status for old slaves who could then hardly find a new buyer or master. At times the *mudabbirs* conspired to get rid of the master with the hope of becoming free earlier. Islamic law provided also for partial manumission, being exempted from a particular type of work from a specific date. He could be freed one-third and pay for other two-thirds to become fully free. Slaves could marry more than one wife at a time with the permission of the master, but never without such permission. If married slaves converted to Islam, their marriage was respected. If only one partner became Muslim the marriage became void automatically. Children of Muslim parents were regarded as Muslims.

Every slave girl could be used as concubine, and as such the slave girl or *bandi* and concubine were synonymous. She had to have all the qualities required for this purpose. Excessive sexiness was also regarded as defect. A slave girl who conceived from the master could not be sold, and the offspring was considered to be free. This gave the woman the status of *istawad* and made her *am-walad* with right to be free after the death of the master. The master had full control of *bandi* but he could declare free some parts of her body. When a pregnant slave was bought, the offspring was part of the purchase, and if the mother was declared *mudabbir* the offspring also shared her freedom. An absconding *ghulam* or *bandi* could not be purchased and had to be returned to the master. Incidentally, the Goa Municipality had a slave retriever in its service. You may find some relevant documentation published in my *Medieval Goa* (1979: 267). A master had unlimited power over the slave and could amputate or kill the slave with impunity. It was regarded as natural death. Even though slavery was a recognized institution in India since ancient times, particularly as a means of payment of debts, slaves were treated as a rule less cruelly than in early Egypt, Greece or Rome. During the Mauryan rule, as Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (Shastry 1986) informs us, a master was not to punish a slave without reason. If a master ill-treated his slaves the State could punish such master. Emperor Ashoka laid down in his Edict IX that all people should treat their slaves with sympathy and consideration. There were similar attempts in the Christian tradition, and we can see it in Portuguese India, though the reality did not always correspond to the good intentions and legislation.

The Christian and the Portuguese Slaving Traditions

Early Christianity fitted itself into the existing social institutions, including the institution of slavery. The letters of St. Paul confirm this adjustment. Christian monasteries used slaves in medieval Europe and the practice continued in the monasteries elsewhere in the world where Europe expanded its power since the 16th century. One of the papal bulls, *Dum diversas* of 1452 authorized the Portuguese to conquer and enslave the Saracens, pagans and other unbelievers inimical to Christ. Soon after their takeover of Goa and establishment of a State-controlled trading system, there were Portuguese who sought private trade and this gave rise to the so-called *"grande soltura"* (the great freedom) soon after the death of Afonso de Albuquerque. Several Portuguese, many of them criminals and renegades sought to escape from justice in Goa and made their living as freebooters along the Coromandel Coast, Bay of Bengal and further East. The *Peregrinations* of Fernão Mendes Pinto, provides a graphic description of the Portuguese adventures and their excesses, including their active involvement in slave trade. The early Chinese reactions to the Portuguese were provoked by the Portuguese slave trade. Another variant of slave trade, namely, the trade in eunuchs in Bengal was of ancient date and Duarte Barbosa describes how "the Moorish merchants of this city (Bengala) often times travel up country to buy heathen boys from their parents or from other persons who steal them and castrate them, so that they are left quite flat. Many die from this; those who live they train well and sell them. They value them much as guardians of their women and estates and for other low objects. These eunuchs they hold in high esteem as men of upright character, and some of them become their lords' factors, and some Governors and Captains of the Moorish Kings, so that they become very rich and had great estates" (Dames 1921: 147).

The presence of Bengali slaves and eunuchs in Goa is mentioned in the contemporary Jesuit records, and also in the manuscript we are presenting here. In her recent research on Bengal, Rila Mukherjee (2006) has studied the Portuguese joining hands with the Arakanese in large scale slaving as a way of making up for their losing political control in the region in the early 17th century. This provoked the anger of Shah Jahan in 1632 and resulted in the take over of Hughly. He took some thousands of Portuguese men, women and children as captives to Agra. Lahori described the slave trade conducted by the Portuguese from Hughly in *dingas*, *ghrabs* and *jaliyas*: "These hateful practices were not confined to the lands they occupied but they seized and carried off every one they could lay their hands upon along the sides of the river" (1990: 32). While Lahori referred to the economic aspect of the Portuguese activity in Bengal, Khafi Khan touched upon the religious aspect: "They built villages and in all matters acted very kindly towards the people and did not vex them with oppressive taxes, but minors were converted to Christianity, whether brahmins or sayyids, and sold into slavery" (Lahori 1990: 211). The Dutchman Linschoten, who spent six years in Goa at the close of the 16th century has left a lurid description of slave market and slave exploitation in Goa. Pyrard de Laval, a Frenchman who spent two years in Goa during early 17th century also left a detailed description of slavery in Goa. For numbers of slaves in various Portuguese settlements in India and elsewhere in Portuguese Asia, we have Antonio Bocarro's *Livro de Plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da India Oriental* (c.1635) wherein we read about 800 married settlers in Goa city, each owning at least two slaves, mostly Africans, but also of other provenance. These could bear arms for defence, but there were other named as "useless" slaves, black and Asian. Bocarro mentions that in the city of Goa there were also native married settlers numbering about 2,500, and these too owned slaves. The convents had their slaves, not included in the estimates. Rudi Bauss (1997: 21-26), Celsa Pinto (1994) and Pedro Machado (2004) have worked out estimates of the numbers of African slaves shipped to India, particularly in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, till the official abolition of slavery in the mid 19th century. We are handling here the situation prior to their studies. As far as my knowledge goes, the earliest census in the Monsoon Volumes of Goa archives is dated 1697 for 38 parishes, and includes Whites and 3,467 slaves. Hence, we can calculate from the manuscript discussed here the proportion of those who were manumitted. Curiously, almost all the manumitted slaves were native Indians of different castes, predominantly from *gatual* caste (which needs to be identified) with Black Africans as rare exceptions. We can understand this fact by comparing the Goan colonial society with the contemporary Portuguese society at the time and later. We need to comprehend the slave treatment in the Portuguese metropolitan society in order to comprehend the Goan scenario.

Timothy Walker (2004 a and b) has given us a picture of the freed (manumitted) Black slaves in Portugal and their treatment by the Portuguese Inquisition when accused of magical practices. Newly freed and masterless slaves were deemed more dangerous than normal slaves. Since a freed slave served symbolically to question the legitimacy of the institution of slavery and their ownership by the Whites, it provoked tension in the society dominated by the white slave masters who felt uneasy about legalized manumission. Inquisition was used to reinforce the institution of slavery by punishing more severely the freed slaves and more leniently the normal slaves. That was how the Portuguese society seemed to treat the social elements which the white elites deemed inconvenient. Their slaves were too valuable to be banished or sent into exile. A freed slave and first-time offender was often punished severely with banishment to State galleys. Timothy Walker comes to the conclusion that only 10 per cent of those accused as *curandeiros* or sorcerers were of Black descent. This should not be surprising if we take into account the demographic ratio of the Blacks in Portugal around that time. It is interesting to note, however, that two-thirds of the Black accused were women. As a result of the prevailing Portuguese folk imagery of *mouras encantadas* a harsher treatment was meted out to Black women who seemed to represent a threat of seduction to the White men. The masters were never held responsible for the behaviour of their slaves and as such were not pulled up by the Inquisition. But neither were their slaves generally punished after trial. It is the freed slaves and Whites who were generally punished with banishment which was dreaded by the tightly knit Portuguese family bonds. While Blacks were sent to internal exile and a few to Brazil, the Whites were condemned to no more than two years of internal exile, and were rarely sent to colonies in Africa and Asia.

In conclusion, the freed slaves were those who were punished most severely and the enslaved Blacks most leniently. The poor White offenders occupied the middle ground. Hence, the manumitted slaves were most vulnerable in the modern Portuguese society. The Inquisition sentences reflected the dominant social criteria which placed the freed slaves at the bottom of the society, below the slaves and the poor Whites. Presence of slaves in Algarve and Lisboa regions of Portugal represented almost 10 per cent of the population as could be checked from the baptism records, although some arrived already as baptized and did not enter in these statistical sources. The American market reduced the number of slaves brought to Portugal and those who were still there were mostly born in the territory. This number went on decreasing owing to the custom of manumission. They were used for all sorts of menial works and many were hired for such services by their masters. Thousands of female Black slaves were thus used for supplying water to private houses for payment which they shared with their masters. Many worked for the convents and they were either bought or came as patrimony of those who joined the monastery. The slaves were present also in the countryside as workers in the field cultivation. Many parish priests were slave owners. The condition of these domestic slaves was very different from that of the colonial slaves. Much depended upon the good will of the owners and the good behaviour of the slaves. In many cases the female slaves were manumitted by their masters not always declaring openly that they had fathered their children who were baptized with the name of the mother, without mentioning the father. The manumission was a legal way of freeing a slave, but the transition to full freedom was generally slow and the situation could be reverted if the ex-slave failed to show gratitude or to be helpful to the former master when required.

As regards the marriage of slaves, the masters were generally uncooperative because the Church required that they could not be sold or sent to work to distant places where they could not live their married lives. Many owners would include a clause in the marriage contract to state that they allowed it only under condition of not losing the rights over the slave as before. There was also a general opposition of the slave masters to their definitive manumission. Manumission was a current practice, but it required almost always that the manumitted slave handed over a part of his value in cash to the former master. This was almost a kind of self-sale that permitted the master to buy a new slave. Manumissions without such value-exchange were are exception and were motivated by pious intentions of the masters of gaining merits before God. Such cases were also often delayed till the slave was old and was of little use in terms of labour that could be exacted from him or her. At times the manumission was conditional, requiring service during the life-time of the owners, and at times the condition of service could be required from the children of the manumitted slaves. But there were cases in which the masters helped the manumitted slaves to be able to continue working to gain their livelihood. Though in rare cases, some masters would even give them a house and a piece of land. The ex-slaves with such privileged conditions often joined confraternities of Blacks, generally named after Our Lady of Rosary, in which they could help each other and create conditions for freeing other slaves. Tendency of the slaves to run away was common. The legislation took measures to block any assistance to such run away slaves, and there were even extradition laws to guarantee return of the slaves who crossed the borders of the country (Fonseca 1999).

The Jesuit visitor of the Asian missions Alexandre Valignano noted in 1576 that many slave masters donated slaves to the Jesuit residences. He feared that many of such slaves were illegally captured. The Jesuit General wished that slaves of all Jesuit residences in the Portuguese empire ought to be set free, as it had been done in the Jesuit Province of Sicily. The Indian authorities had replied that it was difficult to function in India without slaves, and as to the title of slavery and good treatment, this had been ensured. The Jesuit lay brothers could not do in India the type of jobs they were doing in Europe. “In this country no one serves another, except the slaves and some native boys” (Wicki 1968: 638-39).[1] He had earlier written to Jesuit Superior General, Mercurian, that in India even poor native Christians had their slaves, and that it was very cheap to have them and maintain them, because the only costs were cheap clothes and rice. Besides, in the houses of the Society of Jesus, the titles of captivity were examined carefully by two or three Fathers deputed by the Provincial for this purpose. The menial jobs were considered as below dignity for the Whites. Those with illegal or uncertain title were freed and their service was paid for. Those who had already served during some years were also granted their letter of manumission (Wicki 1968: 214-15, 266).

The Church Provincial Councils of Goa have recurringly dealt with the issue of slaves, particularly regarding the slaves that belonged to non-Christians. In the very first Council held in 1567, it was mentioned in Decree 16 that non-Christians should not possess a Christian slave. If they happened to buy or sell one, such a slave would be considered free. The same would apply to any slave of non-Christian master on becoming Christian without receiving any price for it. If the slave was brought for sale, they should not be paid more than 12 *cruzados*, and this would be applicable only if the slave was sold within three months after entering the Portuguese jurisdiction. Beyond this time limit the slave would be considered free. The same applied to slaves belonging to Jews or Muslims. As regards slaves, who might belong to the jurisdiction of allies, to be baptized, the mutual accord had to be respected, namely, if the allies returned slaves to the Portuguese or paid for them, the Portuguese also had to respond in the same manner (Rivara 1992: 178). Another decree of the same Council in its 4th session referred to cruel treatment meted out to slaves by some masters to the point of killing some slaves. The Council prohibited the practice of punishments with fire or cane, and invited denunciation by those who might come to know of such punishments being practised. The council also Prohibited forcing the slaves to work on Sundays and religious days of obligation, or making them pay for things they lost or happened to break at home. The masters were advised to treat well their sick slaves and to advise them to frequent the Sacraments (Rivara 1992: 51).

The Third Council in 1585 repeated decree 13 of the First Council and decree 8 of the Second Council extending the freedom of slaves belonging to non-Christians also to Melaka. Repeated also the prohibition of Muslims taking slaves through the Portuguese jurisdiction. A fine of 50 *pardaus* and excommunication was imposed upon the Captains and ship masters who permited embarkation of such slaves without the knowledge of the Viceroy or the Prelate. They should force the masters to sell their slaves to Christians, or failing Christian buyers to non-Christians of the Portuguese jurisdiction. This decree envisaged in particular the situation that prevailed in Hormuz (Rivara 1992: 135-37). The decree 30 of the same Council refers to the practice of some slave owners giving Christian names to their slaves without baptizing them. The masters were obliged to baptize a slave within six months after acquisition or within a month if the slave was 10 years of age or less. There was a fine imposed upon the defaulters.[2]

Decree 2 of the 5th session of the Third Council ordered the slave masters to redeem within one year any of their slaves who might have been captured in wars or any such conflicts. The Council considered it to be their duty of gratitude and also defence of faith. If they were not redeemed within this period and succeeded in escaping from captivity they should be considered free. There was an annexe to the proceedings of this Council. It was a quote from the Justinian code stating that Christian captives of Jews, gentiles or heretics persons in India, could not be considered legitimate slaves, even if any of their masters might later accept Christianity (Rivara 1992: 177-78, 183-84).

Decree 4 of the first session of the Fourth Council cited Decree 1 of the 4th session of the First Council (did not correspond in the APO) listing five legitimate titles for possessing a slave. No other slave brought frequently from China, Japan, Bengal and elsewhere should be considered legal for sale or possession. A Jesuit report of 1571 has mentioned that many had 15 to 50 female slaves each. Masters and even servants and male slaves slept with them (Wicki 1962: 409). The Council decreed that the eunuchs from Bengal should be all considered as free. The fifth Council repeated a decree of the fourth about masters not impeding the marriage of their slaves and to sell them when married to freed slaves giving an impression that these could accompany them wherever they might have to go. Such sales should be restricted to the coast extending from Diu to Comorin, and not beyond.[3] The Fifth Council banned female slaves of less than fifty years of age from selling foodstuffs or stitch work on the streets. The masters who permitted this should pay a fine of 20 *pardaus* for each breach of this order (Rivara 1992: 267).

Decree 15 of the 4th session of the Fifth Council lamented that despite many bans and decrees of the past Councils the captivity of slaves and their abusive exploitation had been on the rise and there appeared to be no way of checking it. The Council authorized all the Bishops in their respective jurisdictions to keep a watch on the ports where slave trafficking took place, deputing virtuous and responsible persons to examine the titles of captivity and hand these in writing to the respective slaves. They should also issue the certificates of legal possession to the respective slave masters. Any slave who was not thus examined and without such certificate should be considered freed (Rivara 1992: 267-68).

The Council also decreed that sick slaves abandoned by their masters and living on streets and in hospital of the poor should be considered free if their masters did not take them back. This also applied to slaves who were punished cruelly with hot irons, with leather straps, by pouring hot liquids, by pressing any part of their body with weights, by throwing pepper, oil, vinegar or salt into their eyes, by breaking their teeth or by whipping them repeatedly. Anyone incurring violation of this order should pay a fine of fifty *pardaus* (Rivara 1992: 269-70). All these abuses seemed to have continued despite a special team of judges sent from Portugal to handle cases of abuse of justice and failures to do justice. In the standing order issued for the functioning of the "alçada", we read about the numerous slaves who were brought by force from Bengal, China, Maluco and elsewhere by capturing them. The viceroy and representatives of the Board of Conscience were entitled to be present while these cases were reviewed and any captive with unjust title was ordered to be freed (Rivara 1992: V(II): 782). Fr. Alexandre Valignano as Visitor of Jesuit missions instructed the Father of Christians in September 1595, among other things, to look after the *alforria* of the slaves, particularly of those owned by the Portuguese, who tended to offer more resistance. In case they failed to yield to appeals to conscience, the cases were to be entrusted to the lay attorney of the Christians.[4] When the monastery of St. Monica was established in Goa at the opening of the 17th century it admitted 18 widows in the first batch of inmates. One of them, the founder-inmate, Filipa Ferreira from Thana came to the convent with her 200 slaves.[5]

Goa Historical Archives: Codex 860

The Codex 860 is entitled *Cartas de Alforria aos Escravos, 1682-1759.* Although the end indicated is 1759, the actual date extends to 1760. The Codex contains 112 folios, not all of them bound in the numerical order. Fls. 13, 15 and 14 (in this order) appear after 53. They contain deeds of manumission obliging the slave masters to set their slaves free after no more than 10 to 12 years from date. The overwhelming majority of nearly 750 slaves involved were females and of *kunbi* caste, aged below 20. A great majority of the slaves was indicated as belonging to the *gatual*, *curumbim (kunbi)* and *balgati* castes. We are not sure what is the exact meaning of *gatual* (not found in Dalgado's *Glossário*). It is not likely to be related to Ghats since Balghati also meant the same. The other castes mentioned were *cancana, shudra, charado, yogi, maratha, mainata (dhobi), vania*, etc. Till fl. 53 there were, on average, four to five terms in each folio. After that, the average was two per folio. Most of them were Hindus who were baptized after being bought or acquired. Referred to the slaves from the old three talukas of Goa, and, among slave masters, we found some priests and convents. Some of these slaves were orphans entrusted to some families by the Father of Christians. The Father of Christians was a State appointed official to look after the protection and welfare of converts to Christianity. The office was usually entrusted to a priest of a Religious Order. The deeds implied obligation to teach good manners and Christian doctrine, to treat them charitably in their illness, and to arrange their marriage when they attained the right age. In Fl. 95 we read about a girl aged nine and whom her master undertook to get married with a man of the same caste after another four years. The deed also obliged the slave owners not to transfer the ownership to anyone else without informing the Father of Christians in advance. Several deeds were mere declarations that the persons described were already treated as free and no longer as slaves. The first Father of Christians conducting the manumission procedure was a Jesuit priest, Luis de Abreu, who died in 1686. He started acting on manumissions with the authority granted to him by the Archbishop D. Alberto da Silva. He was followed as Fathers of Christians (Fl.56) by several other Jesuits whose names appear in this Codex as Pedro Prado (1688), João Henrique (1694), Ignacio Mascarenhas (1698), Alexandre de Souza (1713), Antonio Freire (1734), Manuel de Abreu (1737), Antonio Estanislao (1740), Antonio Ferreira (1753), Luis Pegado (1753), Manuel de Guevara (1754-6), Antonio de Basto (1756) and Joaquim Dias (1758-9). As already indicated, this volume went beyond the end date indicated in the cover, and referred to Rev. Fr. Theodoro de Santa Maria as superior of the old college of St. Paul and Father of Christians. Obviously, he belonged to another religious order that was entrusted with the care of the Jesuit residences.

We have extracted from this manuscript volume some details that we thought interesting and those which did not fit into the usually accepted categories: We have a *kunbi* from Sanklly bought for 49 *xerafins.* The intention to baptize him was indicated as the only justifying title for his slavery. A *"negrinha",* Black female aged 15 and Muslim, now Maria, was to be set free by her owner Pedro Ferreira after 8 years. Britis de Oliveira was of *gatual* caste, aged 14, and bought in the slave market. She was robbed and cheated into slavery. She was to be set free after six years and with the obligation on the part of the owner of arranging her marriage. A Christian cobbler, Manuel d'Almeida, owned a *kunbi* boy from the mainland. He had bought him with the intention of converting him to Christianity. A resident of St Estevão (Jua Island) presented a *"negrinha"* of *gatual* caste aged 14, bought with the aim of baptizing her. How come we have here a black girl of gatual caste? A girl called Lingi before conversion and belonging to *gatual* caste was now Joana and was to be set free after 10 years. Could the old name serve as a clue to identify *gatual* caste, which loomed large in this codex? Quite a few male and female slaves belonged to *curumbim* (*kunb*i) caste and were Hindus before conversion. We had an interesting case of Natalia, belonging to Abassy (habshi) caste, and several girls of Koli caste and they were from the Northern province (Bassein). A "bicho" named Estevão belonged to *gatual* caste and was from Honawar. Margarida aged 40 was married to a Black slave of the same owner, Francisco da Costa, resident of St. Anne parish (Telauli), one clear instance of hybrid African identity? Antonio, aged 45, was described as belonging to "*mulato*" caste. A priest, Manuel Jacques de Noronha, resident in St. Mathias (Malar) owned two slave boys, one *kunnbi* and the other *shudra.* Several other slave owners were from the island of Chorão. The slaves were of *gatual* caste not Africans as mentioned elsewhere in this paper. There were cases of slaves freed in the parish of St. Bartholomew (Chorão) of *gavlli* and *linganatu* cases. They belonged to Fr. Francisco Rodrigues. A girl slave, Maria, was 10 years old and belonged to *tacuru* caste (Thakur / Tagore from Bengal?). Two slaves were still Hindus: Ghirea, 14 old from Bhalagaty, and a girl Khenchu, 24, also from Bhalagaty. A girl of 16, Pascoela, was of *faras* caste (*mahar*). A *"negrinha"* named Macota, was in the parish Chimbel of Ribandar. A girl, Mariana, aged 15 from the House of Cathecumens, was given to João da Silva, resident in the Mormugão fort, in May 1686 to be his servant. She was declared free. There were some other such cases of young boys and girls, including one Hindu girl three years old, of *kunbi* caste, from the House of Catechumens in 1694-8, given in adoption to private families. A girl of *kunbi* caste was given out from the Cathecumenate in 1709 to Joseph da Silva from Taleigão. He promised to bring her up in Christian life and take care of her marriage when she attained the age of 12. This age corresponds to the Konkani proverb: *bara, chol govachea ghara.* Antonio da Lima, from Chorão, promised to set free a mother and her daughter following the death of his wife. In 1712, we had a Capuchin friar

Antonio de Assunção who presented two Bengali boys whom he declared freed. He further declared that they had come willingly from their country to become Christians. A barber resident in S. Lourenço (Agaçaim) accepted a Bengali boy as free and promised to teach him to be a barber within two years. In 1716, a black woman *(cafra)* was given by the Father of Christians to Pascoal Mendes Thomas, resident in the city of Goa, to work as house servant and as a free person. In 1727, there was a Hindu boy Bacha of *tallogui* caste, baptized as Antonio. He was orphan of parents from Sunda. In 1733, we found two young sisters who were orphans of Muslim parents from Bicholim. They were handed over by the Cathecumenate to Diogo de Miranda, a Portuguese white, married and resident in the city of Goa. We had an interesting case in August 1736 of a couple from Navelim in Salcete, who took care of a "godchild" (*afilhada*), a cathecumen spinster, about 20 years old, of weaver caste, allowed her to marry her Black slave who would remain a slave, and she would remain free and so the children they might have, as customary. In 1739, Gonçalo Pinto Brandão, from Lisbon, brought with him to Goa a young free Black *("cafrinho forro")* from Mozambique, on condition that he would be taken back to his country by himself or through someone else. Brandão presented Judge Pedro da Silva, resident in the city of Goa, as his surety for fulfilling his obligation. There was a statement of Fr. Martinho do Rosario, Commissary General of the Hospitallers of St. John, declaring that Agostinho do Rosario, Black of *macua* caste was his slave and had served him during many years with much dedication. Declared him free on condition that he continued serving him during the rest of his life-time as he did heretofore. Yet another case, one of the last ones in the codex and dated 2 June 1760, referred to one year old boy of an unknown father and a Hindu prostitute from Cumbarjua. I have published elsewhere about the Cumbarjua Island being acquired by the Jesuit procurator Fr. Gonçalo Martins, who shifted to that island all activities of prostitution from the city of Goa, so as to avoid public scandal, but also as a source of revenue for the Society of Jesus. Some of the entries in the Codex presented here required knowledge of this background: A child was entrusted to a Christian couple of St. Mathias (Malar) to be breast-fed (*criar com leite do peito*) and given all care that was required. The couple would receive two *xerafins* per month to cover the expenses. There were a few other cases of this nature, including one of a child four days old entrusted to a couple in the city.

The following information may help us to understand to some extent the pressure for manumitting slaves during the period covered in the Codex presented here. In 1758, the Viceroy Count of Ega repeated a law issued in 1624-5 banning the enslaving of Chinese. A similar law of 1751 ordered that no Japanese should be captured and enslaved (Wicki 1969: 90). It mentioned that even the Fathers of Christians were accomplices in accepting declarations during baptism to cover the intentions of the slave buyers who claimed that the young slaves would be a burden to their parents who would kill them, or that they would be captured by pirates. The law mentioned that baptism had become a door to slavery, instead of being a door to freedom (Wicki 1968: 361-63). The commonly mentioned title for slavery in this manuscript we have just analysed confirms the point raised by the viceroy. By way of conclusion we did not see more than a dozen references to African slaves from among three hundred and odd cases.

Old Habits Die Hard: A Slow End of Slavery in the Portuguese Empire

In her earlier cited research, Rila Mukherjee suggests that just like the Arakanese who moved into slave trading when they lost their commercial power, the Portuguese too turned to slaving with greater intensity when their commercial power was broken by the Dutch and the English. Unlike the other Europeans in Asia, the Portuguese always remained a coastal power which derived from their control over ports. This control in turn was determined by the nature of their trade. The massacre of the Portuguese by the Arakanese at Dianga in 1607 soon after the latter had thrown out the Portuguese from Chatighan; the execution of Filipe Nicote de Brito, the Portuguese adventurer and ruler of Syriam by the Mons-Burmese in 1613; the defeat of the Portuguese by the Kandy forces in Ceylon in August 1630; and finally the fall of Aceh in 1636 and Malaca in 1640 in the wake of Dutch conquests in the Indonesian archipelago signified the collapse of the informal Portuguese network of trade in the Bay of Bengal. The Portuguese officially "stayed" back only at the slave port of Pipli, in Orissa. In such a perishable commodity like slaves, the flow of supplies to the slave markets could only dry up with time. In societies where the emergence of a market for land was blocked by patrimonial ownership, and where the self-sufficiency of the labourers was a fact and not fiction, the drying up of supplies of slaves meant the drying up of the market as a whole. This line of argument makes sense in the context of my analysis in *Medieval Goa* of the Portuguese attempts to enter the land market in Goa from the start of the 17th century by ignoring or violating the native customary rights and traditional land ownership and administrative practices.

Manucci, who spent one year and three months in Goa in the last quarter of the 17th century, describes how during the invasion of Goa by Sambhaji in 1683 and when the viceroy was facing a perilous situation militarily, an Augustinian monk, Fr. Pedro da Silveira, got together a band of Black slaves and kitchen servants whom he ordered to hold sugar canes and advance in the direction of the invading Marathas pretending to bring reinforcements. The Marathas were taken in by the ruse and the viceroy could retreat safely.[6] Manucci also refers to high degree of criminality in Goa, and shops were closed before sunset. The mischief makers employed their *kaffir* slaves for vandalism. He refers to households possessing even 100 *kaffirs*. There is an instruction of the king of Portugal to his viceroy in India, dated 23.3.1733, requesting him to remedy the oppression to *ganvkars* of Chorão island at the hands of the White settlers who were using their many Black slaves to threaten the *ganvkars* and to rob their field products (Xavier 1852: 70-73). On 12 November 1787, the prior of the Augustinian convent in Daman proposed to his colleagues if they would agree to selling the Black Manoel who suffered from *"excesso vicioso"* (excess of ill-temper), which was the cause of many complaints and made him unwanted. He mentioned that there was a Frenchman in the town buying slaves and proposed to sell the Negro to him for 140 rupees. All agreed. A follow-up document mentions the purchase of a "*cafrinho*" for serving the convent. They paid 162 *xerafins* for him. He was sold that same year for 315 *xs*. because of his restless character, bad habits and unwillingness to work.[7] In 1810, Portugal signed a treaty with Great Britain to cooperate in abolishing slavery gradually in its colonies, but the lack of political consciousness caused surprise and strong reactions in the Portuguese society when the English navy began taking effective measures against slave-trafficking. In a new treaty with England in 1815 Portugal committed itself to abolish slave traffic to the North of the Equator, and agreed to limiting such trafficking to the Portuguese colonies. In 1817, the two countries came to an agreement that navies of two countries could jointly check the slaving vessels in the northern hemisphere. Even so, in 1820s, Portugal was the only country that still maintained a legal slave trade and the abolitionism was seen in Portugal as foreign intervention in the Portuguese national sovereignty. This political discourse was well exploited by the slave owning interests to promote a go-slow policy. The old mentality of saving the savage African was covered under a new discourse of saving the national pride. The pro-abolitionist voice remained muted till the British Parliament passed in the summer of 1839 a bill of Palmerston giving the British the right to unilaterally intercept and capture any slaving vessel. Many vessels bearing Portuguese flags were thus captured or sunk. In July 1842, the bill was replaced by a fresh Anglo-Portuguese treaty that extended the abolition to southern hemisphere under dual control. The display of force by England and the fear of losing its colonies led Portugal to give in. The slavers then lost interest in carrying on the traffic in the Portuguese jurisdiction (Marques 1999: 46-53). Timothy Walker has published an interesting analysis of the popular and official resistance to slave abolition based on the records of Goa archives. He refers to a significant percentage, almost 15 per cent of manumitted slaves in the first quarter of the 19th century Goa. However, he laments the non-existence of registers of manumission for this period for confirming the census figures. But very interesting are the conclusions of his analysis of the slave registry conducted in Goa province-wise in 1855 under the British pressure. On the basis of the ambiguity of the language utilized and the number of unutilized pages in each codex, he presumes that the responsible State officials knew the probable number of slaves while issuing the registration books with a definite number of folios for each book. After the registration most volumes were virtually empty or with only a few pages used. In all nine provinces only 134 slaves were registered! The legislation had threatened that all unregistered slaves would be deemed as freed. But probably the past experience of the slave owners and in good Portuguese tradition even till date must have convinced the slave masters that no action would be taken by the authorities for their non-compliance (Walker 2004a: 63-79).

We know that despite the growing and effective pressures for ending slavery, the Portuguese colony of S. Tomé and Principe developed cultivation of cocoa and coffee at the close of XVIII century, and during 1876-1900, nearly 55,869 "free" labourers were "contracted" in Angola to serve the "*roças*". It was a situation of covert slavery, and according to Alfredo Margarido, my veteran colleague at the University and who spent many years of exile in that Portuguese colony during the Salazar regime, states that the situation in S. Tomé and Principe reflected the Portuguese attitude towards slavery in its colonial world in general and that only the end of African anti-colonial wars permitted the Africans to put an end to "the slavery that was alive in Portuguese African colonies under various legal cover-ups."

Notes

[1] The issue was discussed in wide consultation held by Valignano in the Goa Province of the Society of Jesus in December 1575 at Chorão residence.

[2] Ban repeated in Decree 6 of the 2nd session of the Fifth Council in 1606 (Rivara 1992: 142-43).

[3] This was the area within the Portuguese control. A defaulter would pay a fine of 200 pardaus (Rivara 1992: 217).

[4] *Doc. Ind.*, XVII, Rome, 1988, p. 88.

[5] *O Oriente Português* (NS), 1931, n.1, p. 87.

[6] *O Oriente Português*, VIII, 1911, p. 108.

[7] *O Oriente Português*, XIII, 1916, nn. 11 & 12, pp. 350-1. The British occupation troops had used the convent as infirmary.

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6

African Slavery and Christian Humanism in Portuguese Goa

Jeanette Pinto

Introduction

Freedom is a God given gift to every human being and everybody must enjoy the Right to Freedom. Not everyone, however, enjoys this right. Those who have it are aware of it only after they lose it. There are people who deliberately take this gift away from others for personal gain, and they justify their actions with hollow rationalizations. Those who have the gift taken away from them, pay for it for the rest of their lives. There is one institution where the gift of freedom is brutally taken away. Along with this gift, fundamental rights are also taken away, namely, human dignity, honour, self-esteem, pride and the desire to live "LIFE". That institution is Slavery.

Slavery has existed from time immemorial and has been a part of innumerable societies. It was a permanent feature of the ancient world. Even today, slavery exists in different forms. African diaspora is the result of slavery of African natives which started about the end of the fifteenth century and it lasted till about the end of the nineteenth century. In India, slavery existed as an important social institution but in a milder form. Its origin may be traced to the early laws and tribal wars when the vanquished *anaryas* (indigenous people) became the slaves (*dasa)* of the victorious *arya* (tribe/clan*)*(Chopra 1973: 148). In fact, it was the natural and accepted way of life especially for war prisoners (Chanana 1960: 7). African slavery was introduced in India, chiefly into Goa, by the Portuguese who brought Negro slaves in large numbers during their navigations to the East when they visited islands off the coast of Africa.

The foundation of the Portuguese eastern empire was laid by Affonso de Albuquerque in the year 1510 when he wrested the land locked island of Goa from the Muslim Sultan of Bijapur (Boxer 1960: 14). Before long, the Portuguese territory in India and the east expanded and came to be officially called the '"*stado da India*". Slave trading became part of Portuguese commercial activity and so the African natives brought by the the Portuguese became part of the society of Goa. They were referred to by the Portuguese as *escravos* meaning slaves. The seventeenth century foreign visitors and travellers to Goa in their writings have referred to these slaves as "*Kaffris*" by the Italian, Gemelli-Careri [1] and as "*Blacks*" and "*Caffrares*" *by* the Dutch traveller van Linschoten (1885: 70-71).

A large number of African slaves were sold like animals in the slave market of Goa in the *Rua Direita* (Straight Street). There were regular *leiloes* (auctions), and there was frantic buying and selling of goods, as well as male and female slaves from

Africa (Schurhammer 1977: 193; also Pinto 1992: 44-45). Slave traders screamed and haggled over prices and the poor Negro slave was traumatized in the process. A pathetic picture of the slaves and their condition emerges from various records.

The Portuguese were Catholics and, in their desire to control territories in the East, they clashed with other European powers, viz., the English and the Dutch, as heretics in religion and rivals in trade. The Portuguese proclaimed that they had come to the East for Christians and Spices.... *"Vimos buscar cristaos e especiaria."* (Baiao and Piers n.d.:59-60). An *alvara* (order) of the king given by Don Sebastiao, Viceroy of India in March 1568 stated: *"Fazei muita cristandade, fazei justica, tirai a cubica dos homens, tende cuidado da minha fazenda"...* meaning, *"Spread Christianity, do justice, purge men of their evil and look after my estates."* [2] So, in keeping with these orders, the Portuguese plunged headlong into proselytization.

Slavery and Christian Theology

The African natives who were now enslaved had all along worshipped stones, logs of wood, pieces of pottery and images made of granite. Almost all of them believed that every mountain, hill, forest and river had their appropriate deities. It is for these reasons that the Roman Catholic countries regarded the Blackman as an "object of salvation". Christianity from early days was considered the only true religion and it sought to redeem captives held by infidels and heathens.

Christianity as a system and a creed raised no protest against slavery. It enforced no rule and inculcated no principle for the mitigation of this evil. The teachings of Jesus, as portrayed in the Christian traditions, contained nothing expressive of the disapproval of bondage.[3] Slavery existed even among the Hebrews and Israelites. In the New Testament, there is no condemnation of slavery. In fact, the New Testament has a universalistic element; there is a tolerant acceptance of civil inequalities. In his letter to the Galatians, St. Paul wrote: *"There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female for you are all one in Christ Jesus."* [4]

African slavery was tolerated by the Canon law of the church and regulated according to the laws of the various colonizing nations (Boxer 1952: 236). The Fathers of the Church made frequent references to slavery and generally showed pity for the slave without condemning the institution.[5] They, in fact, urged the slave to be obedient and respectful as with St. Paul's exhortation to the Ephesians: *"Slaves obey your earthly masters... serve whole-heartedly, as if you were serving the Lord, not men, because you know that the Lord will reward everyone for whatever good he does; whether he is slave or free."*[6]

The Jesuit Response in Goa

Of the religious orders that accompanied the Portuguese on their voyages to the East, the Franciscans were the first to establish themselves in Goa in 1518, while the

Dominicans established their house in 1548. Jesuit beginnings date from the arrival of Francis Xavier in 1542. Francis Xavier was the pioneer Jesuit who came to India and landed in Goa on May 6, 1542. By the year 1549, he was placed at the head of the newly constituted Indian Province of the Society, viz, Goa, Cape Comorin, Quilon and Mylapore (Correia-Alfonso 1969). Francis Xavier himself had no difficulty about the prevalent idea of just slavery, for in the early years, the Goa Jesuits also kept slaves. Although the missionaries in general were more intent on proselytization, the Jesuits under the leadership of Francis Xavier were more concerned about the plight of the slave.

While Francis Xavier stayed in Goa he mingled with the people and sought their friendship but was disturbed as he found the conditions of morals and religion there appalling. There was a lack of edifying example of the Portuguese Catholics, for example, the Portuguese slave-owners ill-treated and flogged their slaves, counting the numbers of strokes on their rosary beads (Hollis 1968: 36). He was also horrified at the inhuman treatment meted out to the slaves and the attitude of the Portuguese people to religious devotion. Francis used his special talent to easily win the confidence of the people. He visited homes, the market and crowded places and talked to people. Wherever he went he tactfully inquired from the servants and slaves whether their masters were good or whether they were leading sinful lives (Silva-Correia 1931: 202). He was greatly distressed and horrified at the sin of carnal relations which was common. Often, he persuaded many of the masters to marry their slaves, and others he counseled to give slaves a place within the Christian family. He extended his efforts to even find husbands for some of them (Schurhammer 1977: 600). He had the charisma for healing physically and spiritually and was often successful in his efforts.

In describing the work of Francis Xavier one understands how he obtained striking success with the people. In the evenings with a little bell in hand he went through the streets and squares of Goa. He would stop by certain places, ring the bell and call aloud, *"Faithful Christians, friends of Jesus Christ, send your sons and daughters and your slaves, both men and women, to learn about the faith for the love of God"* (Schurhammer 1977: 218). This novel approach drew a mixed crowd of children, adults and slaves and he spoke to them in simple fashion. He would urge the slaves to repeat at home, all what he had said, (Wicki 1948-1975: 223) (D.I.) II,) thus spreading the word of God.

The Church also held slaves. The Moorish slaves, sent to Pope Innocent VIII in 1488 by Ferdinand, the Catholic, were distributed among the Cardinals and other church dignitaries (Winks 1972: 18). The clergy had a humanist approach and were the best friends of the helpless slaves, for they often provided for their moral and religious welfare. In fact, due to the influence of Christianity, slaves received special marks of favour from their masters.

The Goa (Church) Provincial Council of 1567, while lamenting about unjust slavery, declared that a slave could be justly retained if one was born of a slave woman or if one had been captured in a just war and for such justifiable reasons. This led them to have a large band of servants to do their cleaning, house keeping and cooking in their various institutions. There were many slaves in the convents and monasteries of Goa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As a matter of fact, much of the work on the Bom Jesu Church was done by the slaves (Wicki 1948-1975: (D.I) XVII:5) This ownership of slaves also gave the Jesuits an opportunity to treat the slave more humanely than the Portuguese master.

The prison and galley slaves were kept in the *"bhangasalla",* (Wicki 1948-1975; D.I II: 483, D.IV: 354)[7] the native word for "a place of fear". It was situated on the river bank in the North–western sector of the city where the galleys were moored (D'Costa 1965: 144). Francis Xavier along with a notable Jesuit, Gasper Berze, often visited these places and, along with other Jesuits, helped clear the rubbish, clean the courtyard of the fetid smell, distribute food and alleviate the needs of the slaves (Corriea-Alfonso 1969: 115). He even recommended that the Governor visit the place at least once a month and listen to the grievances of the prisoners. He hoped that the authorities would become sensitive to the degradation of human life that prevailed there.

What was most disturbing was the carnal relations the Portuguese masters had with their slaves. This was a great vice and scandal to society. It troubled the missionaries and Francis Xavier who openly condemned the corrupt and scandalous lives of many Portuguese in Goa. The interest of Xavier and the others was ecclesial. Jesuit letters contain a mine of information: There are regular references to slaves, their work, the inhuman treatment and the miseries they had to face in daily life. The Jesuits used all their shrewdness and skill to help alleviate the sufferings of the slaves and comfort them. For this the slaves were ever so grateful that there was a Goan jingle of the 17th century which goes as, *"Vicerei va, Vicerei vem, Padre Paulista sempre tem-* meaning, *Viceroys come and go, but the Jesuit Fathers are always with us"* (Boxer 1980: 19).

Abolition of Slavery

The presence and outreach of the Jesuit missionaries was a great solace to the slave population in Goa especially to many of them who lived a dehumanized life. The price was chiefly paid by those who were totally defenceless. The evils of slavery and the slave trade were world wide, and abolitionists rallied together to eradicate this evil. People who felt compassion, empathized and even fought to liberate the slave. The Vatican, as early as 1686, denounced "the tyrannical cruelty of men who sold into perpetual slavery those whom God had created." (cited in Chattopadhyay 1960: 113).

American President Abraham Lincoln had a deep and profound love for humanity. He once said, *"Those who can deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it,"* (Gray 1981: 37).

The development of public opinion in the nineteenth century was hostile to slavery and the writings of liberal thinkers also paved the way for the abolition of this cruel institution. There were various attitudes and strong reactions to this evil institution in Portuguese India too. The Historical Archives of Goa are replete with a number of pacts and treaties signed between the kings of neighbouring states and the Governors of Goa starting in the sixteenth century and spanning the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries (Pinto 1992: Ch. IX).

Finally, for Portuguese Goa the complete abolition of the traffic of slavery took place with a treaty. It was signed between Her Majesty the Queen of Portugal and of the Algarves, and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, in Lisbon by the respective plenipotentiaries on 3 July 1842.[8] The slaves regained their gift of freedom. Some of the liberated slaves ran into freedom, some sought refuge in nearby forests, others roamed away further interior and lived in secluded groups or communities. A community such as this developed on the outskirts of Goa - they became known as the Siddis of Karnataka (Lobo 1984).

Similar to what happened in Goa, surely must have happened elsewhere in other countries too where the Europeans had established their colonies. This movement into other areas resulted in the African diaspora in Asia and the western world. The status, however, of the African native after emancipation is different today - indeed as it should rightly be. Why so? What brought about the change? An explanation to this is seen in the emergence of a united body of countries called the United Nations Organisation after World War II, in 1945, and thereafter the demand for human rights.

Human Rights

December 10, 2005 marked the 57th anniversary of the "Magna Carta for all humanity" called the Universal Decalaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The anniversary theme a couple of years ago was "All Human Rights for All" – it highlights the universality, the indivisibility and the inter-relationship of all human rights. Christian Humanism was practised among men especially by the missionaries five centuries ago wherever they went. It prevailed as a response to colonialism and the anti-life attitude of the colonial powers especially towards the African slaves.

The fact that the UDHR was agreed upon by men of differing cultures and creeds is significant. Although it was academically studied by moralists, jurists and theologians, the fact remains that the Declaration expressed basic human hope and a vision for a better life for mankind. The most distinctive contribution of Christianity has been the "Christ – presence", embodied in an actual person who died for his convictions rather than compromise for his personal safety. Henry Chadwick (n.d.) in his book, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition*, notes that, *"The Gospel brings to actuality what is potentially present in men and its 'newness' consists in the concrete example of Christ himself."* In this sense Christianity has helped the growth of human rights, it has raised human standards and the quality of human relationships.

With regard to slavery, Paul the evangelist was more concerned with a man finding interior rather than exterior freedom. Slave or freeman – it made no difference to God, both were possessed of reason and capable of virtue. By the same token he also exhorted Christian masters to treat their slaves with fairness, "*for there is no partiality with Him.*"[9] From this the essential qualities of EQUALITY AND JUSTICE emerge. It could, therefore, be concluded that Christianity helped the development of human rights. The UDHR is a statement of universal range; it spells out for the entire world in the language of statesmen and lawyers, what is implicit in Paul's declaration of human equality two thousand years ago.

Christianity has never been blind to human perverseness and is aware of smokescreen talk. Christ spoke the simple language of love and duty emerging from this. The Christian language is about human interaction and relationships. The concept of the human person has a focus which is on the other as the object of duties rather than on the self as the subject of rights.

Christianity then, has the concern for the neighbour at heart, which gives full support in the social and political realm to the Declaration on Human Rights. *The freed peoples of the world should rightly be indebted to Christianity. Freedom from slavery meant the gift of an identity, the recognition of an indestructible dignity and the beginning of a new history, in which the discovery of God and discovery of self go hand in hand.* Of course, Christianity's greater concern should be to bring men and women to have a change of attitude of mind and heart so that it can be formulated into laws which will translate aspirations into actualities. With this then the connection between Christianity and Human Rights will be complete, like a current which will run through humanity.

Notes

[1] Kaffirs… a common appellation for Negroes from Arabic, "Kaffir".

[2] Moncoes do Reino, MS 338, p. 319.

[3] Holy Bible, 1, Timothy 6: 1-2. (Let as many bondservants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour, so that the name of God and His doctrine may not be blasphemed. And those who have believing masters, let them not despise them because they are brethren, but rather serve them because those who are benefited are believers and beloved. Teach and exhort these things).

[4] Holy Bible, Galatians 3: 28.

[5] See Slavery. In Hastings (n.d.).

[6] Holy Bible, Ephesians 6: 5-8.

[7] D.I.II, p. 483, IV 354: Bhangasalla means a storehouse. In the early seventeenth century, the term applied to a grain depot close to where the galleys were moored.

[8] For details, see: Tratado para e completa Abolicao do Trafico da Escravatura entre sua Majestade a Rainha de Portugal e dos Algarves e sua Magestade a Rainha do Reino-Unido da Gram-Bretanha e Ireland. 1842. Lisbon. Unpublished document.

[9] Holy Bible : Ephesians 6: 9.

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7

A Socio-Cultural Profile of the Siddi Women of Hyderabad

Rekha Pande

The African diaspora in India is known as the Siddis. The Siddis belong to Negroid stock of East Africa and are tall built and robust , and have a dark tan, deep wavy or woolly hair and thick lower lips. In common parlance in the local language they are referred to as Habshis. Most of the literature available on Siddis concentrates on men and not much on women. Hence, the present paper has concentrated on women Siddis of Hyderabad looking at their socio- cultural world. This paper has conceptualized culture as done by Raymond Williams(1963: 1), not simply as habits and customs of a particular society but as structures of feeling. So, culture can be analyzed as a lived experience and a struggle of the people in a society.

Historical Background

The shift of the Islamic capital to Baghdad in 750 A.D. brought the Persian Gulf more firmly into Indian trading networks. A number of Shiite refugees from southern Arabia settled along the northern half of the East African coast line during the 8th century. They intermarried with the African population and learnt the local language (Yimene 2004: 65). Over a period of time, Gujarat monopolized overseas trade in E. Africa collecting gold, ivory and slaves, which otherwise used to go to Arab countries and the Portuguese port of Mozambique, in exchange for clothes and other luxury items (Pearson 1976: 12). By the 9th century, there were a number of well established merchant towns along the coast of the land of Zenj. Most were situated on the Lamu islands of the north Kenyan coast and others, further South of Zanzibar, Kilwa and Comoro islands. These trading towns were mainly exporters of raw material and importers of manufactured goods and laundries like oriental pottery, glass ware, Indian silks and cotton. Their main trading places were Gujarat's ports like Surat, Bharauch, Cambay and Cutch. India produced cheap labour and there was no need for additional African labour but many liked to keep Africans as domestic labour or servants for sheer show of pomp and wealth (Lovejoy 1983: 224).

Again, there are references in historical records of the Abyssinians serving the rulers of North India like the Delhi Sultanate during the 13th century. When Razia succeeded Illtutmish, she reorganized the administration and tried to offset the power of the nobility by creating a counter nobility of non-Turks and relied on the Habshis a lot (Pande 1990: 57). Malik Jamal-ud-din Yakut, an Abyssinian, was made the lord of the stables and became a constant companion to the Sultan much to the jealousy of the others (Minhas 1970: 642). Many contemporary chronicles are very critical of Razia, stating that though she was a woman, she laid aside her female attire and donned the tunic of a man and appeared in the public durbar without a *purdah* and was surrounded by the Habshis and all and sundry could have a sight of her face. Whenever she mounted a horse, the Abbysinian slave Yakut, the Habshi, used to hold her arm and help her mount the horse (Yahya 1932: 25). The nobles did not like the fact that Razia had done away with female guards and was surrounded by Habshis. Us-Siraj Minhas writes that the Habshi who was the Lord of the stable acquired favour in attendance upon the Sultan (1970: 642). It was from 13th century onwards that many Habshis found employment as bodyguards of the Sultan. They continued to serve the rulers of the Delhi Sultanate and also the Mughal emperors. Often, they were placed in the Zenana to guard the women.

The term Habshi is derived from the Arabic El Habish, meaning the people of West Africa (Bombay Gazetteer 1877: 483). The island of Janjira was often referred to as Habshan, i.e., the land of Habshis or Africans (Bombay Gazetter 1877: 401). Over a period of time, the Habshis continued to serve the rulers and were very much in demand due to their docility, courage and valour. The Quran states that the slaves have to be treated well and many of them became free after getting a letter of manumission and some of them reached to the position of sailors and soldiers (Bombay Gazetteer 1877: 433). Due to this a number of Habshis who were enslaved and taken to India in medieval and post-medieval times eventually rose to positions of power and influence in the 16th century, e.g., Shams ud-Dawlah Muhammad al-Habshi, Bilal Habshi, Said Safar Salami and Shaik Said al-Habshi Sultani (perhaps best remembered as the builder of a famous mosque, known by his name, in Ahmedabad). Numerous Habshis were also employed as sailors in Indian waters. The Dutchman van Linschoten recalls that besides Arabs there were also "Abexiins" serving as sailors around India, where they were replacing the Portuguese, who considered such work incompatible with their prestige. "These Abexiins and Arabians, such as are free," he declares, "do serve in all India for Saylers and sea faring men, with such merchants as sail from Goa to China, Japan, Bengala, Mallaca, Ormus, and all the Oriental coast... These Abexiins and Arabians serve for small money, and being hired are very lowly (and subject), so that often times they are (beaten and) smitten, not as slaves, but like dogs, which they bear very patiently, not (once) speaking a word" (van Linschoten 2004: 129).

By the close of the 15th century, Abyssinian slaves were held in high esteem in Turkey, Arabia and India. Their qualities of docility, courage and intelligence always raised them to favour and often to command. The Muslim kings of the Deccan employed them as soldiers and sailors. Some of the Siddis migrated via land, in the opposite direction of the spice trail and settled in Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Gujarat. Long before the first slave ships started supplying labour to the cotton plantations of the

American South, and many centuries before the first Africans were brought ashore to the sugar estates of Brazil and the Caribbean, they were being sold as slave-soldiers for India's princely states. Their descendants are the least visible part of the huge African diaspora. But, today in India, they are almost lost among the mosaic of different cultures and communities in that country. They are known as Siddis. Although they came at first as slaves, they were so successful as fighters that they at times usurped power from the rulers they were supposed to be serving. Most have lost touch with their roots, yet they are now struggling at the margins of Indian society.

By the mid 16th century, when Portuguese had conquered Goa, they maintained a regiment at Diu, a port on the shores of the peninsula of Saurashtra consisting of 600 African soldiers (Harris 1996: 10). It is estimated that about 250,000 descendants of Africans still live amongst the Indian people mainly in Ahmadabad, Hyderabad, Surat, Cutch, Bombay and around Habshi Kot (Minda 2004: 79). They came through different parts of Africa through many periods of history (Segal 2001: 71).

The Bahmani ruler, Sultan Feroz (1397-14220), had many Siddi soldiers as personal attendants and body guards. Several Siddi figures played important roles in the politics of Deccan (Pankhurst 2000: 1). These were Khudaward Khan, who served as governor of Mahur, another, Dastur Dinar, ruled Gulburga, a third, Siddi Mohammed, was a keeper of seals, while a fourth, Janhar, was responsible for executing a chief noble, for disloyalty to Malik Ambar who was a regent but a virtual ruler in Ahmednagar from 1600-1626 A.D. Habash Khan and Siddi Ambar served as admirals of Nizam Shahi fleet of Ahmednagar while Siddi Bulbul was in command of the Rairi district. William Fitch writes that one of the ablest generals of Jahangir was a Siddi who commanded some ten thousand of his own caste, all brave soldiers . John Fryer also spoke of Siddis who were so terrible and bloody that they were able to cut down man and horse (Fryer 1915: 5). Malik Ambar was born in a town near Harar in E. Ethiopia in 1520. He was first sold by his parents to Arab slave traders who took him to Baghdad where he lived for 15 years. His first employer was a Khwaja Baghdad or Qazi Mir who treated him as his own child. He employed a teacher to teach Amber Arabic lore and literature. His second employer was Malik Dabir or better known as Changez Khan, an African, who was a minister of Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar. After the death of this employer, he was employed in the army of Nizam Shahi in a minor rank (Ali 1995). He was equated with Bilal Hazra. It was stated that, in the service of the prophet Mohammed, there was one Bilal and after a thousand years came another Malik Ambar (Ali 1995: 97f).

There were five sets of Siddi transfers or migrations from East Africa to India.

1. As slaves sold by Muslim Arab tradesmen to Hindu South Indian Princes.
2. As slaves/soldiers sold by Muslim Arab tradesmen to Hindu central, western and eastern India Princes.

3. As slaves sold by Muslim Arab tradesmen to Catholic Portuguese seafarers who then transported them to Goa (Siddis) and other Portuguese possessions on the West Coast of India and to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka)
4. Those who migrated and settled in areas along the NW Frontier (now Pakistan) of the Indian subcontinent (Sheedes).
5. Those who settled further South of the N.W Frontier in the Indian state of Gujarat (Siddis) (see website).

Name, Origin and Identity of Siddis of Hyderabad

The term Siddi is taken to be the corrupt form of syed or sayyad or saiyad or saidi or sayyid. Siddi found in the different regions of India do not have a single origin. They have come from different countries in East Africa and at different periods at least from the 14th century till the middle of the 19th century. Though a few may have come as traders, a majority of them were brought to India as slaves. We do not have enough data at hand to identify the place of origin of the Siddis who are now living scattered in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka, Hyderabad and Bengal. Like others, the Hyderabad Siddis are also descendants of Africans from North-East and East Africa who were brought to India as slaves, soldiers or servants. As from the past, most of them are stationed in A.C. Guards (African Cavalry Guards) since the time of Nizam Mahboob Khan. Some say Raja of Wanaparthy, who ruled Mahboobnagar district of Hyderabad, had 25 African bodyguards who were hardworking, enduring and loyal soldiers and he presented them to the Nizam who stationed them in A.C. Guards. Even Today this area can be traced back to more than 100 years and many roofs of the houses have British titles and workmanship. In 1869, a British official reported that many African women slaves and seven men disguised as women posed as wives and daughters of some dealers in order to pass by Bombay customs (Ali 1995: 193). Their music, song and dance are the only links with their African past. Their ethnic identity is enshrined in *daff,* the small hand drum, which is their main cultural element. It is the Siddi linkage to their ancestral past and heritage. Historically, *daff* is linked to royalty and aristocracy and they were known to have performed in Nizam's palace during festivals and in marriages. But, today, it is a poor man's musical instrument and they play it in marriages but the *daff* is facing challenge due to modernization and globalization and the changing taste of the people towards more techno music. In the past, daff rhythms were slow and, to keep up with modern times, they have improvised to make the music fast, speedy and loud and they think this is an improvement. Today also they have two groups of *daff* players, the Sherri Baja Group and the *Daff* Party Group. Some Siddis are keenly aware of their past and a few remain in touch with their relatives in Africa. But, by and large, they have lost touch with their roots and have got amalgamated to the local culture. They know for sure that their forbears came from Africa. But they have lost any knowledge of African languages and don't know where exactly their ancestors came from or why they settled in India.

Study of Hyderabadi Women Siddis

A Study in Hyderabad was conducted in order to get an understanding of the cultural world of the Siddi women and to get a true picture of their living condition, economic situation and cultural world. We wanted to see if the Siddis were a distinct group with an ethnic identity and possessing certain unique cultural traits. In Hyderabad, the Siddis are found in A.C. Guard, Eram Manzil, Zahra Nagar and Barkas. The Siddi population in this city is very small. Almost all the Siddis live in the backside of a posh locality in Hyderabad. A majority of the Siddis say that they belonged to Yemen. We can discern typical Negroid features in a majority of the Siddis. They are generally black and have hair that is deep wavy. But we also find various shades from black to wheat brown among them. All have a medium to deep depression at the root of their nose and an oval face.

Objectives

A survey was conducted in four localities in A.C. Guards, Eram Manzil, Zahra Nagar and Barkas in Hyderabad in the state of Andhra Pradesh, India, to collect the basic data sets, to analyze and evaluate issues of culture, family and education and women's work and health. The specific objectives of the survey were to:

- analyze the socio economic background of the Siddi household;
- examine the status of the married women in the Siddi household;
- evaluate the health status of the women;
- evaluate the status of the girls and the unmarried women; and
- suggest remedial measures and policy inputs and recommend social action plan

Methodology

We first toured the four areas where Siddi population was concentrated. Since there was no list available of all the households, we made rounds of the localities and got various contacts through word of mouth. One contact person introduced us to another and we could meet fifty households. A household was defined as one in which all the people shared one kitchen. We included women of the household in our survey and regarding unmarried women and girls, we saw to it that, in one particular area, we had a fairly representative sample of different age groups.

To meet our objectives, three questionnaires in the regional languages (*Telugu and Urdu*) were developed. The first questionnaire was administered to seek information on the household, the second, on the married women and the third, on the unmarried women. The questionnaire on the household assessed family size, occupation of members, total earnings in the household and income from different sources, family composition, kinship relationships, state of literacy, mother tongue and other languages known, pattern of migration, indebtedness, household possessions, housing conditions and availability of health education and drinking water facilities.

The questions relating to married women dealt with domestic work, educational attainments, age of marriage, dowry, child rearing and child feeding practices and reproductive history. A few questions also dealt with literacy, marriage, work conditions and nature of work and how time was spent in a day. A sub section dealt with the health status. Health aspects were determined through self-reports of perceived problems by the women. The questions related to girls and unmarried women assessed literary status, recreation, domestic work, health status and ambitions.

Sample Size

Our sample consisted of 50 households and 50 women. In order to get a representative sample from each household we took up a single case of either a married woman or an unmarried woman.

Results

Household Profile

The Siddis were a patriarchal family. The head of the family was usually the oldest male, the grandfather in a vertically extended family or the eldest brother in a laterally extended family. Only in the case of widows in nuclear families was the head a woman. There was a strong sense of male superiority among the Siddis. Men were considered to have superior status over women. The husband had an ultimate and even arbitrary authority over the wife. Only the head of a family might decide issues in the family and take part in the meetings of the settlement. But within family circles, woman played an important role. Besides working and taking care of children and other members of the family, she was usually consulted in the economic pursuits of the family, especially if it was a nuclear one. She also had an important share in the maintenance of the family.

All the Siddis in our sample were Muslims and spoke Urdu and Telugu. Language was an important means for the transmission of culture. The original language of the Siddis was Arabic and had suffered the same fate as that of their culture. The original mother tongue was not found among any group. But, now, they exclusively speak Urdu and Telugu. It was difficult to state where they picked up Urdu. For one thing, they must have originally professed Islam. Once they were brought to India, they picked up the language of their co-religionists.

The settlement in this city has houses in two rows along the two sides of a common street with the entrance of the house facing the street. The houses are erected side by side. Most of the houses are *pucca*. Almost all the Siddis lived in the back side of the posh locality in Hyderabad. Their occupations were mostly as car drivers, auto drivers, electricians, auto service men, vendors in vegetable or fruit shops, pan shops and *Duff* players. Hence, though strictly not below the poverty line, the Siddis of Hyderabad were, by and large, would not be part of the middle class but could be considered to belong to the lower class.

The Married Women

Our sample consisted of 28 married women and 22 unmarried women.

Table 1: Age at Marriage

S.No.	Age at Marriage (in years)	No.of Respondents	Percentage OWs
1	13	2	0.70
2	14	1	0.35
3	15	4	1.43
4	16	6	2.14
5	17	3	1.07
6	18	8	2.85
7	20	4	1.43
	Total	28	

Most of the married women in our sample had got married before the age of eighteen. A majority of these women had married Siddi men only and 39 per cent had married outside the Siddi stock. The first generation women in our sample were married to Siddi men only but their daughters had married non Siddi men.

Table 2: Marriage to Siddis or Others

1.	Siddi women married with Siddi	17	60.72%
2	Siddi women with non Siddi	11	39.28%

Table 3: Married Women's Educational Level

S.No.	Education	No. of Respondents	Percentage
1	Illiterate	14	50
2	Primary level	09	32
3	Secondary level	05	18
4	Higher Education	00	00
	Total	28	100

Most of these women were illiterates or had studied only till primary or secondary level.

Table 4: Number of Children

S.No.	No. of Children	Frequency
1	1	1
2	2-3	16
3	4-5	6
4	6-7	3
	Total	26

By and large, most of these women had only two to three children, though six women had between four to five children and three women had six to seven children. Our analysis shows that there was a negative association between education of women and their fertility. Where women were totally illiterate, there was procreation of the largest number of offsprings. As we proceeded from the uneducated group to low and higher educated groups, it was found that the women begot lesser number of children. This also revealed the fact that higher the level of education, lower has the number of live births and *vice-versa*. There was a tendency nowadays to admit more and more of their children to school.

Table 5: Occupation of the Women

S.No.		Frequency	Percentage
1	Housewife	19	67.85
2	Working women	9	32.14
	Total	28	100.00

Of the twentyeight married women in our sample, only nine were working outside the house as house maids etc., and a large number of them were housewives. Since many of these families belonged to the lower classes and were illiterate they were either housewives or worked in very low status jobs in the unorganized sectors.

Certain crucial events in the lifecycle of a person in any community are accompanied by special rites. The Siddis of Hyderabad also have elaborate rituals at various important phases of the life of an individual from the stage of being a foetus in the womb till his/her death. Special rituals were performed by the Siddis only during the first pregnancy of a married woman. After the completion of the seventh month, either of the parents or a brother of the expectant mother went to her house in order to escort her back to her maiden home. Then a ritual was carried out whereby she was given coconuts and flowers. This was similar to the customs followed by the Hindus in the region. A feast was given to the close relatives. The first delivery always took place in the woman's parents' house. She was given special food of her liking. The purpose was to keep her happy and contented.

The birth of a child was followed by various rituals on different days. There were mainly two ceremonies after a child's birth. "*Chatti*" was performed on the eleventh day and "*chilla*" was performed on the 40th day. The cradling and naming ceremonies took place on this day. Five *suhagans* (married women whose husbands were living) stood around the cradle and placed the child in the cradle. New clothes were given to the mother and the child. A meal was served to the close relatives. The *"khatna"* ceremony was performed after forty days. The child was bathed, garlanded with flowers and a feast was given to the close relatives. Hence, the Siddis did not have any particular ceremony or ritual which could be traced to their ancestoral home. They had completely adopted the ceremonies of the people of the region they adopted, in this case of the Telugus, and completely integrated themselves into the local population at least ritualistically. A few ceremonies associated with the Rights of Passage were as follows:- 1. Male circumcision – 3 to 12 years, 2. Bismillah – to read Quran, 3. *Hakikah* – give *Zahat* in the name of the child, and 4. *Hafiz* if the child was able to recite the whole Quran.

Table 6: Status of the Meher

S.No.	Status	Frequency	Percentage
1	Got the *meher*	3	10.71
2	Forgiven	9	32.14
3	Didn't get	16	57.14

Though all the women in our sample were Muslims, a majority of them did not get *meher*. All these women had attained maturity at the time of their marriage. A majority of the women (58 per cent) felt that dowry was necessary and that they had to give dowry; but 42 per cent of the women felt that they should not give dowry. All these women felt that it was necessary to educate the girl child; but many pleaded helplessness. Their economy was not strong enough to have the luxury of providing education to their girls.

As far as health was concerned, we found that most of these women, nearly seventy per cent, did not adopt any contraceptive method and hence, many of them became pregnant within a short span of marriage.

Most of these women had gone to the government health centre and had taken tetanus and other injections. However, nearly 15 of these women had not adopted contraceptive methods. By and large, Siddi women came from lower income groups. Their husbands worked in small scale employments and most of them were housewives. The few, who went out for work, worked only as maid servants or in small time occupations. This was due to the fact that most of them were illiterate or had studied only up to primary level. Siddi women had adopted many of the ritual practices of the Telugu culture and they were very well amalgamated in the larger society. They just had a faint memory that their ancestors had come from Africa to work with the Nizams. They realized that they looked different from the local population; but they considered themselves to be Muslims from the region.

Table 7: Conception

S.No.	Conception after Marriage	Frequency
1	3 months	2
2	2 months	4
3	6 months	2
4	1 ½ years	3
5	2 years	2
6	1 year	2

The Siddi Girls / the Siddi Unmarried Women

Our sample consisted of twentytwo Siddi girls who were unmarried. Of these, only one was fourteen year old and the rest were within the age group of sixteen to thirty. A majority of the Siddi married women were illiterate, they felt that education was important and were educating their daughters. Most of the girls and the unmarried girls had studied till high school and after this many had dropped out.

Table 8: Education of the Siddi Unmarried Girls

S.No.	Level of Education	Frequency	Percentage
1	Illiterate	—	—
2	Primary	8	42.11
3	High School	7	52.63
4	College	1	5.26
5	Drop out	6	—
	Total	22	

Though a majority of the women were illiterate, they had sent their daughters to school. However, most of the girls had left their schooling after primary level. The primary school was in the neighbourhood and the children were sent there. Only a few of these girls were educated till secondary level. Most of the reasons given by the mothers for withdrawing the girls from school were due to work at home or helping the mother or taking care of the siblings.

The benefits of the major educational expansion programmes had not reached the Siddi female children in any tangible way. Despite the continuous efforts towards the improvement in the educational system, the girl child had limited access. These children occasionally enrolled out of drive and even attended school but only at the primary level and dropped out very soon, since they found themselves unable to cope with both school and their domestic responsibilities. In our sample, we had six girls who had dropped out. They gave various reasons for dropping out.

Table 9: Reasons for Dropping Out

S.No.	Reasons for Dropping Out	Frequency	Percentage
1	Economic problems	4	21.05
2	Ill health	2	10.53
3	Taking care of younger sister	5	26.32
4	Parents did not allow	2	10.53
5	Not interested	6	31.58

Hence, there was a social neglect and familial apathy to girl education. Many of the girls have to attend to domestic work and some were not interested in studies. The main reason was the apathy for girl's education. The girls failed repeatedly and then gradually lost interest in education. Many times the poverty in families also forced the girls to leave studies and work. The girls did all the household work and in their free time they were employed in doing embroidery or some kind of needle work. Though none of the girls we interviewed felt that they were discriminated against, many did recognize that being born a boy had its own advantages and it gave one a lot of freedom to do what they wanted. All these girls could not move out of the house by themselves and they were expected to be within the house only. Attaining puberty or first menstruation is an occasion for celebration for all the Siddis. For nine days after menstruation, the girl is not allowed to go outside the house. On the 9th day, she is bathed and made to wear new clothes and bangles by five *suhagans*. She is made to sit in the middle of the house and loaded with garlands.

When we asked them at what age should a girl be married we had a similar response where an equal number said they should marry at the age of eighteen and others felt that the right age at marriage was above eighteen. Majority of these girls were not even aware about *meher* and however, they were very much aware of dowry. It was interesting to know that on deep probing we only got vague responses to what constituted *meher*. Obviously, many of the girls were not familiar with this concept.

Table 10: Dowry

S.No.	Dowry	Frequency	Percentage
1	Social Evil	4	36.84
2	It was one of the reasons for crime against women	3	26.32
3	It is essential in these days	15	36.84

A majority of the Siddi girls felt that it was essential to give dowry. Otherwise it would be very difficult to marry, they said. Hence, the Siddis, by and large, were following the practice of dowry for all practical purposes.

Table 11: Attitude Towards Polygamy

S.No.	Polygamy	Frequency	Percentage
1	It should not be permitted	18	63.16
2	It is permitted in Islam. So, men can follow	4	36.84

A majority of the girls felt that polygamy should not be encouraged because it was not right. They felt that women suffered a lot under polygamy and it led to lot of tensions and infighting among the wives. Four girls, however, felt that Islam had recognized polygamy and, hence, there was nothing wrong in it.

Table 12: Attitude Towards *Purdha*

S.No.	Purdha	Frequency	Percentage
1	Good method	3	15.79
2	Essential	10	52.63
3	Safe	5	26.32
4	Not necessary	1	5.26

What was interesting was that only one girl in our sample felt that *purdah* was not necessary; otherwise, everyone supported it. Some because this was essential and religion required it and others felt that this was a good method and for others it led to safety. It was very difficult to get these women to agree to be photographed. They told us that Islam did not allow photography and hence, they would not allow their photographs to be tasken. The men and boys, however, were not hesitant and allowed us to photograph them.

Table 13: Attitude Towards Widow Marriage

S.No.	Widow Marriage	Frequency	Percentage
1	Can do	22	100
2	Cannot do	0	

Everyone of the girls whom we interviewed told us that a widow could remarry and there was nothing wrong in it.

Table 14: Preference for Exogamous Marriage

S.No.	Reasons	No.of Respondents	Percentage
1	Dowry	14	35.89
2	Beauty	7	43.58
3	Other reasons	1	20.51

Table 15: Time Spent Throughout the Day

S.No.	Spent Your Time	Frequency	Percentage
1	Went to college	1	5.26
2	Went to school	4	21.05
3	Household work & watched TV	14	21.05
4	Worked in Beauty Parlour	1	5.26
5	Worked as housemaid servant	2	10.52

Except for a few who went to schools and colleges, most of the girls spent their time in doing household work and watching T.V. in their spare time.

A major problem which the Siddi girls faced was marriage. While all the twentytwo girls in our sample were of marriageable age, they had not got married . This was a major problem in this area. We held detailed interviews with these girls and found out the reasons why they were not married as yet.

Table 16: Reasons for Remaining Unmarried

S.No.	Present Age	Education	Reasons for Remaining Unmarried
1	16	X	Her elder sister who was 20 was still not married. Her elder sister was very dark in colour. Her features were not good and it was becoming difficult to arrange a match for her.
2	17	VIII studying	At present she was studying. She wanted to study further.
3	20	SSC failed	She was dark in colour and had curly hair. This was the main reason, according to her, for not getting married. She felt that due to her colour she could not get a good proposal. Her community boys wanted beauty and lots of dowry which could *be fulfilled by the Deccanis*. Today, even Siddi boys prefer to marry *Deccani* girls. She was very miserable and upset about this situation.
4.	17	VII	She felt that her dark skin was the reason of her being unmarried. Her community members now did not keep relations with only Siddis. The mothers of the Siddi boys want to marry their children outside the community.
5.	15	X passed	She was not thinking of marriage as she wanted to continue her education first.
6	17	X passed	She was working in a beauty parlour. She had one younger sister and one elder sister and her mother was a maid servant. They could not give the dowry which the boy's parents demanded. She wanted to bring changes in her economic condition. She wanted to open a beauty parlour and only when she got economic independence would she think of marriage.

(Contd...)

7.	23	B.Sc. (Mumtaz college)	Nobody wanted to marry her. A large number of people came and rejected her. She told us, "What should I do, nothing is in my hands." Her mother had given her education and they could afford dowry. In spite of this, her cousin didn't want to marry her. Her cousin's views about marrying a Siddi girl were not positive. He felt that if he married a Siddi, the future generation would be doomed. They did not want black and "Habshi" children.
8.	18	SSC	Among her relatives, boys were engaged in very low level jobs such as being a coolie, betel nut cutter etc., and she was waiting for a better proposal.
9.	17	IV	She was getting proposals; but her parents were not able to arrange for dowry.
10.	14	VI	Her mother had told her that she was a minor and that only after 18 years she would marry her.
11.	16	VII	She was suffering from diabetes. This was the reason she was still unmarried.
12.	30	VI	Her community people and all her relatives, who were Siddis, wanted to marry *Deccani* people. Even her brothers had married *Deccani* girls. Many people came and saw her; but rejected her because of her low educational standard and dark features. She felt that beauty and dowry attracted her community boys. In her view, her ancestors had made a mistake of coming here.
13.	14	VIII	She was waiting for marriage proposals.
14.	16	X	She was studying and so she had no plans for marriage.
15.	17	Inter, IInd year	She wanted to complete her degree.

(Contd...)

16.	16	X studying	She said that she was studying at the time. When she completed her studies, her parents would think of her marriage.
17.	18	VIII	She felt that her black colour and thick features were the reasons of her not getting good proposals.
18.	15	Primary class III	Dowry was the main reason for her not getting married and her father was unemployed.
19.	18	Primary class V	Dowry was the main reason for her not getting married. Her Aunt was ready to marry her to her son but demanded Rs. 50,000 in cash. It was impossible for them to get that much money.

Hence, though a few girls in our sample were pursuing their education and did not marry, many other girls did not get married because of their dark and thick features and the heavy demand for dowry. Most of the Siddi boys wanted fair brides and a big dowry and they preferred the local *Deccani* girls, who were seen as fair skinned.

Attitude of the Locals Towards Siddis

We also interviewed and spoke informally to some people in Hyderabad in order to get their opinion about the Siddis. Many people had no knowledge about the Siddis. People, who were, however, near to the localities where the Siddis lived were aware of them. Those who had heard something of them connected them to sports especially football and hockey. They felt they were natural athletes having lived in the forests of Gujarat and Karnataka and "had natural talent at running and jumping" since they were "nature" people.Many others felt that the Siddis could not be trusted. In this context, Kiran Kamal Prasad has recorded the common saying, *"Siddi ka bara buddhi,"* meaning "a Siddi cannot be trusted or relied upon because he changes his mind with every suggestion coming from different people" (Prasad 2005: 33). Many higher caste Indians of lighter and "fair" complexion saw them as inferior and on a level with the lowest castes and Dalits (untouchables). Many considered them, "lazy and carefree" in that they were "not bothered to work if they had some cash in hand" and "they did not worry about their future" (Prasad 2005: 34). In the Rajkot district of Gujarat, they were called "Siddi Badshah, to indicate their simple carefree disposition" (Prasad 2005: 73). Hyderabad is no differfent. The racist, casteist, and religious prejudices of some Indians had worked to denigrate, marginalize and victimize the Siddis.

In many parts of India, earlier, one of the most obvious feature of the Siddi communities was their effort to distance themselves from the larger society by establishing independent communities in the most remote areas, first in order to escape re-capture and then to establish their own cultural systems as much as possible. This might have been possible in the earlier periods (16-18 centuries), but by the 19th and 20th centuries, this became increasingly difficult due to population pressures and government policies and programmes concerning the forests that were their refuge.

Conclusions

Hence, to conclude, Siddis are the Africans of India. Today, about 20-30 thousand of them are known to exist and, of these, two to three thousands are living in Hyderabad. Most of these had been sold by Arab Muslim slave traders to Hindu Indian princes. Some traveled of their own accord in search of food and opportunity. The earliest reference we have of the Siddis is from 13th century when they were appointed as bodyguards by the Sultans. While some fought as soldiers and came to prominence in the 16th century, the vast majority were fully marginalized by the 18th century. They remained on the fringes of society because of the prejudices of the Indian caste system. While a few Siddis are known for their sporting exploits, the vast majority barely manage to exist on the outer fringes of the Indian society.

Theirs is a patriarchal society with male based superiority. A majority of the Siddis in Hyderabad are Muslims and speak Urdu and Telugu. They seem to have integrated into the local culture adopting many of the ritual practices; but the local culture has really not assimilated them completely. Due to their dark skin, there is a lot of discrimination among girls and there are problems in getting them married . Even the Siddi boys prefer to marry *Deccani* girls who are fair skinned when compared to the Siddis. Dowry is rampant. The Siddis practice *purdah* very strictly and there are a lot of curbs on the mobility of the girls. Due to lack of education many of these girls are not working outside the house and while away their time at home in helping with the household work and watching T.V.

It is interesting to note that this community has been practising rules to suit a patriarchal culture. They follow strict *purdah* and there is a restriction on the movement of girls. Many of these girls have not heard of *meher.* Today *meher* has been replaced by dowry in this community. Islam has no concept of *suhagan*, for it looks upon marriage as a contract but many of the Siddi families follow this concept in many of their rituals. Many of the indigenous practices have found their way in the Siddi rituals and ceremonies and are detrimental to their status and strengthens the patriarchal institutions.

Note

[1] Data for this Project was collected at the Centre for Women's studies, Maulana zad National Urdu University. I would like to acknowledge the help received in the collection of data, from Ms. Nuzhath Khatoon, Ms. Mumtaz Fatima, and Ms. Faiza

Amber.

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8

Race, Caste and Class Dynamics among the Siddis in Karnataka

Kiran Kamal Prasad

Introduction

The Indian National Daily, *The Hindu*, carried an article on 3 January 2006 in which Craig Venter, founder of the J. Craig Venter Science Foundation, was quoted making the following startling conclusion: "The danger rests with what we already know: that we are not all created equal." He came to that conclusion after making these observations: "The genetic basis of personality and behaviour would cause conflicts in society. It was inevitable that strong genetic components would be discovered at the root of many more human characteristics such as personality type, language capability, intelligence, quality of memory and athletic ability." (Jha 2006:9)

But Jean Jacques Rousseau had declared more than two centuries back, as if giving voice to the unstated aspiration of the entire humankind or its deepest and most profound reality, that all men were born free and equal in rights. It was the basis for the clarion call of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" given by the French Revolution in 1789 with equality being the cornerstone of the three. The spirit of equality resonates in every right thinking person and underlines every struggle in the modern world for a meaningful life not only as individuals but as groups, communities, societies, nations and as a community of nations. In spite of being unequal in various characteristics, we are called upon as human persons to live as equals. Our only destiny is to be equal. Human beings may be unequal in physical, mental and psychological make ups and show differences in their various features; yet they are equal in rights.

The road to equality is fraught with many dangers. The greatest danger is that of the existing practices of various forms of stratification and discrimination that we find in our societies. A meaningful struggle for equality calls for an understanding of the mechanisms of stratification and discrimination in our midst so that we can work for overcoming these negative forms and build meaningful structures that enshrine and promote the values of equality.

The main types of stratification mankind has known so far are those based on gender, class, race and caste. The concern in this essay is to understand the last three systems of stratification and see how they impinge on the life of the Siddis in Karnataka. Understanding these dynamics may throw light on how the community requires to position itself in its struggle to achieve its legitimate place in the larger society and the Indian Nation. This question is all the more relevant and important in the context of the Constitution of India which advocates justice, liberty, equality and fraternity to all its citizens.

In 1983, I had championed the cause of Siddis in Karnataka to get them included in the list of Scheduled Tribes.[1] The facts that they were a distinct race and that they lived in forest areas excluded or far away from other groups of people, eking out their livelihood mainly through wage labour and forest produce, made the championing of the cause just and worthwhile. One of the means used was to bring out a comprehensive monograph on the Siddis and use it for the purpose in the spirit of action research (Lobo 1984; Prasad 1991; 2005). A partial success was realised when they were included in the list of Backward Tribes by the Government of Karnataka in 1986 and the dream came true in 2003 when they were placed in the list of Scheduled Tribes by an Amendment to an earlier Act of the Parliament.[2]

The various struggles undertaken by the Siddis to get themselves recognised as a Scheduled Tribe has made them to think of themselves as one people, first and foremost, beyond the narrow boundaries of the three religions they professed. So far, their different religious affiliations had kept them segregated to a great extent. Even within their own religious communities, they were kept separate. As a Scheduled Tribe, they are now entitled to many benefits for their social, economic and political advancement. This process also set in motion many other dynamics that have further strengthened their identity and claim for equality and honour among the people of the region and the country. Notable among them are the formation of larger collectivities to tackle issues affecting them with common effort, like the village level associations and other larger societies and cooperative bodies encompassing the entire community; tapping their talents in athletics and sports, which has led them to other avenues in the society and to spread out in cities in the state and the country; and recognising and utilising their talents in dance and music. Various external agencies have also taken a keen interest in their development. As a result, a large number of children and youth are getting educated and the other members of the community receiving various other benefits. One outside initiative is promoting a cooperative quilt making project among women from three villages in Mundgod taluk.

The community is very much aware of the urgent tasks before it apart from the requirement to strengthen the processes mentioned above. Chief among them are seeing to the education of all their children and youth; promoting higher education among them; achieving adult literacy; and securing their rights over their lands in the forest and over minor forest produce and promoting and invigorating their cultural performance.

In this context, it is worthwhile to reflect on one issue that may give a healthy perspective to all the above mentioned processes and struggles undertaken by the community and the outsiders on behalf of the community. This essay tries to understand what are the stratifications the Siddis experience among themselves and in interaction with other people in the region. Being clearly of a distinct race from the majority of the people in the region, do racial stratifications occur between the Siddis and other people? If there are stratifications between them, how have they come about and why? In what way the caste system, being of the essence of Indian society and, in that sense, of Hinduism, though, it is also practised within Christianity, Islam, Sikhism and other religions in India, affects the Siddis? What are the class dynamics operative among them, since capitalism is the dominant mode of the economy in India as well as in the whole world today? In what way the three systems intersect and make an impact on the life of the Siddis?

The hypothesis is that, though the Siddis belong to a different race from the majority of the Indians and, being the most recent entrants into the Indian society, they are in a way foreign to it, yet they have been co-opted into the caste system. Since almost all of them are wage labourers with minimal assets or lands at present and are Blacks from Africa, they seem to be placed among the lowest castes. What are the implications of this to the Siddis as a community? What are the implications of it to those who advocate a casteless society in India? What are its implications to work towards an egalitarian society in India and to promote values of equality within its own community?

We are confronted with the ideal of equality, towards which we have to strive constantly, and the reality of inequality we face in our day to day life, which we require to overcome. Equality is the ultimate meaning of human life and of human society. Yet, there "are glaring inequalities among the members of a society in wealth, prestige and power; the rich and the powerful tend to exploit and oppress the poor and the weak; there is a tendency for one's life-chances to be determined by the position of one's origin. This state of affairs engenders a sense of injustice and feelings of frustration among persons who are adversely affected, giving rise to misery, tension and conflict" (D'Souza 1981:2).

The problem of social inequalities is age-old and ubiquitous in societies. Ever since the inequalities emerged in social life, attempts were also made to undo the unequal social structures. But the understandings and attempted solutions were coloured by the world view prevalent at the time. The social thinkers before the eighteenth century attributed social inequalities to supernatural and natural forces beyond the control of man, e.g., original sin in Christianity, doctrines of *karma* and *dharma* in Hinduism; belief in natural division of human beings as free citizens and slaves in Greek society. Yet, social reformers like Buddha, Jesus, Basavanna, Mohammed and Nanak and the religions they gave rise to advocated equality of man and the social character of equality. The Enlightenment thinkers of the eighteenth century made a distinction between inequalities based on natural differences and those due to social conditions. Jean Jacques Rousseau "maintained that all men were born free and equal in rights that social inequalities were socially determined and that these inequalities were primarily due to the division of labour in society as well as to the institution of private property" (D'Souza 1981:3).

The three types of social stratifications based on class, caste and race have been analysed separately below and in relation to how each of them affects the Siddis and others in the region in a very general sort of way.

Racial Relations

Race relations, to a great extent a modern phenomenon, is not a natural, immemorial feeling of mutual antipathy found among different groups in a region. Neither is it some social instinct of animosity between peoples. It is rather a practical exploitative relationship having socio-attitudinal bearings. Race relation is that behaviour which develops among peoples who are aware of each other's actual or imputed physical differences. It does not include all social contacts between persons of different races, but only those contacts the social characteristics of which are determined by a consciousness of differences between races.

Its beginning on a world wide scale may be traced to 1492 when Columbus discovered the New World, and it attained full maturity during the latter half of the nineteenth century when the great nationalistic powers of Europe began to justify their economic designs upon weaker European peoples and coloured people of the rest of the world with subtle theories of racial superiority and masterhood. The popular belief among writers on modern relations is that the phenomenon has always been known among most, if not all, peoples.[3] Though Oliver Cromwell Cox stipulates that "racial exploitation and race prejudice developed among Europeans with the rise of capitalism and nationalism, and that because of the world-wide ramifications of capitalism, all racial antagonism can be traced to the policies and attitudes of the leading capitalist people, the white people of Europe and North America" (1970: 322), the basis for racial attitudes and racial discriminatory practices can be found in Greek, Indian/Aryan, Arab people in dealing with non-White, Coloured or Black people even in early historical times.[4]

If race prejudice is a feature between the Whites and the Coloured, are there racial relations among the present Indian people? There are many racial elements in India. Many races came to India to make it their permanent home and they intermingled and cohabited with each other. The name given to the earlier version of the present caste (*jati*) system, *varna* (colour) system, may indicate a colour prejudice on the part of the Aryans who propagated it and was should on economic exploitation of the subjugated, dark coloured people who were the original inhabitants of the land and who were placed in the lowest rungs of the *varna* system as *shudras* (servicing castes) and *ati shudras* (untouchables; but literally means beyond the *shudras*) as artisans, servants and slaves. There is a strong colour prejudice among Indians even now valorising the fair colour. The Siddis being of a dark complexion may be set apart or looked down upon. The fact that they are socially and economically backward may sharpen their disadvantage. But both racial and class considerations are subsumed by the overarching stratification in India that is the caste system.

In this context, it is relevant to note the debate around The World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR) held in Durban, South Africa from August 31 to September 7, 2001 under the aegis of UN's Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD). Some *Dalit* (ex-untouchable) Organisations, Non Governmental Organisatons (NGOs), academicians and activists spearheaded the national campaign in India for inclusion of the issue of caste and untouchability-based discrimination in the Durban conference and succeeded to a great extent in raising the issue at national and international levels.

The starting point at issue is the declarations by the United Nations and its bodies and the position they have taken on race and related phenomena and on caste. "Since 1948, the United Nations has been promoting and codifying human rights, with a common standard of achievement for all people and nations. Over a period of time, the concept of human rights has continuously expanded, from first-generation notion of political and civil rights to a range of economic, social and cultural rights, right to development and right of indigenous people. One of the important guiding concerns of this human rights framework relates to the principle of 'non-discrimination'. The Universal Declaration of Human rights (UDHR) and other human rights instruments specifically refer to that principle. Article 1 adopted by the United Nations on 'Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination' proclaimed: 'Discrimination between human beings on the ground of race, colour or ethnic origin is an offence to human dignity.' Article 2 declares: 'No state, institution, group or individual shall make any discrimination whatsoever in matters of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the treatment of persons, on the ground of race, colour or ethnic origin.' The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted in December 1965, defined the term 'racial discrimination' as 'any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, national or ethnic which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise on an equal footing of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life'" (Thorat and Umakant 2004: xv-xvi).

These declarations are clear about discrimination associated with race-colour-ethnicity-nationality descent but not explicit about non race-colour-ethnic group identities like caste based discriminations of untouchability which are based also on descent and if not totally on race and colour. "The UDHR is partly a product of its times when racism and discrimination were primarily understood in the context of the decline and dismantling of European colonialism. The internal struggles of the discriminated groups of the peoples for freedom existing within the different colonies in Africa and Asia were overshadowed by the struggles of similar groups such as Blacks in USA and Europe.... This neglect of historical claims of deprived people in South Asia is partly responsible for the omission of caste and other social categories identical to race and colour from UDHR" (Thorat and Umakant 2004: xxix).

But there is no need now to keep caste based discriminations like untouchability exempted from the purview "of a UN convention whose sole purpose is the extension of human rights to include freedom from all forms of discrimination and intolerance – and to which India, along with most other nations, has committed itself" (Berreman 2004: XXV). Thus, race and caste discriminations require to be addressed with full force by international bodies to ensure fundamental rights and human freedoms to every people in every nation. Caste discriminations must be considered a part of racial discriminations.

Having accepted the need to address discriminations based both on race and caste in an international convention aiming to address all forms of racial discriminations, it is necessary to accept the subtle distinctions between racial and caste discriminations. Racial discrimination, as a feature of western society, made itself felt in a big way from the fifteenth century on but had its beginnings in early Christian era or even before that. It is based on colour and physique; but also embraces psychological attitudes and cultural traits. Caste is mainly a cultural phenomenon; but it has a basis also on colour *and physique.*

> *"Caste prejudice is an aspect of culture prejudice; while race prejudice – as distinguished from culture prejudice – is color-and-physique prejudice. The latter is prejudice marked by visibility, physical distinguishability; it is not, however, caused by physical differences.... (The) precise anthropometrical definitions of race are not of critical significance. Racial attitudes are based upon simple obvious criteria, and the findings of anthropometry, whether genuine or spurious, may simply provide a basis for their rationalization. Color prejudice, as a psychological phenomenon, is a complex emotion manifested by a positive attitude of distance and a reaction; specifically it is an insistent attitude of white supremacy and dominance and an accommodating reaction of persons of color. It is a cultural trait of Western society which took form during the era of explorations" (Cox 1970: 350-51).*

Though western type of racial discrimination is not openly admitted to exist in India among its people, evidently, the caste system in India has some features of racial prejudice. Of late, the Black African students, who are studying in India and living in India for a few years, are experiencing racial prejudices from Indians. The verbalisation of their poignant experiences of racism from Indians may also help us to get an inkling into what the Siddis might have been experiencing all along; but they had been so marginalised that they were not given an opportunity to voice their feelings and experiences; they were not listened to; and may be, they were so "disempowered" as not to make them recognise their racial experiences. One Kenyan national, John Patrick Ojwando, who did his post graduate and doctoral studies in India, has brought out the racial prejudices and reactions the foreign African students experience from Indians in a newspaper article published recently. Since it is the first publication of its kind, it is worth quoting from it at length.

> *"...(A)midst the hospitality of the local communities, there is an underlying bias directed against the dark skinned foreigners.... In most cases, it is extremely difficult for the (black) students to get decent accommodation. 'Vacant-To Let' boards often vanish mysteriously when they seek rental houses. Promises of getting a rental room by Real Estate agents more often than not end up with the ubiquitous 'Do not feel bad, we are like this only'.... Also in colleges, many Indian students, males and females alike, find it hard to digest that some of their colleagues go out with their boyfriends of African descent or take them to their homes.... Some would be glad to exhibit their supposed 'foreign' friends at home but are worried what their neighbors think of them.... I always felt the need to associate more closely with the local people but the questions they ask often leave me baffled. I feel I should stay aloof... (due to) the common questions the students of African origin face regarding their sexuality. No matter how swift the denial may be, it is clear different yardsticks exist for the 'fair' and 'dark' skinned foreigners in the Indian society. An African going out with an Indian girl is frowned upon and some find it unacceptable. At the same time, no objections are raised if it is a 'fair skinned' foreigner. Does this mean a 'black man' is seen as someone evil? Some of the Indian girls who have ventured out with students of African origins often find themselves on the receiving end....*
>
> *"While many Indians would like others to believe racism is a western phenomenon, the Indian society is racist as well though this is often downplayed. The tendency is more pronounced in public places, transport systems and social functions where the sight of persons of African descent attracts unwarranted glances. Many would dismiss this as a matter of curiosity but not the victims.... Commuters look at you and pass racial remarks amidst boisterous laughter....*

> *Racism in the Indian context finds expression in different forms although one may find it subtle in nature. Whether it is in the day to day interactions, learning institutions or homes, there is a stigma attached to being dark skinned and this is ingrained into the psyche that no one ponders to think what it means to an individual, particularly an African. In India, fairness of the skin is rated along side personal qualities such as 'pleasant', 'homely', and even worse 'domestically trained', which are considered virtues in an Indian woman....*
>
> *"The tendency to demean other races because of their colour flows through the social structure of the Indian society. Often, you will find parents in the safe confines of their homes drawing attention of their children to a 'kalia' (black) passing by. The bottom line that 'kalia' is bad and should be avoided at all cost. To them, Africans are not only 'bad elements' but 'a barbaric lot'. Taunts of 'koothi' (monkey) are all the too familiar insults....*
>
> *"It is surprising that most of the Indians who look down on 'blacks' also look up to 'whites'. This could be taken to mean that they categorise the world into three segments: whites, browns and blacks. It is a fact that Indians face racist attitudes abroad but they do not want to fight back or relate such incidences when they return back home. Their reasons? They do not want to be looked down upon as victims." The remedy to this situation, Ozwando gives is that rather than helping the African students cope with animosity and racial provocations, the general public must be sensitised towards other races. "After all racism is not only about specific incidences but an evil deeply entrenched in our social institutions" (Ojwando 2006).*

As the Siddis get educated, we may be able to hear their voices on their experiences of racial discrimination. The Siddis in Karnataka definitely experience a colour prejudice from the non-Siddis. One author specifically speaks of the discriminations experienced by Siddis in Karnataka as based on race (Camara 2004: 104). They also suffer from the disadvantages of a labouring class. And these disadvantages are accentuated by being treated as a low caste also.

Class (Political / Economic)

It was Karl Marx who had clearly brought out the role of classes and the resulting class struggle in human history. Different types of classes have emerged in different periods of human history with the present capitalist era producing two main classes of bourgeoisie and proletariat.

> *"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf,*

> *guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.... The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones. Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great battle camps, into two great classes directly facing each other, Bourgeoisie and Proletariat." (Marx and Engels 1976: 108-09).*

Political / economic classes, though in the literature following Marx, are referred to as social classes, are found in all organised societies. The two main classes are those who own means of production and make profits by employing labour, and those who sell their labour power to make a living, i.e., the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Political / social classes are "not necessarily limited to the period of the rise of urbanism in Europe. Bourgeoisie-proletariat struggle is one type of political-class action; it is a product of modern capitalistic society. Yet, fully developed social-class systems are unknown to ancient society; they came into their own only after 1789" (Cox 1970: 154).

Whereas in the West, these classes have developed fully well, in India, though the overall pattern is of a capitalist society, various remnants of the feudal and caste society still continue. A majority of the Siddis are landless agricultural and forest labourers. Yet, a sizable section of them cultivate small patches of land in the forest (Prasad 2005: 21-25). In India, modern day class relationships are intermeshed with remnants of feudal type of class relationships surviving still and both of them are superimposed on those of caste relationships, which themselves may be undergoing various changes. Siddis in Karnataka are also drawn into this complex web of class and caste interactions.

Caste Relations

What is caste? It is difficult to summarise all the features of caste system in a few lines. Hierarchy is of utmost importance in the social order of the caste system and is based on cumulative factors like social status, economic assets, political power and cultural hegemony. The identities of the hierarchical groups are preserved by rules of endogamy and inter-dining. Caste system is also reinforced by certain deep seated religious values. Earlier, each caste group was identified with a specific occupation. The main features of the caste system can be identified in the words of a prominent scholar of

Indian society, André Béteille (1997: 38-41) thus: "Caste systems may be described as systems of cumulative inequality. Advantages of status tend to be combined with advantages of wealth and power, and those who are socially underprivileged also tend to be at the bottom of the economic and political scales.... (T)hey are hierarchically ranked groups or categories based on hereditary membership which maintain their social identity by strict rules of endogamy.... (C)aste is embedded in a system of religious values which has no counterpart either in the US South or in South Africa.... Central to this are the notions of *dharma* and *karma*.... Very briefly, *dharma* implies right conduct in accordance with one's station in life, defined largely by one's caste; *karma* explains and justified – one's birth in a particular station in terms of one's actions in a previous life. In other words, moral rules and standards of worth would differ from one caste to another."

The impact of the caste system on *dalits* can be stated in the words of another writer thus: "The practice of untouchability, rooted in the caste system, stigmatizes 260 million Dalits in south Asia as 'polluted' or 'impure,' thereby denying them entry into places of religious worship, participation in religious festivals, assigning them menial and degrading work including cleaning toilets, skinning and disposal of dead animals, digging graves and sweeping, and the forced prostitution of Dalit women and girls through the traditional system of temple prostitution" (Louis 2004: 229). Adding to these are the reality of bonded labour and child labour, affecting a large section of *dalits* and of agricultural labour, and which are the only means of securing a livelihood to a sizeable section of *dalits and adivasis* (the indigenous people).

Caste system was also worse than slavery to *dalits* and *adivasis* who together constituted a quarter of the population. In a typical caste system. if each of the castes had an assigned occupation, *dalits* were meant to serve all other castes and perform all menial services in a village and they were not specifically remunerated for their services unlike the other touchable low caste artisan and service providing groups. The caste rules prevented them, along with other lower caste groups, called *shudras,* getting educated or bearing weapons. The deeply ingrained religious notions of *dharma* and *karma* associated with *papa* (sin) and *punya* (merit) and *punar-janma* (re-birth) saw to it that *dalits,* other lower castes and also *adviasis*, never revolted against the system and in fact, actively safeguarded it for generations together (see, Prasad 2001: 113).

The Siddis have come to consider themselves as one caste group. In Gujarat, they consider themselves as a caste (*jati*) group or as a specific community (*jamat*) (Basu 2004:71-2). In Karnataka also, Siddis refer to themselves as a caste group by using the Konkani term for caste, *jat*. But now they prefer to consider themselves more and more as a community (*samuday*) when trying to emphasise the unity of the Siddis irrespective of religious distinctions between them.

The Siddis in Karnataka do not marry, as a rule, outside their community. They also normally do not intermarry between their three religious groups (Prasad 2005: 37). Though there are no hierarchical relationships among themselves or between the three religious groups (Prasad 2005: 35), they interact with other caste groups with notions of superior and inferior. They seem to have imbibed the notions of high and low typical of the caste system through their interactions with various caste groups in India. They consider higher castes and non-Siddi co-religionists as superior to them, whereas they do not allow *dalits* inside their houses or eat with them. They consider *dalits* low because they deal with carrion and eat beef. A Siddi leader told me that the Siddis were not eating beef lest they be equated with untouchables. I was also told that *dalits* contest their claim for superiority over them. The Siddis deal on par with the backward touchable castes (Prasad 2005: 35).

Being more like an *adivasi* group living in remote areas in the forest, they do not seem to go through the day in day out humiliations *dalits* undergo from the touchable castes. But they are treated as low and as if untouchables by caste Hindus (Câmara 2004: 104). They encounter an attitude of repugnance and contempt from a majority of the touchable castes (Prasad 2005: 35) and also from their own co-religionists, whether, Christian, Muslim or Hindu (Prasad 2005: 36). They are not given free access into the houses of the high caste people. They cannot dine with them nor marry them. They experience discrimination even in government offices (Câmara 2004: 105).

The Future

What is the task of the Siddis in this scenario of diverse cross currents of race, caste and class intermeshing each other with caste dynamics taking an upper hand? The mobilisation, conscientization and organisation of the Siddis cutting across the religious boundaries must be strengthened to continue their struggle for the basic issues affecting their life like regularising "encroached lands", securing their legitimate rights over lands in the forests as the dwellers in the forests for many centuries who had originally brought the lands under cultivation and over minor forest produce, enhancing daily wages, securing opportunities to exploit their talents in athletics, sports, music and dance, and seeing to the quality education of every child and adult. Their new found discovery of being of one community must be continuously nurtured. Being originally outside the system of caste prejudices and discriminations, can Siddis consciously through their organisation work against every caste discrimination and prejudice not only within their community but also in the larger society and ultimately work towards restructuring the social order in India for justice, equality, liberty and fraternity? For this, the Siddi leaders and activists have to forge broader alliances with other marginalised groups like the *adivasis*, *dalits*, women, backward castes and minorities.

Notes

[1] Scheduled Tribes, along with Scheduled Castes, are terms given in the Constitution of India, for certain "tribal" and caste groups that have experienced extreme form of marginalization, exploitation and exclusion in the Indian society, to make them eligible for reservations or affirmative action in education, government jobs and political representation. They constitute respectively 7.5 per cent and 15 per cent of the Indian population. The Scheduled Tribes or the "tribal" groups are popularly known as *adivasis* (indigenous people) and the Scheduled Castes as *dalits* (the broken people or untouchables).

[2] The inclusion applies only to Siddis of one district of Uttara Kannada and not its adjoining areas in other districts.

[3] During the conference, Carlos Moore put forward a theory that racial relations did not originate with the Europeans in the fifteenth or any later century; but the racial relations were promoted by the Arabs in the middle ages.

[4] The article in this volume by Fitzroy André Baptiste gives a very good account of the history of racial relations world wide, starting with its origins in Greek, Persian, Indian, Judaic and Christian societies and especially in the writings of Galin, a Greek writer of the early Christian era, whose ideas were later spread during the medieval ages by Arabs and Islam.

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9

Renewed Affirmative Action for the Siddi Community of Karnataka

S. Japhet and Vinay Sitapati

1. Affirmative Action In India

Affirmative action in India differs from the United States in two aspects: *firstly*, the number of communities that are targeted; and *second*, the method of affirmative action that is used.

Unlike in the US, where affirmative action applies to those of African-American heritage, numbering 13.3 per cent of the US population,[1] in India, three different groups, numbering around 72.5 per cent of the total Indian population are recipients of affirmative action. *Dalits* or India's former untouchable community, who, in 1950, numbered 15 per cent of India's population,[2] tribals who numbered 7.5 per cent[3] and a third category of "Other Backward Classes" or "OBC" who numbered 52 per cent as per one 1980 estimate,[4] are the beneficiaries of the affirmative action. There are three main features of such categorisation. *Firstly*, while all three groups mostly belong to the Hindu religion, tribals and OBCs include some Muslims and Christians. However, the category of *dalits* excludes those who have converted to Christianity or Islam.[5] *Secondly*, unlike *dalits* and tribals which are constitutionally recognised categories for affirmative action, the category of OBCs was created by the Central Government (equivalent of the Federal Executive in the US) in 1990,[6] and accepted by the Supreme Court of India in 1993.[7] *Thirdly*, the Supreme Court of India has held that there must be "creamy layer exclusion" for OBCs.[8] Simply put, rich OBCs cannot avail of affirmative action. This does not apply in the case of affirmative action for tribals and *dalits*, since the Courts cannot intervene in a constitutionally protected category.

The second aspect, in which affirmative action in India is strikingly different, is in the methods adopted. In India, affirmative action takes place primarily through numerically mandated reservation of seats in tertiary public education and government employment. For instance, since *dalits* constitute 15 per cent of the Indian population, 15 per cent of all government jobs and seats in tertiary education are reserved for *dalits* since 1950. Similarly, 7.5 per cent seats have been reserved for tribals. Since OBCs as a category was created only in 1990, and the Supreme Court has fixed a 50 per cent upper limit for all reservations,[9] the number of seats reserved for OBCs is 27 per cent. Further, reservation in the central legislature[10] and state legislature[11] also exists for *dalits* and tribals, but not for OBCs.

What makes reservations even more complicated is that it operates differently in the state and central levels. The category of *dalits* and tribals is the same in central and state educational institutions and employment, since these are constitutionally recognised. However, as regards OBCs reservations, there are two separate lists – a central list, and a state list. Each state has the power to decide what constitutes OBCs for the purpose of the educational institutions and jobs of that particular state. But what constitutes OBCs for Central Government educational institutions and jobs is decided by the Centre. Thus, the same caste may or may not be OBCs in both central and state levels. Further, a caste may be an OBCs in one state without being an OBCs in another. To just contextualise this in the contemporary period, while state level reservations for OBCs in educational institutions have existed for a long time, the Central Government has only recently (and controversially) extended *OBC* reservations to the central educational institutions.

Special economic schemes also exist as a means of affirmative action, but these are erratic at best. Reservation is thus India's primary tool for affirmative action. But government jobs account for only one per cent of all jobs,[12] and reservation in tertiary education ends up benefiting only those who have obtained primary and secondary education without reservation. Thus, reservation has benefited only a small percentage of India's underprivileged.

Yet, since reservation is the only tool available in India for affirmative action, we seek to use it to benefit the *Siddis*. While in recent years there has been progress, many legal discrepancies remain which must be addressed. Accordingly, we concern ourselves with analyzing what reservation policies exist for the *Siddis* of Karnataka, determining lacunae and making recommendations for a better reservation policy.

2. *Siddis* of Karnataka (For details, see Prasad 2005)

The Siddi community came to India from East Africa at different periods from 14th to 16th centuries. Most of them were forcibly brought as slaves to work in plantations in (the then) Portuguese controlled state of Goa. But a few came as traders. They now live in settlements in western India, notably Gujarat and northern Karnataka. *Siddis* belong to three different religious groups, Hindu, Muslim and Christian, but are predominantly Muslim. Apart from different religio-cultural practices, all *Siddis* show some similarities in the observance of life-cycle rituals, for example, belief in heaven, hell and rebirth. Their lifestyle is predominantly tribal in nature.

Siddis today lead an independent life although about 75 per cent of them are poor[13] and about 90 per cent illiterate. Of the literate 10 per cent, only 1 per cent is working in Government offices (Hiremath 2006). The primary occupation for the remaining is agriculture or forestry. Apart from reservations, government initiatives to uplift Siddis consist mainly of sports schemes, given the athleticism of Siddis. These schemes have met with indifferent success.

Given below is an analysis of the reservation regime for the *Siddis* of Karnataka. The study has been limited to Karnataka for conceptual clarity as reservation is also state-specific. But the recommendations, suggested for the Siddis of Karnataka, are also applicable to Siddis elsewhere.

3. Reservation for the *Siddis* of Karnataka

At present, only Siddis from Uttar Kannada district in Karnataka are accorded the status of Scheduled Tribes. This is because *The Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment)* Act, 2002[14] specifically refers to "Siddis (Uttar Kannada)"[15] as an insertion into the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950 as entry 50. This is constitutionally permissible since as per article 342,[16] the President and subsequently Parliament (the two houses of the central legislature) have the complete discretionary power to choose any tribe, or part thereof, to be notified as a 'Schedule Tribe.'[17] However, Siddis from other districts of Karnataka, notably from Dharwad and Belgaum districts, have been notified as a "Backward Tribe"[18] by the Karnataka State Government.[19]

The effect of this is to ensure that Siddis from Uttar Kannada district can avail of 7.5 per cent reservations as a "Scheduled Tribe" in public education and public employment as per articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the *Constitution of India*, reservation in state and central legislatures as per articles 164(11), 300, 332 and 334 of the *Constitution of India*, and other governmental schemes of assistance. This, however, is not available to Siddis of other states, as notification of a tribe as a "Schedule Tribe" has only statewide ramifications.[20] This also excludes the Siddis who are not from Uttar Kannada district, such as those belonging to Belgaum and Dharwad districts. They, however, do enjoy the status of "a Backward Tribe" which is a sub-category of OBCs,[21] which means that statewide reservation of 27 per cent has been given to them in state education and employment. However, this 27 per cent OBCs quota is available to many tribes and castes, who number roughly 52 per cent of the population of India.[22] Many of these castes and tribes are socio-educationally far more advanced than the Siddis. Thus, Siddis who do not belong to Uttar Kannada district will not be able to derive much advantage from their status as a "Backward Tribes". On the other hand, "Scheduled Tribe" is a far more homogenous category, and the socio-economic level of "Scheduled Tribes" is similar to that of the Siddis. Thus, all the Siddis need to be classified as a "Scheduled Tribe".

4. Confering "Scheduled Tribe" Status on All *Siddis* of Karnataka

As regards nationwide reservation for Siddis, the only way to achieve this is if they are declared "Scheduled Tribes" for every state.[23] This is because, as pointed by the Supreme Court of India in the *Action Committee* case,[24] a person belonging to a

"Scheduled Tribe" in one state cannot *ipso facto* claim the same status in another state unless his tribe is declared to be a "Scheduled Tribe" in relation to that state.[25] This paper, however, concentrates on the method by which "Scheduled Tribe" status can be conferred on all Siddis of Karnataka, and not merely to the Siddis of Uttar Kannada district. There are two broad ways to achieve this:

1) By means of legislation by the Indian Parliament.
2) By means of a writ petition to the Supreme Court of India.

1) By means of a legislation by the Indian Parliament

Article 342(2) of the *Constitution of India* specifically states that any amendment to the *Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order*, 1950 can only be done by an Act of Parliament.[26] Thus, neither the executive nor the state legislature can intervene. In 2003, the *Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order*, 1950 was amended by an Act of Parliament[27] and "*Siddis* (Uttar Kannada)" were notified as a "Scheduled Tribe".[28] In order to do this, Sri Cyprian Henry Lobo SJ, a private person presented a petition to the Rajya Sabha (upper house of Parliament), which was countersigned by three Rajya Sabha members who were presenting the petition (Prasad 2005: 136). Similarly, a petition must be presented to the Rajya Sabha seeking that the word "Uttar Kannada" be deleted from the term Siddis in entry 50 to the *Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order*, 1950. Entry 50 would then read "Siddis" only. It is our opinion that the conferment of "Scheduled Tribe" status to the Siddis of Uttar Kannada district only was an inadvertent error due to legislative oversight, and not intentional. Thus, in our opinion there should not be any hurdles in notifying the Siddis from other parts of Karnataka as a "Scheduled Tribe".

2) By means of a Writ Petition to the Supreme Court of India

This is a far more difficult approach, and must be opted for only if the Parliament refuses to confer "Scheduled Tribe" status on the Siddis from other parts of Karnataka by means of legislation.

The *Constitution of India* guarantees certain rights (known as fundamental rights) to individuals to protect them from the state. Writ Petitions are the means by which a High Court or the Supreme Court can be approached to seek a remedy by any individual whose fundamental rights have been violated by the state. Thus, a Writ Petition under Article 32[29] of the *Constitution of India* must be filed in the Supreme Court by a member of the Siddi community who is from Karnataka, but not from Uttar Kannada district. The petition must state that there is no distinction in socio-economic conditions between the Siddis of Uttar Kannada district, on the one hand, and those in Dharwad and Belgaum. Thus, including only the Uttar Kannada Siddis in the *Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order*, 1950 is discrimination on the basis of "place of birth". Article 14 enshrines the principle of non arbitrariness; Article 15(1) of the *Constitution of India* states that "the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of...place of birth...;" and Article 16(2) reiterates this.[30] Thus, including only the Siddis of Uttar Kannada district as a Scheduled Tribe is in violation of Articles 14, 15 and 16 of the *Constitution of India*.

The above argument is controversial and there are contrary judicial precedents. Traditionally, the courts have declined to exercise judicial review over the *Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order*, 1950 or the *Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order*, 1950.[31] In non legal jargon this means that the President and subsequently, Parliament have complete powers to determine who constitutes "Scheduled Caste" or "Scheduled Tribe" and this cannot be questioned in Court. Several Supreme Court judgments have categorically stated that the courts will not add or delete from the *Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order*, 1950 or the *Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order*, 1950.[32] However, a perusal of these cases shows that the *Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order*, 1950 was never tested against provisions of the *Constitution of India*. Instead, the cases involved arguments for addition and deletion on technical grounds. For instance, in *Pankaj Kumar Saha* v. *Sub Divisional Officer,* [33] the question before the Court was one of fact, i.e., what the caste of the petitioner was. Thus, the holding by the Court, that the presidential order was beyond judicial review was not relevant to the facts of the case, and is thus irrelevant. All other cases on this point are similar in nature.

Further, in *Indira Nehru Gandhi* v. *Raj Narain*,[34] the Supreme Court has characterized the right of judicial review as an inalienable part, or part of the "basic structure" of the *Constitution of India*. Thus the *Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order*, 1950 cannot be beyond judicial review, and Article 342 (2) cannot be interpreted to exclude judicial review. Thus, the *Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order*, 1950 or the *Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950* must be in accordance with the provisions of the *Constitution of India* such as Articles 14, 15 and 16.

The only case in which the *Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order*, 1950 or the *Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order*, 1950 has been challenged as being in violation of fundamental rights is in the landmark case of *Soosai* v. *Union of India*.[35]

In this case, Mr. Soosai belonged to the Adi-Dravida community and was a convert to Christianity. Though the Adi Dravida community is a "Scheduled Caste" community, the *Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order*, 1950 includes only Hindus, Sikhs, and Buddhists in its ambit.[36] Thus, Dalit Christians like Mr. Soosai are not classified as a Scheduled Caste. Mr. Soosai was a cobbler by profession and worked on the roadside at one of the crossroads in Chennai. In May 1982, free bunkers were allocated to "Scheduled Caste" cobblers in Chennai city.[37] Being Christian, Mr. Soosai could not avail of this scheme. Mr. Soosai filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court contending that this was discriminatory as per Articles 14, 15 and 16. Further, it violated his right to religion as per Article 25.[38]

The Court agreed, in principle, with the argument. In other words, the Court agreed that the *Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order*, 1950 was subject to judicial review and must pass constitutional muster. However, it did not strike down paragraph 3 as it felt that Mr. Soosai had not demonstrated that the socio-economic conditions of the *dalits* remain the same as Hindu *dalits* despite conversion to Christianity.

Thus, the Supreme Court of India has agreed to the principle that the *Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order*, 1950 can be tested on the anvil of fundamental rights and, further, the burden is on the petitioner to show that there is clear discrimination. The same logic applies to the *Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950.* Applied to the case of Siddis, the Court can strike down the Uttar Kannada clause as being discriminatory. However, the petitioner must show that the socio-economic condition of the Siddis in Dharwad and Belgaum is comparable to the *Siddis* of the Uttar Kannada district.

Data collected on Siddis in Karnataka conclusively shows that the living conditions of Siddis in Belgaum and Dharwad district are as pathetic as those in Uttar Kannada district. We are privileged to draw your attention to the landmark book by Professor Kiran Kamal Prasad (2005) on this subject. The data that he has painstakingly collected provide information from all Siddi settlements in Karnataka. This being a legal paper, we feel no need to simply reiterate data, that have already been established, namely, that the Siddis from the rest of Karnataka are in a similar socio economic condition to the Siddis of Uttar Kannada district. We hope that this evidence will cause the Supreme Court of India to grant "Scheduled Tribe" Status to Siddis from all over Karnataka.

5. Conclusions / Recommendations

This legal paper has sought to understand the legal framework of the Siddis in Karnataka. This understanding can be as easily applied to the Siddis in other parts of India, such as in Gujarat. Accordingly, we have arrived at the following recommendations:

1) The Siddis of Uttar Kannada district are termed a "Scheduled Tribe", while the Siddis from other parts of Karnataka are deemed a "Backward Tribe". This places the Siddis from other parts of Karnataka at a disadvantage as the benefits that accrue to them as a "Backward Tribe" are considerably less than those available to them as a "Scheduled Tribe". Thus, all Siddis of Karnataka must be notified as a "Scheduled Tribe".
2) In order to achieve this, Parliament must be approached and it must be made to pass a legislation to include the Siddis from all over Karnataka in the *Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950*. Since I believe that the initial error in including

only the Siddis from Uttar Kannada district was inadvertent, and there will not be any obstacle to passing such legislation.

3) If the Parliament does not pass such legislation, a Writ Petition must be filed in the Supreme Court alleging discrimination against the non-Uttar Kannada Siddis and a violation of articles 14, 15 and 16. The Supreme Court of India must thus be petitioned to include the Siddis from all over Karnataka in the order.
4) As regards all India reservation for Siddis, reservation is done statewise. This is an established law and cannot be overturned. Siddis can, however, avail of central government education and employment facilities in any state. Further, the Parliament can be approached for passing legislation declaring Siddis to be "Scheduled Tribes" in every state.
5) As regards the efficacy of reservations as a method of affirmative action, this is beyond the scope of this paper. However, we feel constrained to point out that reservations alone are inadequate to uplift the Siddi community. The government must creatively engage with new ideas on affirmative action, in addition to reservation. Only then one of the most underprivileged communities in India will be given their due.

Notes

[1] "United States Census Bureau", viewed at *http://www.census.gov/population/censusdata/table-4.pdf* on 7th February 2006.

[2] This group is known as "Scheduled Castes" or SCs. Their population during the writing of the *Constitution of India* was 15 per cent of the total, and hence, 15 per cent of all seats have been reserved for them since 1950.

[3] This group is known as "Scheduled Tribes" or STs. 7.5 per cent of all seats have been reserved for them since 1950.

[4] *Mandal Commission Report*, 1980. The Commission estimated that 52 per cent of the total Indian population belonging to 3,743 different castes and communities were "Other Backward Classes" or *OBCs*. Figures of caste-wise population are not available beyond 1931. So, the Commission projected the 1931 census data to calculate the number of *OBCs*. The population of Hindu OBCs was derived by subtracting from the total population of Hindus, the population of "Scheduled Caste" and "Scheduled Tribe" and that of forward Hindu castes and communities, and it worked out to be 52 per cent. Assuming that roughly the proportion of *OBCs* amongst non-Hindus was of the same order as amongst the Hindus, the population of non-Hindu OBCs was also considered as 52 per cent.

[5] Paragraph 3 of the *Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order*, 1950. See, also, *infra* n.36

[6] By means of an *Office Memoranda No. 36012/31/90-Estt (SCT)*, dated 13th August 1990 and 25th September 1991, the Central Government accepted the findings of the *Mandal Commission Report*, 1990.

[7] *Indira Sawhney* v. *Union of India*, AIR 1993 SC 477.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Article 330 of the *Constitution of India.*

[11] Article 332 of the *Constitution of India.*

[12] The 1991 *Indian Census* stated that the total number of economically active individuals were 285.9 million people, of whom around 1.9 million were employed by the government. Viewed at http://www.censusindia.net/glance.html on 20th February 2006.

[13] Defined in India as living below the poverty line, which is less than "a dollar a day".

[14] In pursuance of the article 342(2) of the *Constitution of India*, the Parliament sought to amend the *Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order*, 1950. Article 342 (2) states that "Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of 'Schedule Tribes' specified in a notification issued under clause (1) any tribe or tribal community or part of or group within any tribal community but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification".

[15] Section 4(f) (iii) states that "The Scheduled Tribes Orders are hereby amended in the manner and to the extent specified in the second schedule…(f) in PART VI –Karnataka,-(iii) after entry 49, insert 50.Siddi (in Uttar Kannada district)."

[16] Article 342(1) of the *Constitution of India* states that "the President may, with respect to any state or Union Territory and where it is a State after consultation with the governor thereof, by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State or Union Territory, as the case may be. (2) Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of 'Schedule Tribes' specified in a notification issued under clause (1) any tribe or tribal community or part of or group within any tribal community but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification."

[17] In *Bhaiyalal* v. *Harikishen*, AIR 1965 SC 1557, 1560, the Supreme Court has commented on article 341, which deals with "Scheduled Castes" and is analogous to article 342. The Court has held that "It is obvious that in specifying castes, races or tribes, the President has been expressly authorized to limit the notification to parts or groups within castes."

[18] The acceptance of the *Mandal Commission Report* by the Central Government in 1990 led to 27 per cent of the government jobs, and educational seats being reserved for "Other Backward Classes". The state government can notify any caste/tribe as "backward" for the purposes of reservation within this 27 per cent.

[19] *Karnataka Government Order No. SWL 4 NCA 86 Bangalore*, dated 9th June, 1986 modifying the *Government Order No. SWL 4 BCA.86,* dated 8th January1986.

[20] Except for Central government education, Institutions and jobs.

[21] *Supra* n.19.

[22] *Supra* n.4.

[23] As per the Article 342(2) of the *Constitution of India*, this can be achieved if the parliament by an Act specifies every single state in which Siddis enjoy the status of Scheduled Tribe.

[24] *Action Committee* v. *Union of India*, (1994) 5 SCC 20.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Under Article 341(2) of the *Constitution of India*, once the notification is issued by the President under Article 341 (1), any modifications therein, by way either of including or excluding from the list any caste, race or tribe or a part or a group thereof, can be made by the Parliament by law and not by a presidential notification. This means that the entries in the Presidential notifications issued under Article 341(1) have to be taken as final unless altered by the Parliament by law.

[27] *The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act*, 2002.

[28] An insertion into the *Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order*, 1950 as entry 50.

[29] Article 32 of the *Constitution of India* empowers a person whose fundamental rights have been violated to approach the Supreme Court seeking relief. In this case, the fundamental rights that have been violated would be articles 14, 15 and 16.

[30] Article 16(2) of the *Constitution of India* states that " No citizen shall, on the grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of any employment or office under the State."

[31] It is not open to anyone to include any caste as coming within the notification on the basis of evidence – oral or documentary – if the caste in question is not specifically mentioned in the notification. It is, therefore, not possible to file evidence that a particular caste is a "Scheduled Caste" even though it is not mentioned in the presidential order. See, *Bhaiyalal* v. *Harikishan*, AIR 1965 SC 1557, 1560.

[32] *B. Basavalingappa* v. *D. Munichinappa*, AIR 1965 SC 1269. See, also, *Parsram* v. *Shivchand*, AIR 1969 SC 597; *Kumari Madhuri Patil* v. *Addl. Commr. Tribal Development*, AIR 1995 SC 94; *K.S. Vijaylakhmi* v. *Tahsildar, Palakkad*, AIR 2000 Ker. 262; *S. Swvigaradoss* v. *Zonal Managaer, F.C.I.*, AIR 1996 SC 1182.

[33] (1996) 8 SCC 264.

[34] AIR 1975 SC 2299.

[35] AIR 1986 SC 733.

[36] In its original form, paragraph 3 of the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950 declared that "... no person who professes a religion different from Hinduism" would be deemed to be a member of a Scheduled Caste. There was a proviso to paragraph 3 which declared that every member of the Ramdasi, Kabirpanthi, Mazhabi or Sikligar caste resident in Punjab or the Patiala and East Punjab States Union would in relation to that State be deemed to be a member of the Scheduled Castes whether he professed the Hindu relition or the Sikh religion. Subsequently, Parliament enacted the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 1956 which substituted for the orgininal paragraph 3 the present paragraph, which declares: 3. Notwithstanding anything contained in paragraph 2, no person who professes a religion different from

the Hindu or the Sikh religion shall be deemed to be a member of a Scheduled Caste. Subsequently neo Buddhists were also added.

[37] This was the basis of the Special Central Assistance Scheme of the Government of India for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes. The funds for the scheme were set up exclusively intended for Scheduled Castes under *G.O. Ms. No. 580* Social Welfare Department, dated February 13, 1982.

[38] Article 25 of the Constitution of India grants the freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate one's religion.

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10

Sidis in Bombay: Negotiating Identities between Bombay and Gujarat[1]

Beheroze Shroff

There are two main ideas around which I have structured this essay. First, I try to explore the life of Sidis in Bombay and comment on the diversity and socio-economic condition of the Sidi community of Bombay. Second, intertwined with the socio-economic analysis, I also want to explore issues of identity linked to ideas of home and belonging for the Sidis. Where is "home" and how is "belonging" constructed by the Sidis? While thinking on this, I often found myself wondering if I am pushing the Sidis to define *home* based on the questions I have posed and am I perhaps imposing my own constructs upon them? In terms of the socio-economic condition of the Sidis, I understand that the Sidis who work as caretakers of shrines and live close to the shrine premises, enjoy a certain amount of respect and status while those who are dispersed in different parts of the city and work as domestics or daily wage earners often merge into the crowds of Bombay, and are often singled out in terms of race and asked if they are African or, as one of the Sidi women pointed out, "I am asked if I am a Negro." In terms of my second inquiry, I discovered that home, *des* in Gujarati, for the Sidis is Gujarat and not Africa.

In the first part of the paper, I discuss the socio-economic situation of the Sidi families who live as caretakers of different shrines. Next, I discuss the Sidis who work at low-income jobs and live independent of shrines. Finally, I discuss a completely different aspect of the historical presence of the Sidis in Bombay - the descendants of the Nawab of Janjira, an island off the coast of Bombay.

The Sidi community of Bombay consists mostly of women and men who migrated from Gujarat for work or migrated through marriage. Most of the Sidis I interviewed are Gujarati-speaking and see themselves as migrants from Gujarat. They consider "home" to be their town, or village in Gujarat. They continue to maintain a productive relationship with Gujarat by regular visits to the extended family and the family home and land there and by continuing to marry their children to Sidi men and women in Gujarat.

For the purpose of a better understanding of the Sidis of Bombay, I began with the discussion of Heena's family, her father Babubhai and her mother Fatimaben. Babubhai worked as the caretaker of a shrine in the suburbs of North Bombay. Even though this shrine is tucked away within a sprawling shanty, *jopparpatti* area, it has a considerable following and is supported by donations offered by the devotees. The family is given tremendous respect by the larger community and people from the

Hindu community visit this Muslim shrine regularly, seeking advice and guidance and assistance with a range of problems dealing with health, work, and infertility. It is interesting to note that the family members of the shrine caretaker are trained in the different shrine rituals, so, Babubhai's sons and daughter assist in the ritual of offering incense *loban*, lighting the lamp *batti*, and other rituals. In addition to the rituals, the family also gives support to the devotees, especially Heena, who is a medium for Mai Mishra (Shroff 2005).

Because the followers themselves are from low-income families, and often residents of the *jopparpatti*, the shrine's upkeep and maintenance costs mostly become Babubahi's family's responsibility and they find it difficult. Most importantly, the family is accorded respect and dignity by Hindus and Muslims alike. Babubhai recently passed away and his children are continuing his work exactly as Babubhai himself had to do when his own grandfather as caretaker passed away and he had to step in as the caretaker.

Helene Basu's foundational work (1993, 1998, 2001), on the Sidis analyses how in post-independent India, the Sidis in Gujarat have invented an identity as healers and spiritual specialists and come together as a community, a brotherhood of *fakirs,* that is called Sidi *jamat*. In Bombay too the space of the shrines enables the Sidis to craft an identity, a role as healers and spiritual specialists. Both of my films comment on this issue of reinvented identity (Shroff 2004; 2005). As seen in my film, Babubhai Sidi's trajectory as a shrine caretaker is a rather interesting one - he moved from Morvi, Gujarat where he was a bodyguard in the royal family there and he came to Bombay where his grandfather was caretaker of the shrine of Gabban Shah Bava. Babubhai gained his training as a caretaker or *mujavar*, but as a young man he also worked as a Bollywood stuntman. However, on Thursdays, *jumme raat,* the day for honoring saints, he stayed back from the film studios, to take on his role as *mujavar* of the shrine and interacted with the regular devotees. He also worked in the Bombay docks for a while, all of which clearly indicates that he needed a regular income to support his family and income from the shrine was not enough. And just in case one thinks that he earned very well as a stuntman in the film he states that he was paid Rs.5 per day in the 1940s as a *fight master* or stunt man.

On the issues of race and identity, Babubhai and his family represented different perspectives. His daughter told me that she is often asked where she is from and she has to explain in Marathi to prove the point that she was born and raised in Bombay. "Even policemen sometimes ask me where are you from?" she tells me laughingly (Shroff 2005). However, she also pointed out that when it came to seeking the assistance of her family as Sidi healers, none of the clientele seems to be constrained by issues of race - then, in fact, race became a plus point - in that Sidis were perceived as invested with spiritual powers that were associated with the shrine (Basu 1998).

On issues of Africa and African identity I asked Babubhai how he positioned himself in terms of being regarded as African and being interrogated about it. His response was that he considered himself a Sidi Badshah but an Indian first. His wife was much more insistent that their family for generations has been in India so their identity without question is Indian.

The wife Fatimaben's response can also be analyzed within the context of the position of Sidis as Muslims in Bombay which witnessed the terrible 1992 riots, after the fall of the Babri Masjid. At that time, the political climate made all Muslims extremely vulnerable and even today, slogans such as: *"Whoever does not belong to Ram is of no use to us"* (*Jo Na Hamare Ram Ka, Voh Na Hamare Kam Ka*) sends terror among minorities, especially the Muslims in Bombay. Automobile stickers also demand a regional identity – "I am a Bombayite" (*Me Mumbaikar*) or "Proudly Declare That You are a Hindu" (*Garv Se Kaho Hum Hindu Hai).*

The Sidis may have liked to maintain their identity as Gujaratis, but in the discussion that took place in my film, Babubhai, even the performer for the camera stated that, "We Sidis have now become 'Maharashtrian' and we have to state that or else Bal Thackeray (the leader of the Hindu fundamentalist Shiv Sena party in Maharashtra) will tell us to go back to where we came from." Even though there was much laughter around those statements, Fatimaben, his wife, promptly corrected her husband with, "You don't have to say that." The vulnerable position of the Sidis, doubly marginalized as Muslims and "foreigners" is distinctly implied in this discussion.

In addition to being caretakers, *mujavars*, Babubhai's children all earn independent incomes. His eldest son, continuing the father's tradition, works in the film business as a freelance production coordinator. Another son worked in the Gulf as a security officer for some years. Yet another son works in electricals repairing TVs and electronic equipment. Finally, Heena, the daughter, works part-time as a beautician and fulltime as a lab assistant.

Moving on to the next shrine in the suburbs of central Bombay, I met Ameena Bi and her "sister" Aisha Bi (her maternal uncle's daughter) both of whom are shrine caretakers *mujavars*. Their maternal grandparents were from Gujarat, but the two women were born and raised in Bombay. The shrine is right in the heart of Maharashtrian area, one heavily controlled by the regional Hindu fundamentalist political party, the Shiv Sena, and policed by the party workers.

What is noteworthy is that the land on which the shrine sits belonged to a Maharashtrian man. As a devotee of the saint who is buried on his property, he gave the land to the Sidi family which now takes care of the rituals there. This shrine, compared to the one where Babubhai worked, is extremely well-maintained with a marble frame around the tomb, *dargah,* of the saint. There are marble tiles on the floor and there is a sense of regular maintenance, unlike the run-down space of the shrine where Babubhai and his family work. At this shrine, there is a fairly large open compound surrounding the shrine where the caretaker's family lives. This area is not surrounded by shanties, which is where Babubhai's shrine is located and Babubhai himself lives in a modest one room shanty with no running water and a water pump just outside their one–room home from which water is stored daily for the needs of the extended family. This shrine is on a quiet, tree-lined, back street, and not too distant from the vibrant hub of midtown Bombay.

Ameena Bi, the *mujavar* of the second shrine, told me that many Hindus visit the shrine regularly - patrons from her father's time and the children of the patrons as well. She stated that among the Hindu believers, it is common custom for a new bride to pay her respects at the shrine, before she goes for the *haldi* ceremony. To quote Ameena, "Married couples often come here and give their *salaams,* they offer flowers, coconut, to the saint before going to the marriage hall." Additionally, the young couples touch Ameena's feet and give her due respect as well. It is clear that this Sidi family is well-established in this area and commands status and respect among Hindu believers. Aisha Bi however told me that the shrine is not a source of income as such. During the celebration the sandal to honour the saint, they collect money from donations and have to put in their own money to hold the three-day event.

I discussed the 1992 riots in Bombay, after the fall of the Babri Mosque particularly, because this shrine is located in an area controlled by the Shiv Sena Party. Ameena Bi told me that during the riots in Bombay, the shrine was not disturbed. On the contrary, Hindus were most solicitous and offered assistance. The family did not feel the need to abandon the shrine and go into hiding as many Muslims had to do during that period. They told me that they had heard about the desecration of shrines in Gujarat after the Godhra incident in 2000, but they said they had no fear about their own shrine.

Ameena Bi told me that people from all parties come to the shrine. Manohar Joshi who was Chief Minister of Mahatashtra under the BJP government visited the shrine. Several Congress party officials have also visited - to earn the Muslim vote no doubt.

Ameena and Aisha are invited to Hindu festivals like the Ganesh festival, to marriage ceremonies and other events, so there seems to be some sort of amicable relationship set up with Hindus in the area. Aisha Bi laughingly stated that "we go to their events and they come to ours - during the saint's celebration, the *sandal,* so many Hindus come to the shrine to eat - adults and children partake of Baba's blessings."

On the issue of identity, both women acknowledge Bava Gor as their ancestral saint, *kul pir.* The engagement with Gujarat and with the Sidi identity *silsila* continues even though Ameena's three daughters are married to Muslim men in Bombay and even though the grandchildren all go to the English medium school in the area. Part of

Ameena's need to find Muslim men in Bombay as spouses for the daughters was dictated by the fact that she did not want her daughters separated from her in Bombay.

Ameena Bi told me that she introduces herself as Ameenaben Sidi and even though she and her sister cannot travel to Gujarat every year for the Bava Gor annual celebration or *urs*, they try to go every three years. This respected, established and fairly urbanized family in Bombay sees Bombay as home and Gujarat as home of the grandparents. They are often questioned about their race and Aisha Bi says "I tell them my grandparents were from Africa, but I was born here." Among Aisha Bi's children, two sons work as drivers, one works as D.J, one as an interior designer and one as an electrician.

The third shrine that I visited is close to the harbour/dock area of Bombay, in the middle of a densely populated, largely Muslim section of the city. This shrine is a memorial shrine, *chilla,* to Bava Gor, the ancestral saint of the Sidis and also a *chilla* to his sister, Mai Mishra. As a child I visited this shrine with my parents, devotees of Bava Gor, but over the years, Parsi devotees like my parents and family have been going to the memorial shrine to Bava Gor that was established by a Parsi man in North Bombay (Shroff 2004; 2005 and 2008).

The caretaker of this shrine is a woman by the name of Asoo Appa. Her grandfather worked for the Nizam of Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh in the army. His ancestors too were born in Hyderabad. "We've been in India over a hundred years" states Asoo Appa. When the Nizam passed away, her grandfather went to Surat and from there went on to Ahmedabad which is where she was born. Her father was a Qawal—Abdul Razak Sidi Bilal. After her marriage, Asoo Appa came to Bombay. Her husband's family came to Bombay from Jamnagar in Gujarat, looking for work. Her husband, previously a shrine caretaker, *mujavar* from Jamnagar, came to this area and became *mujavar* of the Bava Gor *chill*a. Her husband married again and moved to another part of Bombay and that is how Asoo Appa became the caretaker of this shrine. Her son and daughter both help as caretakers of the shrine, but the son also runs a small shop - a paan-beedi shop at the entrance of the shrine. Her daughter is not married and helps as a caretaker. Although Bombay is her home, Asoo Appa maintains family ties with Hyderabad where her sister Guluma lives and Ahmedabad where another sister Rahimaben lives and works as a caretaker of a Bava Gor shrine.

Asoo Appa tells me that in this area there are approximately eight Sidi homes. Some Sidis work in the docks, some work as cab drivers or drive privately owned cars.

Even though this is considered a historic shrine, "more than hundred years old" according to Asoo Appa, and has a large following, the family is struggling with maintenance and repair costs. The heavy Monsoon season wreaks havoc on this old structure and the shrine is in need of funds for some heavy structural works and roof repair. The devotees that come to the shrine are mostly Muslims (Memmons, Khojas), Maharashtrians, and Parsis.

I asked Asoo Appa about the situation at the shrine during the 1992 riots. According to her, it was a grim situation. This Muslim area was heavily policed - a curfew was imposed and people could not go about to bring supplies and food. Many Muslims had to abandon their homes, go into hiding - but the shrine was not disturbed.

This historic shrine also houses the sacred musical instruments - the lyres that are placed in the inner sanctum of the shrine. According to the oral history quoted by Asoo Appa, the ancestors saw the lyres in a dream, saw them floating towards the sea shore and the instruments called out, "We are here, come and get us." The ancestors went to the water's edge with incense, *loban,* and brought them here to the shrine. Asoo Appa points out that these instruments do not exist in the original shrine of Bava Gor in Gujarat and this is their only location and a direct link to the African ancestry of the Sidis.

It is evident, however, that the instruments need to be repaired. Nobody knows how to play them any more, but they are venerated with incense offerings, every day at the time of the evening prayers called *magrib azzan*. There is much repair work to be done in this shrine besides the sacred instruements and Asoo Appa expressed much frustration with scholars of Sidis like me. She came directly to the point and said: "You write so much about us, but we need help. At least listen to our complaints!"

The shrines tell a different story about the lives of the Sidis in Bombay. Even though each family struggles financially, they have a distinctive sense of their own status within the community. They are sought out and acknowledged as wise elders who can guide the troubled supplicant through several difficulties. They have a role to play and contribute to the social fabric of a city such as Bombay. Their ancestry as Sidis is honoured and respected.

We move now to the small bye-lanes or *gullies* of the shantytown through which I go to meet Taheraben and Jamillaben in Jogeshwari. The two women are neighbours and distantly related. This visit was during the rainy season and the narrow lanes were still flooded with ankle deep water. Tahera led me to Jamilla's room because her own room was inaccessible after the morning's downpour. Jamilla explains that after July 26 and 27, 2005, after the non-stop rain and devastating floods that destroyed several parts of Bombay city, the water was about knee deep in Jamilla's room. The water destroyed one wooden cupboard, the raised bed, several clothes, and kitchen utensils. Jamilla recounted that night when she and her sister-in-law sat up all night watching the water level and praying that it would not rise.

I asked if the government gave them any assistance after the floods. The government gave 10 kilos of rice and 10 litres of kerosene and that too she had to brave the crowds and then wait from 3 p.m. until 10 p.m. in order to get these rations.

I first talked with Tahera who is about 55 years old. Tahera was born in Jamnagar and came to Bombay from Jamnagar after her marriage. She still maintains ties to her home town in Jamnagar. Her mother still lives there and interestingly, Tahera stated that her daughter got married and is back home *(des ma che)*. So, for Tahera, Gujarat is still home and she is a migrant to Bombay city. Tahera visits Jamnagar mostly to take care of her 85 year old mother who lives there, by herself. Tahera's sister Allah Rakhi also lives between Jamnagar and Bombay – visiting the mother and working in Bombay.

Tahera's husband passed away about 26 years ago and she has been working as a domestic in private homes to support the family. Her work includes washing clothes and cleaning the dishes. She works from about 9:30 am to about 12 noon and then goes back in the afternoon and sometimes again in the evening. She explained that since she works in different people's homes, she moves from one location to another. If there is any extra work like fetching children from school, or going to the market then she does that too for an extra five rupees or ten rupees per day. "That is how I have raised my children by working hard. There was no one else bringing in an income." she claims. She has one son and one daughter. The son works on daily wages and looks for work as a "helper" loading trucks or doing deliveries.

I asked Tahera if people questioned her about her ancestry—her race. She pointed out that people ask: "Are you an African Negro?" She responds by saying that for generations her family has been in India and she does not speak any African language so she is Indian. She also points out that since she is racially marked as African, by her hair, for example, "They look at our hair and ask that question," she is singled out and asked this question. Sometimes her employers also ask her "Are you from Africa?" When she responds that she is from India, they persist by stating, "but your hair is African." Then she educates them that she is Sidi and her whole community looks African but is in fact Indian.

During the 1992 Bombay riots, Tahera says that there was no problem in her neighbourhood. There were stray incidents in Jogeshwari East, but not on the West side. In fact, according to her, the shanty town neighbours look after one another and rush to help out even in the middle of the night.

She hasn't been able to go to the original shrine of Bava Gor in Gujarat, but she intends to go to the Bombay Bava Gor shrine, sometimes on a Thursday *jumme raat*. She has to snatch the time between her jobs.

Tahera told me that when she goes to the Bava Gor celebration *urs*, she does not take part and dance. She does not know any of the Mai Mishra songs, *garbis*. She says she likes to watch. Living in Bombay, caught up with daily life, she has forgotten a lot of her culture - the culture has changed *(Sanskriti badlai gaii)*, she says. She says that she does not feel any sense of loss. She has no time to register much of anything with daily work, she stated, *"Kam ma rokaila chaiye."*

Tahera remembers her maternal grandmother saying that they were descended from African people and that her own in-laws were from Africa. But does not remember any stories. Anyway, she feels more connected to India and not to Africa she says, "*peheri badlai gayii*" I asked her how she would feel if she went to Africa. Here Jamilla intervened and said "We would look at their faces and they would think that some new monkeys have arrived here."

Tahera's response indicated the struggle in her life. "How many more years do I have anyway, that I would want to go to Africa? I hope to die soon. There is so much difficulty in life, I want to go up before any illness and while I can move around and afterwards there will be peace."

Jamilla, Tahera's neighbour is a single woman who lives with her sister-in-law Yasmeen and Yasmeen's two daughters. One daughter is married and lives elsewhere. Jamilla's only younger brother, Yasmeen's husband, Yusuf passed away. Jamilla stays at home, cooks food, washes clothes and takes care of her sister-in-law and her two daughters. The two daughters, 18 and 19 years old work in a shirt factory. Yasmeen works in homes as a domestic. She works everyday from 8:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. and then goes back to work from 5:50 p.m. to 8:30 p.m.

Jamilla was born in Rajkot, Gujarat, two hours away from Jamnagar. Her grandmother lived in Jamnagar, married a man from Rajkot and moved there. Jamilla's grandparents died before she was born so she has no memories of the older generation. She only remembers her father moving the family from Rajkot to Bombay because his job as truck driver with Mahavir Transport was shifted to Bombay.

Her links to her ancestry are maintained through her infrequent visits to the Bava Gor shrine in Bombay. Even though the shrine is located a considerable distance away, she goes to pay her respects, "After all, he (Bava Gor) is our ancestor, our saint (*pir*)" she says. If she goes during the *urs*, she does not participate in the *dhammal* – the sacred dance. She said her father did not allow her to participate in the dancing, so that custom stayed with her. She participates in all of the other Sidi rituals, but not the dhammal. Her nieces join the dhammal and enjoy themselves. However, Jamilla stated that only if the nieces are able to get leave from work they would go to the Bava Gor celebration. Their priority is their job. Their and their mother's income keeps them going, said Jamilla emphatically. Jamilla's oldest niece is married to a man in Bhuj (Gujarat) and the other two nieces are engaged to men from Jamnagar. For Jamilla too Rajkot and Jamnagar are "home" *des*. She considers herself a migrant from Gujarat.

On the issue of racial identity she too is often asked if she is African, but in the neighbourhood after so many years, people know them and so the question does not arise. It seems that Bombay provides the working class Sidis the same identity as the other nameless, faceless masses who toil everyday in middle class homes and come back to their one room shanties which is their own home whereas in Jamilla's case four people or more live together.

It was the same situation with 80 year old Sidi Wali Jamal who lives in a shanty town *jopparpatti* near Bombay Central Railway Station. I had to climb a steep, narrow ladder to go up to his little room in which he sleeps, cooks and meets his family and friends. He and his 4 children have lived in this room and other such one-room homes.

Most importantly, Wali Jamal belongs to that generation that still retains the memories of grandparents brought from Africa. His father told him that his own father Jamal Mubarak was brought from Africa by Hindu Kathi Rajahs and settled in Mendheru. He worked on the steam ship stoking coal into the furnace. He had four sons of whom the eldest was Wali Jamal's father.

He is originally from the village Mendheru in Junagadh, Kathiawad and came here in 1939. Wali Jamal also remembers that the Sidi community was larger -there were many Sidi Mohallas but gradually the Sidis dispersed to different parts of Bombay. He himself moved from Crawford market to Chor Bazar to Tardeo and finally to Bombay Central. He worked as a steel polisher for many years.

During the 1992 Bombay riots, the Tardeo area where he lived was a Maharashtrian Shiv Sena dominated area and was badly disrupted. His home was attacked and burnt down. He ran to the Tardeo police station, but the police were of no help at all. In fact, the police told him, "Run back to your home" *(des* - home - *ma bhagi jao),* as though he was not legitimately a resident of Bombay. He and his family were relocated in a shelter in the Madanpura area of Bombay. He states that if the military had not intervened, he was sure, he and his family would have burned to death.

He moved to this shanty after the riots in what was considered a Muslim area so there was some security. However, his troubles had not ended. Developers were designing plans for high-rise homes and the shanties would be demolished. The Builder promised to move all tenants to another place - there was no talk of compensation or reimbursement. "We'll have to go wherever they dump us," he said. He identifies himself as one of the poor of Bombay. Wali Jamal's 15 year old son is an apprentice to an auto garage. His 18 year old son works designing wedding cards and his 22 year old son is unemployed.

I quote Wali Jamal's concluding words: "Write this down! Sidis have great many burdens/problems to carry" *Sidio mate julum vadhare che lakhi levo.* What does the government do for Sidis? What kind of help have they given to Sidis? Further when the government officials come here they don't even write down our names properly or ask us what our specific problems are - this is our Bombay and it is Maharashtra above all - it is kill or die - I speak plainly."

I now move to an entirely different presence of Sidis in Bombay, the descendants of the powerful Sidi Nawabs of Janjira. Janjira is an island about forty miles South of

Bombay and has a long history intertwined with foreign colonial powers and with the Maratha leader Shivaji. The contemporary descendants of the Nawab of Janjira have an entirely different history in Maharashtra. I interviewed Mrs Jasdanwalla, grand daughter of Sir Sidi Ahmad Khan. She is the sister of the present Nawab, Sidi Shah Mehmood Khan. Mrs Jasdanwalla and her family live in South Bombay and are very guarded about their privacy and are also keen that scholars should understand their history and ancestry as totally separate from the Sidis of Gujarat who trace their ancestry to the Sidi Saint Bava Gor.

In some sense, one cannot even begin to compare the privilege and class entitlement of the contemporary descendants of the Sidis of Janjira with the Sidis of Gujarat. The Sidis of Janjira were rulers and administrators, so the class issue has to be considered over and above the racial identity issues. Even though Mrs Jasdanwalla positions herself as a Sidi, she claims Sidi as a royal title and lineage; her ancestor was honoured by the British as "Sir Sidi Ahmed Khan." Sidis of Gujarat and Bombay claim a collective identity when they use the words *Sidi kom* or *jamat,* both words mean community.

Mrs Jasdanwalla's father, Sidi Mohammed Khan, was educated and groomed to become a ruler and administrator. First he was at the Rajkumar College in Rajkot and later on in Pune and finally in Bangalore to study agriculture. Her grandfather and father founded schools for girls and boys, and now her brother continues this task.

The two daughters of Sidi Mohammed Khan, Mrs Jasdanwalla and her sister were given education through private tutors and both women went on to college and obtained Masters degrees. In the 1960s Mrs Jasdanwalla moved from Bombay to Indore in Madhya Pradesh, and obtained a Masters degree in English Literature. She was a Lecturer in English at the Holkar Science College in Indore and later on worked in the well established Tata Industries in India.

For Mrs Jasdanwalla, her family's history has been recorded and celebrated and she can relate to this history with pride, as scholars continue to investigate the maritime history in which the Sidis of Janjira posed challenges to the British, the Portuguese and Maratha plans to expand their rule on the Konkan Coast of India.

Mrs Jasdanwalla tells me that the Janjira Sidis have a history as expert seafarers even as they posed serious challenges to the Maratha expansion on the Konkan Coast. "Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb's daughter Zaibunissa was taken for Haj on a ship built by us and that is how we got the title Khan and as the children of Khan we are known as Khanzadas" recounts Mrs Jasdanwalla with pride.

In terms of identity, Mrs Jasdanwalla tells me, "We are Sidis on our father's side, and our mother was a Pathan - of Afghanistani descent and we call ourselves Sidis." Mrs Jasdanwalla married into a prominent Muslim family in Bombay and her sister married the late Nawab of Sachin's nephew. Sachin is the only other Sidi State in India and the family of Sachin Nawabs is a branch of the Sidis of Janjira.

Note

[1] At the outset, I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Heena Babubhai Sidi. I met Heena and her family at the *urs* festival in honour of Sidi ancestral saint Bava Gor in Bombay. Later, during the interviews with Heena and her family, for my second film *Voices of the Sidis: Ancestral Links*, I observed that Heena's family is highly respected as caretakers of a shrine in Bombay. At that time, the germ of this essay was born. With Heena, I visited Sidi families in the four corners of Bombay and this essay represents some of the selected conversations with those Sidi families when I was welcomed into homes and treated as a member of the family with warm hospitality. I want to thank Heena Babubhai Sidi whose vast network of family and friendship among the Sidis of Bombay was generously opened up to me when she graciously gave me much time and energy for my work, Beheroze Shroff. 2001-2004. *Interviews with Sidis and Parsis*, Bombay.

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11

Karnataka Siddi Nash: Charting and Mediating Identity Through Materiality of the Spiritual in South India

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This paper explores the ways in which African Indians (Habshis / Siddis) of Karnataka structure their self-understanding through religious activities. While re-presenting what lies deeper in their past (Prince 2001:215), Siddis craft strategies to order their lives and relate to the multi-religious, socially stratified and plurilinguistic landscape.

The Karnataka African Indians are descendants of Africans who either voluntarily or forcibly migrated to India between the twelfth and the twentieth centuries. Most of the present-day Karnataka African Indians are farmers or agricultural labourers and thus they depend on the forest and other natural resources.

Associated with their forest environment are various nature deities. Among the deities are *Hule Devaru, Nagapooja, Achakanyevaru, and Nysa/Nash* (Palakshappa 1976: 83). African Indians invoke these deities to protect the land and the animals and to engender fertility for humans. Krishna Siddi and Shiva Siddi (leaders in the African Indian community in Gullapur) assert that the deity used to reside in Yana but relocated about 200 years ago to its current place in Satunbail. While Palakshappa's discussion describes the deity *Nash* as a ferocious male whose servant or *bhanta* always follows him, present-day accounts from my discussants show that the *bhanta* has complementary roles of male and female protector.

The male *Nash* has two stones, which sandwich a *tulasi* plant, while the female *Achakanye* and her *bhanta* each has one stone. The aniconic deity Siddi *Nash* manifests himself in a stone, as do his consorts. As a nature deity, he does not resemble Hindu deities, whom the Indians reproduce "sculpted in human form" (McDaniel 2003: 2) and to whom they offer flowers, incense, and vegetables. In contrast, the rocks of the deity Siddi *Nash* signify a revelatory dream of an African Indian forebear.[1] According to Shiva Siddi, when Putta Siddi's[2] forebears received the vision and the instruction to pick up a particular rock, the family acted immediately and set up the deity in three marked areas. To this day African Indian religious specialists perform sacrifices and prayers at those sacred sites (PC, 28 April 2005).

African Indians in Yellapur, Ankola, Haliyal and Mundgod *taluks* (subdistricts) have worshiped Siddi *Nash* for over 200 years. According to Palakshappa, "Nysa *pooja* is performed by the 'Havig Brahmins' with the Siddhis in a supporting role, offering coconuts and flowers" (1976: 86). Even if Siddi *Nash / Nysa* had represented previously a Brahmin deity, and the *bhanta* space had received vegetable and fruit sacrifices as such, the male and female sections of the present Siddi *Nash* shrine reflect the religious transformation that occurred when African Indians put their imprint on the worship of Siddi *Nash* (Obeng 2007: 119). The construction and devotion of Siddi *Nash* give form and substance to "rememory" (Morrison 1987: 215), in which the participants reclaim and bring to the surface that which "lies deeper than the memory of events reclaimed" (Prince 2001: 26). African Indian devotees of Siddi *Nash* use their worship to recall and re-enact aspects of their past during Siddi *Nash* festival.

In the *pooja* (Hindu devotional practice) ceremony, Putta Siddi, one of the *poojaris*, performs rituals for the good of the whole community. When crisis or epidemic strikes the villages, the custodian of the deity Siddi *Nash* appeals to him to intervene. Siddi *Nash* promotes neighbourliness and punishes persons with the evil eye that can cause crop failure for their neighbours. People seek *Nash's* powers to protect their crops from failing and to prevent animals from destroying the crops. For instance, Siddi *Nash* has at times caused snakes to bite crop thieves and to expose them. Those who steal the crops under *Nash's* watch become sick and must confess before the community which can pardon and re-integrate them into the community. African Indians also appeal to Siddi *Nash* to ward off diseases and catastrophes. His devotees consult Siddi *Nash* to ask for safety and success before embarking on ventures. Siddi *Nash* blesses and protects African Indians, but as Sanu Siddi claims, "Brahmins do not come to *Nash*. *Nash* is specifically for African Indians" (PC, 28 April 2005). People who have suffered from diseases and misfortunes vow to offer sacrifices to *Nash* if their conditions improve. If the worshippers cannot honour their vows within a particular year, they try to do so the following year. For instance, a farmer promised to give a goat to *Nash* if he had a bumper harvest in 2004. When *Nash* granted him the request, the farmer could only give a rooster and a bag of rice during the *Nash* festival of 2005. When the rooster refused to eat, implying a rejection of that offer by Siddi *Nash*, the priests interceded for the farmer. Shiva Putta Siddi, one of the *poojaris* began his intercession saying, "Please accept this *hunja* (Kannada for rooster), it was given with good intentions. If you accept it, the devotee promises to give a bigger offering next time."

If a devotee fails to keep the promise, illness or death will befall either a person or an animal of the household of the one who made the vow. According to Sanu Siddi, *Nash* works with and through *poojaris* to exhort all devotees to accept responsibility for their own misdeeds and good deeds. Siddi *Nash* worship, therefore, provides a context for African Indian religious specialists to encourage their communities to lead upright lives.

While worshippers of the Hindu deity, Lord Shiva, offer fruits to him and to other gods, the worshippers of Siddi *Nash* offer blood sacrifices, cigarettes, and alcoholic drinks to their deity. As Shiva Siddi relates, "Our deities eat what we eat and that is why they understand us" (PC, 28 April 2005). According to Krishna Siddi of Hagundi, the *Nash* event "strengthens bonds among Siddis and helps to impart Siddi values to posterity" (cf. Palakshappa 1976; personal communication, 17 July 2004). I give here a description of the Siddi *Nash* Festival held on 28 April 2005: The festival began around eleven in the morning with *maha* (great) *pooja* consisting of offerings of fruits, vegetables, coconuts, flowers, and incense. Three *poojaris* and the wife of one *poojari* stood in front of the shrine, as people offered gifts. The *poojari's* wife left after the opening of the festival to supervise the food preparation. The *poojaris* called on Siddi *Nash* through a chant, as they sprinkled water on the rock surface of the deity. The *poojaris,* Sonu Shivappa Siddi, Krishna Siddi and Babu Putta Siddi, decorated the ritual space, garlanded Siddi *Nash* and adorned his consorts with flowers. They offered fresh and dry coconuts and fresh rice sheaves to the shrine, as the priests burned incense and waved an oil lamp (*arati*) in the presence of the deity. The event continued as men, women, and children brought food, live roosters and incense sticks. Some of the people formed small groups to socialize, and those who arrived after the opening of the event tied their roosters to stumps of trees or poles. Vendors began setting up stalls to sell sweets and condiments and the organizers of the event set up loudspeakers on tree branches.

The deity Siddi *Nash* has three contiguous sacred sites, which have 1) the Siddi *Nash* stones, 2) the *bhanta*, servant and protector, and 3) the female *Achakanye* (with bangles and a skirt) added to the shrine right on the bank of river Ashehale. According to Fakirsab Putta Siddi of Malagaun, when Siddi *Nash* resided in Yana just two miles from its present site called Sathunbail only two or three families in the neighbourhood of Yana worshipped the deity (personal communication, 28 April 2005). Thus, until about ten years ago, the devotees of Siddi *Nash* were few in number. During those years, about 60–100 people attended the festival, but today about 300–500 people gather at the annual festival. The heightened awareness among African Indians in Karnataka regarding their status and identity in India may account for the increased number of devotees. This site has become an important pilgrimage place, as African Indians use it to build closer ties among themselves. Today, they have social workers and community leaders as participants who devote themselves to empowering their people during the festival. One of them, Krishna Shiva Siddi, a social worker and vice president of the SDS (Siddi Development Society, the umbrella organization of all the African Indians in Uttara Kannada), was the master of ceremonies at the Siddi *Nash* festival held in April, 2005.

At the festival people performed different tasks. They fetched water from the nearby river, lighted candles, and set up the ritual space with flowers, rice, coconuts (fresh and dry), fruits and vegetables. Two worshippers recorded in a notebook the various items that the devotees had brought as offerings. Men and women performed different tasks. While the women chopped vegetables and shredded coconuts, the men cut firewood for cooking and cooked rice and curry in big pots. The traders among them marked off certain areas for constructing their stalls.

One of the *poojaris* rang a bell while decorating the shrine and a spirit descended on one other *poojari*. The possessed person began to groan and tremble and, while trembling, began to hit the ground with his fist before he rolled from the shrine into the Ashehale river. He sat in the river until the spirit left him.

While he sat in the river, another *poojari* brought a bowl of consecrated water from the shrine. The water bearer also became possessed when the possessed *poojari* in the river sprinkled some of the consecrated water on him. Both the oracles hinted at the need for the African Indians to unite to overcome obstacles ahead of them. Serving as social critics, they advised the gathered community to avoid any practices that hurt one another. Although the festival has many facets, the manner in which the *poojaris* provided a corporeal representation of Siddi *Nash* during spirit possession deserves further comment. Having provided a background about Siddi *Nash*, we now turn to spirit possession, a key way through which some African Indians materially externalize aspects of their past.

Spirit Possession

In the altered state of consciousness, a possessed person embodies a spirit. The guest spirit manifests himself or herself in certain speech patterns and bodily gestures, which the host person does not determine. Spirit possession, a "hyperkinetic trance," as Ellis *et al* (2004: 57) call it, can occur under a variety of circumstances, which include the ringing of a bell, a song, a dance, drumming, the recitation of a prayer or by the ingestion of a certain substance. Deities appear only through specific individuals, with whom they work out their will. There are African Indian cultural experts who interpret aspects of spirit possession. Such experts help the audience to understand the expressions that are gestured by the mediums. The possessed peoples' learned gestures, therefore, function as channels of communication. This may explain why some African Indian elders on 28 April 2005, were able to decipher and tell me what the *poojaris* said in their altered state of consciousness.

According to Ranger (1975), spirit mediums in Africa have at times provided counsel to individuals, resolved interpersonal and community conflicts and fought alongside warriors or provided spiritual ammunition for fighters such as those in Zimbabwe. Sharp, who, in 1993, researched possession in Madagascar contends that mediums inhabited by royal spirits have helped migrants to be integrated into their host communities (Sharp 1993). As agents of modernity, these same mediums assist clients in acquiring resources that they need to support their new lifestyles in big towns and cities in Madagascar. While the above views are helpful, it is Basu's article on possession in Brazil, Gujarat and Zaire in East Africa that provides relevant information (2002:41). She argues that while *zar* in East Africa involves "confrontations of the Other in the context of 'home societies', *candomble* (African Brazilians) and *goma* (Gujarati African Indians) have evolved in the context of displaced African slave societies in Brazil and in India. In these contexts, performances of possession point to a lost African self through visualization and bodily memory" (Basu 2002: 41). Basu's argument addresses the importance of materiality of religious sensibilities. (Connerton 1989, Misztal 2003, Fentress and Wickham 1994) and others have addressed ways in which societies remember and commemorate events, create a sense of belonging and comment on socio-cultural power structures. Beyond their perspectives, this paper, however, focuses on how African Indians deploy ritual acts to shape and put into concrete forms religious ideas that appear in time and space and, in turn, shape the temporal order. As the people participate in their ritual performances their lives are fashioned and refashioned by what is unleashed in the spatiotemporal environment of Karnataka.

When African Indian religious specialists go in and out of trance, they give oracles, admonish the audience and dance, as a way of recalling, ordering and transmitting their past to the group. The visually palpable presence and behaviours of *Nash* convey experience without the aid of discursive communication. In response to the corporeal presence of Siddi *Nash,* both adults and children, who stand in reverential manner before the shrine holding their offerings, seem to have understood how they have to behave in the presence of a spirit being. Their devotional gesture puts on public record and ratifies behaviour as inscribed in their consciousness.

Thus, although scholars often limit materiality of the spiritual to sacred objects such as relics of the dead, sacred rocks, pictures of saints or holy people, the cross and the rosary, there are other non-concrete aspects of religious expression. Through bodily memory, African Indian mediums are able to articulate aspects of their experiences. African Indian spirit possession entails more than a protest, an explanatory system or a means by which to acquire resources. For instance, some African Indians use spirit possession as a specific bodily form to articulate notions of power (Karp 1989: 94–95). They use their notions of power to frame and to project their beliefs and identity. The possessed persons tap into spiritual power because they have the ability to access it and, in turn, to construct and to disseminate the power to devotees. Those under the influence of Siddi *Nash* can guide others to make decisions and to make sense of life. As they mediate among communities of different lineages and religions, the possessed persons unite all these separate groups into a single whole. Thus, for a people whose cosmology comprises spirits and humans, spirit possession illustrates the manner in which individuals tap the sacred power situated and expressed in ritual contexts. The possessed persons "mediate their experience" of the cosmos (Karp 1989: 98), and in making sense of the cosmos, they help others to frame reality for themselves.

As the possessed person roams the sacred grounds, sits quietly or trembles, his or her speech patterns, gestures and personality undergo change. On 28 April 2005, at the festival, the possessed *poojaris* became the spokespersons for Siddi *Nash*. In that ecstatic state, their pronouncements carried religious, moral, social and political values. They shared a common theme with the community: that the worship of Siddi *Nash* would ensure their unity. According to the *poojaris,* Siddi *Nash* exhorted all African Indians to follow in the footsteps of their forebears by becoming devotees of Siddi *Nash*. By worshipping together, they could unite as one people and forge a united front.

In their possessed state, the moaning, rolling on the ground and utterances of one of the *poojaris* elicited audible responses from the other *poojaris*. These audible responses publicly acknowledged and ratified that Siddi *Nash* had arrived and was in charge. One of the *poojaris* rolled on the ground in a distinctive spatial movement to demonstrate that Siddi *Nash* had inhabited him. The skillful movement of the priest's body enabled him to combine choreography with aesthetics and piety, and he did not dance as other mediums did. Rather, the *poojari*, filled with the explosive power of Siddi *Nash*, spiraled many times until he had entered a nearby river. Putta Siddi, the possessed *poojari,* had entered the water as the embodied deity before cooling off. According to Putta Siddi, the knowledge he gained and the combustible energy of the messages he received from Siddi *Nash* could not be contained in his body until he was cooled off in the river.

Furthermore, he said, by entering the water he was also cleansed of the dangerous and creative power of Siddi *Nash* (PC, 23 January 2006, in Yellapur). Such cooling off means the end of a cycle of possession. What he heard, saw and touched in the spirit world made him strike his hands on the ground. He claimed that the deity had made him do it to express Siddi *Nash's* anguish and disapproval at the behaviour of the worshippers. When the *poojari* exploded with the complex and condensed feelings of Siddi *Nash*, that was an example of how he had engaged his own senses and those of the audience. Each time one of them went into trance and began to speak, the others responded with the words, "Are you done?" or "You are right." As the other *poojaris* confirmed the medium's words and deeds, they helped to reinforce the words and works of Siddi *Nash* and the spirit's will for the people. According to Shiva Siddi, the words of the mediums have special powers. Through the patterns of vocal stress, change of tone, idiophonic words that evoke mental pictures, spirits appear (Lawal 1996). When the priests mentioned Siddi *Nash's* name, they released the deity's power into the atmosphere (Obeng 2003: 124).

Through specific words, spirits in the other world came into existence and the incantations released Siddi *Nash's* dynamic forces into the ritual act. The ritual context created a drama with its own aesthetics, in which call and response and the exchange of ideas and emotions took place to frame the presence and activity of the deity.

The *poojaris* sprinkled sacred water on the possessed one to affirm the condition of possession. Some of the participants at the festival regarded the mediums as powerful because they could tap, monitor and send information from and to the spirit world. The mediums' religious power translated into political authority among their people. Countless attendants at the festival went to the priests to consult, to confess and to ask for predictions about upcoming events in their lives.

While the *poojaris* prayed at Siddi *Nash*, a Muslim spirit possessed one of them and he began to call out names of God. The presence of a specific Muslim spirit manifested itself in his repeated use of the name of God, "*Allah*". African Indian multiple spirit possession phenomenon parallels the spirit possession in Ghana, other continental African countries and among diasporic Africans. The phenomenon points to the fact that the medium can serve as the mouthpiece of different spirits. Serial possession further decentres sources of spiritual power legitimation. African Indian religious specialists can and do give form and substance to their ancestors' deities and *pirs* (Sufi saints) and by doing so create a large pool of spiritual forces they draw upon to form their role. When the Islamic *pir* came into the *poojari*, the *poojari's* body language differed from what it was when he was possessed by Siddi *Nash*. Besides speaking Arabic phrases and mentioning Allah's name, he trembled but did not strike his fist on the ground. *Nash's* sacred space is broad enough to host a Muslim spirit.

This phenomenon of using words and names that come from other religions also parallels ritual practices among African Brazilians, African Cubans and African Surinamese. For instance, Archbishop Sarpong of Kumasi informed me that the Saramaca, an African Surinamese group, whose forebears arrived from parts of present-day Ghana over 300 years ago, have some religious specialists who speak only Akan (Ghanaian) language during spirit possession (personal communication, January 19, 2005, in Kumasi, Ghana).

The *poojaris* took some of us men to the site from which the Muslim *pir* came. At the site, the *poojaris* lit candles under a tree. During the lighting of the candles, one *poojari* became possessed by a spirit which drove him into the river. After spending about twenty minutes at the site of the *pir*, they led us back to Siddi *Nash's* shrine. One can further understand the use of Islamic names and the reverence for a Muslim spirit in the light of the religious history of African Indians. For instance, Fakir Putta Siddi and Jumma Siddi, some of the key practitioners at Siddi *Nash*, have names that suggest a past with some connections to Islam. Such latent antecedent identity surfaces at times during religious ritual. In ritual contexts, African Indians can make contact with aspects of their lives that remain protected and hidden from the attacks and exploitative pressures of their host society. For example, Muhammad Husein Siddi of Manchikeri informed me that his family's Brahmin Hindu landlord had never compelled his family to convert to Hinduism. Thus, Muhammad and his family continued to practice Islam, even when the family worked for Hindus. According to Muhammad, the Brahmin argued that one becomes a Hindu only by birth and so his Muslim workers could not convert to his religion. This enabled Muhammad's family to practise Islam in a Hindu environment. Since Muhammad then married a Hindu woman, their children's names reflect both backgrounds and the expression of their faith therefore can accommodate spirits from both the Hindu and the Islamic traditions. Muhammad Siddi, Fakirutta Siddi, and Jumma Siddi are but few of the African Indians with multiplex religious identity (Obeng 2003: 125).

During the next phase of the festival, the *poojaris* continued to offer fruits, vegetables, alcohol and cigarettes to the deity. They used two pointed bamboo stakes to impale the *hunjas* (roosters) and then inserted the bamboo stakes in the ground near the shrine. The abundant spread of offerings expresses their deep gratitude to Siddi *Nash* for all the blessings it has showered on them. They surrounded the shrine with fruits, vegetables and a pile of fresh and dry coconuts. They followed the vegetable offerings with a blood sacrifice. The blood sacrifice began with the impaling of two *hunjas* on bamboo stakes. These two *hunjas* have customarily come from the Siddi *Nash poojari* families over the centuries.

Since they did not behead the two *hunjas,* the sacrifice occurred without the shedding of blood. The impaling of the *hunjas* provided a transition between the fruit and vegetable sacrifice and the actual blood sacrifice, when other roosters were slaughtered. The *hunjas* also paved the way for the offering of other people's sacrifices to Siddi *Nash*. After the way had been prepared for the other people's sacrifices, they fed boiled rice to the roosters; they had even fed the two roosters before they were impaled. If a rooster refused to eat the rice, then, according to the *poojaris*, the deity had rejected the offering. Siddi *Nash* might reject an offering because of some defect or blemish on the sacrificial victim or, more importantly, some unconfessed offense on the part of the person making the offering. On this occasion, during the sacrifice of the roosters, one of the roosters refused to eat. The *poojaris*, one after the other, began to plead to *Nash* to accept the offering. In their intercessory prayer, they stressed that the person who offered the cock had the best of intentions. After about twenty minutes of intercession, when the cock still did not eat the rice, they gave it away as a present. However, before giving it away, the *poojaris* washed its legs, gave it water to drink, and brought it back to the shrine one more time to see if it would eat the rice. Eventually they had to release it, however, when it did not eat the boiled rice. After sacrificing all the roosters, they wiped the shrine of the blood and the rice grains.

The priests later fed Siddi *Nash* with boiled rice, *roti* and chicken curry by placing the food on a banana leaf in front of Siddi *Nash*. They presented roasted rooster legs to Siddi *Nash* and followed that with the provision of cigarettes, called *bidis*, to the deity. Then they offered hard liquor to Siddi *Nash* by pouring it on the shrine grounds.

After feeding Siddi *Nash*, the assembled community sat in rows to partake of a communal meal called *kutumbada oota* in Kannada. They prepared the food from the different contributions of rice, chicken, vegetables and condiments brought by the people attending the festival. The men and women sat separately with rows of children between the adults and ate the communal meal only after they had fed the deity. The men who cooked the food distributed rice and curry and served it on banana leaves. This communal meal served to feed the people physically and to strengthen them spiritually. The seating arrangement reflected other gendered public seating that is typical on buses, trains and in some religious settings in India. In parts of India, some people consider it inappropriate for men and women, who are not relatives, to socialize.

The people held an auction after the communal dinner to raise funds, during which some African Indians auctioned off bags of rice, vegetables and fruits. They acquired over 3,000 rupees that night and, after the auction, the *poojaris* and their community leaders addressed the people. Krishna Siddi, chief organizer and a social worker, and Shiva Putta Siddi, a *poojari* who co-officiated at the ritual stage of the festival, participated as the speakers. Krishna Siddi started the felicitations' phase, as he uttered the words, "*Jai* (long-live) Siddi, *Jai* Siddi *Nash*. Maharaj Siddi *Nash* (King or ruler Siddi *Nash*)." He went on to say, "Since we are now qualified as ST (Scheduled Tribe) people, it is by coming together like this that we will be able to inform ourselves about our rights as citizens of India." He said "*Navu africandinda bandiddeve, adakke navu vokkattininda irabaku*" (Kannada, meaning "We came from Africa. We are one people.") He added that, whether Hindu, Christian or Muslim, they have to unite. He pointed out that they had an identity as Africans, before the Indians began to call them Siddis in India. His emphasis on their Africanness, which predated their being labeled Siddi in India, has proven insightful. Although none of the African Indians has been to Africa, the recent emphasis on Africanness represents another way in which African Indians reject the marginalization with which the Indians have defined them over the centuries. Shiva Putta Siddi, the *poojari*, continued, "*Voggatte namma Bala*"("unity will make us strong"). He concluded by saying that "*Navu namma Hiriyavara devarannu ellipooje madutheve*" (When we worship the gods of our ancestors), we can empower one another. The festival, according to the African Indian leaders, represented also a day for the ancestors, called *hiriyavara divasa*. The other community leaders who spoke emphasized the sentiments of their African origin and argued that, though having lost aspects of their original language and culture, they can now worship African Siddi *Nash*. The cultural show, which followed right after the leaders' speeches, began with singing, recitation of poems and a drama by children. Men and women performed a drama that stressed the strengthening of community ties.

Aside from the plays, they conducted a series of drumming, dancing and singing performances, in which the male dancers wore strings of fresh and green mango leaves around their waists. They used such mango leaves also to decorate *mandaps* (canopy designed for the bride and groom to sit under) for weddings and for churches, because mango leaves ensured new life, fertility, prosperity and happiness. The cultural show continued through the night until the next morning. During the celebration they performed songs with *fugidi* and *dammam* themes such as protest against high costs of living and social oppression. The songs commented on the sociocultural conditions of the African Indians, among which they treated the themes of work and money; for instance, both men and women worked all day and yet did not make enough income to support themselves (Obeng 2003: 127).

Siddi *Nash*, therefore, provided an avenue for educating the young and old by affirming and honouring talents; it also provided an opportunity for people to relax and to enjoy themselves. The Siddi *Nash* festival represents a condensed context for annual reunion for African Indians of all ages and religions and the ritual space enables those gathered to display aspects of their identity for one another and, by doing so, to empower themselves. Thus, they assert their Africanness in India and touch on their diasporic agency and identity. Siddi *Nash* has taken on a multifaith and polyfunctional significance for the African Indians, who have employed their religious, social, commercial and cultural activities to assert their individual and collective identity. The new African Indian restructured identities transcend the former stereotypes of low status and, at the same time, challenge the view that the African Indians have lost everything that pertains to their culture, language and religion. This multipurpose event helps us understand how African Indians construct their daily life by creating beliefs and practices informed by their worldview, in which divinity does influence their lives. The rocks, the *tulasi* plant and the sacred sites form part of the religious iconography, whose meaning and significance reach deeper and are richer than mere assertion that they resemble a Hindu deity. *Tulasi* belongs to the basil family and African Indians believe that Vishnu holds it sacred. They believe that Vishnu's spirit flows through it and, for that reason, most Hindu compounds have this plant. The power of all this paraphernalia at the three sites of the shrine emanates from the people's symbolic universe, in which all the ritual objects, both visible and invisible, share in the life giving force and fecundity of human, animal and plant life. They channel such life force further in order to foster personal and social harmony among the African Indians. As a diasporic people, the African Indians have come to know themselves in a new way and to create a "rememoried" past of their own by using new and familiar icons in the foreign space of Karnataka.

Finally, since only African Indians participate in the Siddi *Nash* festival, they employ the event to articulate their variegated forms of Africanness at home in India within the "formation of diasporic identity" (Lokaisingh-Meighoo 2001: 190), which remains self-delineated while also remaining part of Karnataka state. Siddi *Nash* marks visually a public space of difference as well as sameness. In this sacred terrain, the African Indians distinguish themselves from other Indians, build community and provide personal and collective ways of worshipping and interpreting how they worship their divinity. They have marked the place in Sathunbail near the river Ashehale as their own sacred site for remembering their past and to give corporeal forms to their spiritual beings and sensibilities and to their own notions of self.

The African Indians who visit Siddi *Nash* go to experience a sense of permanence and security and receive an awareness of spiritual gifts that transform them into living altars and portable embodiments of spiritual power. These African Indians, in turn, use their newly gained power to construct new identities, make sense of life and to cope with circumstances that subvert and threaten their wellbeing.

The above discussion has tried to show how members of a diasporic African community in Karnataka, South India, deploy their annual religious festival to externalize their past and at the same time give form and substance to their religious sensibilities.

Notes

[1] cf. Genesis 28:10–22 describes a similar event, in which Jacob sleeps with his head on a rock, dreams about the deity, then calls the rock a holy place the next day.

[2] Putta Siddi is the lead *poojari* who hails from the family to whom Siddi *Nash* was revealed over 200 years ago in Yana. In the revelation, Siddi *Nash* instructed Putta Siddi's forebears to set up a shrine to cater to the needs of Siddis (PC, 28 April 2005).

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12

Consequences of International Touring among Sidis of Gujarat: A Developmental Perspective Using Techniques of Participatory Action Research (PAR)

Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy

Introduction

Sidi African-Indians of Gujarat have been actively conducting international performance tours since October 2002.[1] The tours continue to be managed from London by KAPA Productions,[2] excepting the first all-India tour in 2005 managed by the Archives and Research Centre for Ethnomusicology of the American Institute of Indian Studies,[3] with funding from the Ford Foundation in India. Tour members and affiliated scholars have created several projects to extend the benefits of touring beyond the approximately two dozen individual participants to the greater community of Sidis in Gujarat. As curator and occasional moderator of their international and domestic tour programme as well as presenter of related lectures, screenings, demonstrations, and workshops, I have given here an applied anthropological perspective on some of the social, cultural, economic, educational, and artistic consequences of international touring of this ninety-minute programme, conducted as a developmental enterprise.

This project, "Consequences of International Touring among Sidis of Gujarat", was designed as action research to put theory into practice, by uniting objectives from both the Sidi and non-Sidi sides. It attempted to follow the tenets for participatory action research (PAR), as presented at the Third World Encounter on Participatory Research in Nicaragua in 1989 (McTaggert 1989). This approach has significant similarities to the philosophy behind the Organization Workshop of Clodomir Santos de Morais (Carmen and Sobrado 2000).

Many of the 16 tenets for Participatory Action Research have been addressed in this presentation, the first of which is:

1) PAR is an approach to improving social practice by changing it.

During our first discussions at the Rajpipla conference in 2000,[4] one of the objectives expressed by Sidis connected to their central shrine was to tour outside India, in order to:

a) enjoy and share with international audiences the sacred heritage received from their ancestral Sidi saints through presentations of their traditional music and dance; and
b) benefit economically from their performances in the tradition of wandering *faqirs*, as they had been doing for centuries in India.

They were very clear about these objectives and didn't seem to be worried when I voiced concerns about the things that might go wrong in such an ambitious undertaking: the divisive effect it might have on the community because of jealousy, the dangers of commodification and commercialization of their traditional sacred arts, and other pitfalls of foreign tours. So, Nazir Jairazbhoy and I agreed to collaborate with the Sidis to survey the State to identify the best Sidi musicians, singers, and dancers for the tour, and locate musical instruments, arranging for instrument repair when needed. Dr. Helene Basu helped translate our documentation survey sheets into Gujarati, and a team was formed to conduct the survey during our absence. We also deposited funds in the Rajpipla royal family's office towards disbursement for conducting the survey, and for instrument repair when the team found the need.

By the following year, I had arrived at two applied research objectives for the tour, which I tried to communicate to each Sidi settlement when we subsequently followed up the initial survey:

a) to ensure that audiences not only enjoyed but also understood the Sidis on many different levels using their sacred performance practices as a vehicle for understanding; and
b) to generate benefits, both economic and non-economic that devolved to the Sidis, both individually and as a community.

The first objective was quite a new concept to the Sidi performers. When we watched them for the first time on stage, they had approved of being billed as "Zulu folk dancers from Africa" even in their native Gujarat. When we questioned them, it was clear that it wasn't so important to them how they were understood – they just wanted to be enjoyed, which they saw as their sacred calling. But I was concerned with the image the Sidis were giving themselves, and also with the consequences for non-Sidi audiences who came to their programmes. In a world deeply troubled by misconceptions about Muslims, it was important to me that I present the Sidi as exemplars of pluralism within Islam, and even within Sufism, holding a legitimate place within those worlds historically and culturally. Also, in a world where the African diaspora to the East was little known, I wanted to give audiences a living example of the unique qualities of one of India's little-known African communities, especially of their use of music and dance in Sufi devotionalism, and to link them musically and spiritually to the larger African diasporas. My goal was to prepare them for presentation at the World Festival of Sacred Music in Los Angeles, which actually transpired in Fall 2005, at the end of the third year of touring, in which by all accounts they were one of the most notable groups in the festival.

2) PAR is contingent on authentic participation, and

3) is collaborative.

These objectives were manifested in the 90-minute concert programme that I curated with the authentic participation of the group, and with which we coordinated detailed programme notes, pre-concert lectures and workshops, the book *Sidis and Scholars*, publications of *Sidi Sufis* (the "Sidi CD"), the video *From Africa to India,* the DVD *The Sidi Malunga Project* (screened during the TADIA conference), and screenings within and outside India including three film festivals to date.[5] Their reception can be gauged from numerous press reviews, including *The New York Times* and others, and carefully monitored newspaper and magazine articles [6] in such publications as *ROOTS, Global Rhythm, Jetways, Time Out Mumbai, Times of India,* and *Indian Express*.

In recognition of the project's achievements, the Southern California Applied Anthropology Network[7] presented Sidi Goma with their annual cash award and citation at their performance for the World Festival of Sacred Music in Los Angeles in 2005.

The second objective was much more difficult to measure as it involved qualitative assessments: seeing that the Sidis themselves benefited in intangible ways, aside from economically, which itself could be a double-edged sword.

But how does one evaluate the qualitative effects of international touring on the lives of the individual participants and the Sidi community at large?

One way to answer these questions was to ask the participants themselves, which lead us to consider these related tenets of PAR:

4) **PAR establishes self-critical communities;**
5) **involves people in theorizing about their practices;**
6) **is a systematic learning process** (elaborated as point number 9 below) **and;**
7) **requires that people put their practices, ideas and assumptions to the test by gathering evidence.**

From discussions and conversations it seemed that Sidis in the touring group were happy about the resultant increase they had noticed in their visibility in print and media, and the attention and respect they perceived coming to them from touring, both at home and abroad. They did not notice any jealousy directed toward them by other groups. They were surprised to hear the disparaging comment about Sidi Goma performance in one film screened during the TADIA conference, and discounted it, and its source, whom they said was a Sidi who was simply uninterested in Sidi traditions, while giving him full rights to his own way of thinking. Indeed, they sincerely believed they were embodying the sacred gifts received from their Sidi Sufi saints as part of their unique spiritual heritage, whether on stage or in the shrine, in costume or out of costume. They maintained that their intentions, their experience, and their traditions were not altered in any significant way when performing before an audience. "It is the same for us whether we are on stage or in the *dargah*, we are serving Gori Shah Pir" (Iqbal Kamar Sidi, in group discussion, NYC 2004). And as for authenticity, an important issue in representation today, they resisted any suggestion or alteration that they perceived as not part of their *tariqa* ("path"). They sincerely believed that their stage performances were within their *tariqa* and were true and authentic.

One non-Sidi believer, a scholar who had participated for several decades in the *urs*, recently lamented to me that "The *urs* has now become a *mela*, where huge and anonymous crowds gather." This growth was due to a large number of factors, only one of which might possibly be related to international touring, but more so because the shrine was included in various local pilgrimage tours. Religious tourism, or pilgrimage, accounted for the lion's share of domestic tourism within India. Most people in the subcontinent have strong religious beliefs in the supernatural powers of sacred sites and their rituals, for which they travel over long distances to pray for blessings or to have a curse removed from their lives. At these sites, vendors and entertainers gather to service the pilgrims, although the primary purpose of attendance is for religious reasons, not for entertainment. The growth of pilgrimage to the central shrine calls to mind the overwhelming physical and socio-economic situation in Khajurao[8] due to tourism, and begs us to participate in finding ways to minimize the ill-effects of such a small and fragile site developing into a tourist attraction, whether cultural or religious tourism. It behoves us to find ways to maximize the benefits to accrue to the Sidis, in this village and others.[9] This would be an ideal topic for discussion after the TADIA International Conference.

8) PAR involves keeping records.

The participants keep records of their own performances and travel experiences, now through the lens of their own still and video cameras, and have recently edited a four-hour video piece on their 3rd year of touring (2004-2005). Their 4th year of tours, 2006, included domestically Andaman and Nicobar Islands simultaneously with Surajkund Mela in Rajasthan, followed by Goa.[10] The leaders maintain copies of our footage (often shot by a Sidi cameraman) and the group has visited the ARCE in New Delhi (Gurgaon)[11] where the entire corpus of our footage is deposited and catalogued. In their village, the leaders keep a cupboard for Sidi-related publications, in hopes of one day establishing their own cultural resource centre for Sidis and others may access their history. These collections enable them to review their progress and the consequences of touring. I shall now discuss some of these consequences.

Artistic Consequences and Developments: With continuous touring, the group felt that it was achieving new levels of mastery, and yet I believed that performers had not lost their spontaneity and sincerity. From 2002, the programme was curated to last 90 minutes, with detailed programme notes, greatly expanding their previous 20 minute costumed performance. The content was changed to begin with the *azan,* which always worked well to establish their Muslim identity in the places they had toured so far outside India, but which they did not consider necessary in their programmes in India.

A flower petal offering (*Mai Sab phul*) was occasionally included at the beginning of the second half.[12]

Repertoire: For the first year of tours, we constructed the entire first half of the programme, using the actual shrine materials consisting of *azan* "call to prayer", *baithi dhamal* "seated dhamal" long ritual hymn, *khari dhamal* sung seated to emphasize the music, with dancers gradually rising in solos, pairs and trios.

The "Indian Ocean" set[13] was added in the second year to the first half of the programme to replace a group rendition of Sidi-composed *qawwalis*, and to lengthen the first half of the programme using uniquely Sidi materials. We chose these songs because they referred to places and subjects in the Indian Ocean, marking an important stage in Sidi history, and were set to the *tambol* metre, a six-beat alternation of three groups of two beats and two groups of three beats, hemiola-like patterns used in East African trance sessions as well as in trance dancing in India.[14]

Some of the songs were discovered by perusing with the group members through the 125 *jikrs* recalled by Rumanaben Sidi, with the assistance of her over 100-year old mother. Rumanaben began writing down the 125 *jikrs* in Gujarati script during the *malunga* camp and completed them during the ensuing year. These texts, and the audio recording made of her singing them, are now being studied by linguist, Abdul Aziz Lodhi, while I am analyzing and researching their melodies.

Another addition to the repertoire from the first tour was solo and ensemble work using the *malunga* musical bow, the Sidi religious mendicant's instrument brought originally from Africa. The *malunga* was much appreciated in the most European recent tour, when it was used as a transition from the first half to the second half of the programme, described in the *Manchester Guardian* review (Lusk 2007).

> *"The 12-piece Sufi group from Gujarat begin their ritualistic performance with a sedate a cappella azan (Muslim call to prayer), followed by hypnotic percussive workouts, with most of them sitting down as they play. Smouldering incense sends plumes of smoke billowing into the air. Rousing chants charge the atmosphere, and as tempos build and the cross-rhythms start to kick, one by one the drummers rise with ecstatic cries and gestures. Shoulders swivel and heads roll as they circle the stage in their long white kurta robes with small trance-like moves."*

"They disappear almost unnoticed, leaving a sole musician twanging on the *malunga*, a one-stringed musical bow that could almost be a Brazilian *berimbau*, except that this is a group from India."

Costumes: People often asked about the costumes used in the second half of the programme, when the dancers changed from the sober Islamic clothing appropriate to Sidi shrines to African-inspired colourful skirts and headdresses made of peacock feathers, with face and bodies painted, as never done in shrines. This costume was created in 1988 by Laique Hussein, theatre director and graduate of NSD, for his play *Hasr* on nuclear politics in which he trained Sidis to represent the demonic element. The costume has similarities to the Jambur Sidis' peacock imitation costumes,[15] and the leaf skirts worn by other tribals, but with added East African influences: *including* a textile skirt with shoulder straps. The costume was often imitated and varied by other Sidi groups, which used to have contests in Ratanpur during the formative years of the first All-India Sidi Federation led by *the late* Rafique Makwa in the early 90s. The costume was re-designed in the third year of touring by students at the National Institute of Fashion Technology, Ahmedabad, who were engaged by Reliance Industries for their festival, "Colourful Gujarat", to promote tourism and foreign investment as part of the Gujarat Government's scheme. The designers e-mailed me for advice on what costumes would be most "authentic". At that time the group was using a brocade-type of textile for the dress, and was about to upgrade it to an even more regal brocade with golden threads, perhaps to recall their association with the royal courts in the past. Realizing that my earlier suggestion to return to wearing leaves or other natural forest products did not fit their self-image, nor would it have enhanced their dance movements as did the long, swaying feathers, I suggested to the Fashion Institute that they try using local Gujarati textile techniques like *bandhani*, and agates and cowrie shells that the Sidis revere as symbol of the Indian Ocean journey by their Black saints and ancestors from Africa. For the textile, the NIFT designers selected a Japanese tie-dye technique, *shibori* (form-resist dyeing, similar to Gujarati *bandhani* and related East African techniques) in white and deep blue resembling natural indigo colour, in a large eye-catching design suggestive of ocean waves. Cowrie shells were also added to the peacock-feather crowns, belts, and anklets at this stage. The group members felt that these costumes were the best they have had, and were getting them reproduced with new textiles since the original ones had faded in the wash.

The second half of the concert, costumed for coconut-cracking, was vividly described as follows by John Lusk (2007):

> *"Then they slink back onstage daubed with masks of paint, in peacock feather skirts and headdresses that quiver with every step. Now their dances are wilder and far more expressive, as they playfully mimic animals and birds. When the drumming and singing reach a crescendo, a coconut goes spinning into the air and a dancer leaps forward as it falls, bashing it open on his forehead to send a shower of milk over the stage. By the time they leave a few minutes later, the stage is a slippery but fragrant mess, littered with shattered husks and rose petals."*

Socio-Cultural Consequences:

Within India, their invitations have been increasing, especially at the local and national levels just as other Sidi groups have evidently also had an increase in invitations. Their previous District Collector (similar to a county supervisor), anthropologist Dr. Rajiv Topno, took a keen interest in the group, visited their village, and arranged for the village school to receive improvements. He even invited a proposal from the group for a Sidi Cultural Centre in the village, which we wrote in English in collaboration with the group. But alas, he was transferred to Baroda. The group has not yet met their new District Collector, Dr. Murali Krishna, and we are urging them to invite him to the village for a performance as they first did for Dr. Topno. But rather than relying on District Collectors, who change, we are talking of proposing the multi-purpose centre to a private agency for support. This effort has not yet advanced appreciably, as far as we know. Other more urgent matters have taken precedence in the village, such as the sheltering of victims of the South Gujarat floods in 2006, and the distribution of flood relief to the victims.

For the first time the group has had access to the world by invitation, and has been socialized through introductions beyond their traditional circles, forming new relationships in India and abroad. The group maintains a high degree of social harmony, partly by accepting members within interrelated kinship groups. It functions loosely like a Sufi brotherhood led by two brothers[16] who are hereditary ritual music leaders for the central shrine of the Sidi community where their founding saint is buried. The brothers are assisted by one or more elder members who function as examples and guides for the younger members. Sometimes Sidis from other places in Gujarat and Maharashtra (Mumbai) express frustration to us, because they are not included in the international tours. They say that we have not helped all Sidi groups equally. But the group has tried to prevent these feelings of antagonism and jealousy by welcoming and training new members, so that now they have members to fill at least two fully functioning ensembles, enabling them to accept simultaneous invitations. During the first year of international touring (Feb. 2003), in an attempt to counteract the feelings of exclusion, we also opened the project to other students from throughout Gujarat, and tried to forge new relationships with other Sidis. The group opened their leadership to include other mentors, by holding a *malunga* musical bow "Revival Camp".[17] Two senior *malunga* masters that we *had* identified through the survey were invited from Saurashtra (Yunus Hajibhai Sidi of Surendranagar) and North Gujarat (Sultan Ramjubhai Sidi of Vijapur*)*, to join the three *malunga* masters connected to the central shrine (Murjan Ismail Sidi and Saalam Jaffar Sidi of Rajpipla and Malang Sidi of Ratanpur), and 16 novices were recruited from throughout the state to participate in the *malunga* musical bow camp, including three students from the central shrine.[18]

Since the *malunga* is usually a gender-specific instrument for men, the camp was entirely male – except the four Sidi women we invited as organizers and leaders.[19] One of them, Rumanaben Chhotubhai Myava of Ahmedabad, crossed the gender barrier and learned to play the *malunga*, thereby changing the rules. She was a delegate to the TADIA conference, as were the other four organizers, Fareeda Al-Mumbrik of Bhavnagar, vice-president of TADIA, Sairaben Sidi of Surendranagar and Hamidaben Al-Mumbrik of Jamnagar. The international and local tours also do not include women – still. But we are discussing ways to begin introducing women to the programmes, and are considering the possibility of another Camp event that might include girls and women as well as boys and men. Their participation in TADIA conference is a direct outcome of their leadership in the Sidi *malunga* camp.

Economic Consequences

It is important to remember that the core members are all living in the precincts of the central shrine, and their livelihood depends almost exclusively on their work for the shrine: growing and selling flowers for offerings, making lemonade and *lassi* for the pilgrims, as well as performing with other community members during the weekly observances, the annual *urs*, and whenever so requested. The leader retains careful records of all accounts related to payments to the group when they perform outside the shrine, which are shared equally among the members, and also shared with the village and shrine. The economic benefits have been relatively modest due to the small-scale approach of the London-based international manager of the group. She has formed her own agency in order to keep Sidi Goma on tour, and has sacrificed a great deal for the comfort, well-being, and artistic and cultural integrity of the group. Still, in the last three years, individual members who have no other employment or might only receive minimal wages for basic labour, have been able to improve their joint family residences with new walls and roofs, purchase cell phones, help family marriages including a few of their own, and pay off the loans on their motorbikes. One has bought an autorickshaw that he drives, and two have combined assets to take out a loan on a car to transport the group. For the coming 4th year, there are plans for an STD booth in the village, with fax, which will make tour planning more convenient. We trained one member who became our research assistant, cameraman, and office assistant, and he now receives extra remuneration for helping the international manager to prepare for tours. He can now afford for his mother to stop working outside the home as a housekeeper for a Bohra family. Most of the group opened bank accounts for the first time in the third year when the Ford Foundation made payments by cheque – a new twist on faqirism, which traditionally mandates that all earnings for the day must be consumed or given away to the shrine after sunset. Several members have registered a charitable trust for Sidi education which is not yet fully functioning, but the original plan was to have Sidi children sent to boarding school in Gandhinagar, the state capital, for secondary education, a plan that we fear may have undesirable social consequences. Thus the 21st century *faqirs* have a bank loan and monthly car payments.

9) PAR is a systematic learning process.

Educational Consequences: Touring and travel in themselves can be educational. Whenever I travel with them, I emphasize this aspect. We have English classes and geography lessons, visit relevant museums and meet experts, such as the Deccani linguists in Hyderabad. They identified one of their *baithi damal* zikr texts as four centuries old, and another as two centuries old, but more work needs to be done on these and other texts, including the 125 zikrs collected by Rumanaben.[20] We all learnt from the Brahmins in Madras and Bangalore that their mendicancy was parallel to *uncavritti.* We also learnt through an onstage encounter in Los Angeles that Afro-Brazilian *capoeira* and ensemble had close and demonstrable links to the Sidi Goma.[21] We distributed maps and over two hundred inflatable globes to Sidi children throughout Gujarat and in Mumbai to help them "find themselves in the world", locate Africa from where their ancestors came, and track the routes where their kinsmen were traveling – including our home in California and Professor Henry Drewal's in Wisconsin. We also distributed astral globes of the constellations to recall the night sky by which the Sidis used to navigate and sail. One of the members now speaks English onstage after performances to answer questions from the audience and interacts; he continues to improve his English and collaborates in writing the introductory announcements in English, and hopefully, they will be self-presenting soon.

Other PAR tenets we have put into practice include the following: PAR begins with small groups; establishes self-critical communities who theorize about their practices and learn to understand relationship between circumstance, action, and consequence in their lives; is political because people are involved in making changes that affect others; and requires participants to give reasoned justification of their social and educational work to others.

The Sidi Goma members are not only learning their history and current positioning in the world, but are actually living and creating their own history and redefining themselves. They are becoming aware of the varieties of African diasporas through first hand experience, meeting Africans worldwide. Their interactions were especially notable with East Africans in the Zanzibar International Film Festival the first year; with African and African-Americans at the Dance Africa Festival in Chicago the second year; and with Afro-Brazilian-American *capoeira* artists the third year. All these encounters involved dance, music, and social and spiritual interchange and interaction. The capoeira *berimbao* encounter beautifully showed how a musical instrument, with its associated percussion ensemble and songs, sacred beliefs and practices, left Africa in opposite directions, and has been retained in India and Brazil after many centuries, among similar types of spiritual brotherhoods maintained by descendents of enslaved Africans.

We have hopes to link with Nubian lyre players in order to revive the Sidi *nangaas* lyre from the Sudan and re-connect the group to their Nubian roots. The group wants to start its own website to help them explain themselves better, and we've been looking with them at *capoeira* websites for ideas. We hope to see them develop cultural tourism about Sidis and their history within their regions, and through their own agency, and gradually they are being introduced to other sites important to Sidi history, such as the memorial to the Sidi martyrs we visited in Hyderabad in 2005. We are working on involving them in the Janjira Fort site and look forward to exploring these and other strategies with them in the future, and to discover more ways in which developmental perspectives and methods can be shared among Sidis and others throughout India and beyond for their growth, and to benefit a world that definitely needs a more Sufi approach – more universal brotherhood and sisterhood, more interlinking across horizons especially to Muslim communities, and more sacred fun.

Notes

[1] See, discussion of Sidi international touring in Catlin-Jairazbhoy. 2004.

[2] Tours were managed by Katerina Pavlakis, kapa@kapa-productions.com

[3] The tour was organized as part of the "Musical Diasporas" festival by ARCE Director, Dr. Shubha Chaudhury, Co-editor of the volume of Essays on *The Musical Diaspora Tours.*

[4] *Sidis at the Millennium Conference* of 400 Sidis and about 25 Indian and foreign scholars, were most generously hosted by the ex-Maharaja and Maharani of Rajpipla, Raghubir Singh Gohil and Rukmini Singh Gohil, at their resort hotel in Rajpipla, Narmada District, Gujarat, in January 2000. Papers presented at this conference, with additional authors, resulted in the publication of *Sidis and Scholars: Essays on African Indians* (Catlin-Jairazbhoy and Alpers 2004).

[5] All these Sidi titles are cited on the Webpage, *More about Sidis* on the website for Apsara Media: http://www.apsara-media.com

[6] I always try to insist on seeing press reviews before they go to print to prevent erroneous and potentially harmful misrepresentations. Many journalists cooperated with me by allowing me, and whenever possible, members of the troupe, to comment on their pieces before publication.

[7] SCAAN is a local practitioner organization of the National Association of Practising Anthropologists, a section of the American Anthropological Association.

[8] For a discussion of the Khajurao phenomenon, see Catlin-Jairazbhoy 2004: 201 and Niloufer Ichaporia 1983. Khajurao, however, is not so much a pilgrimage site as it is a site for heritage religious architecture.

[9] The diverse roles that applied anthropologists can play in the tourism sphere have been detailed in Wallace (2005).

[10] For a complete history of the Sidi Goma tours, see, "Sidis on Tour" http://www.kapa-productions.org

[11] The Archives and Research Centre for Ethnomusicology (ARCE) of the American Institute of Indian Studies (AIIS), the repository for audio-visual materials relating to music and related aspects of performance, mentioned earlier.

[12] Said to have been originated by Pirubhai Sidi of Rajpipla, leader of the group during the time of *Hasr* in the late 1980s (Interview with Abdul Hamid Sidi, December 12, 2005).

[13] These were sometimes erroneously called Swahili Songs in programme notes because of the relative familiarity of Swahili, but they are actually in other unidentified Bantu languages.

[14] For example, the rhythm is used in Tamil *kava di cintu.*

[15] As shown in a photograph in the 1961 Census of India Report volume on Siddis (Trivedi 1961) and as seen in the Jambur Sidi Programme in 2002 (Catlin-Jairazbhoy 2004).

[16] Sons of the late Kamar Badshah, *nangasi* (leader of ceremonial music at the central shrine).

[17] Generously hosted by Dhanraj Malik and Zahida Malik at their Desert Coursers Nature Resort in Zainabad, Gujarat.

[18] Abdul Hamid Yakubbhai Sidi, Fida Hussein Yakub, and Nazir Ghulamhussein were all from the international touring group of the central shrine; Salim Ghulamhussein Makwa of Bharuch joined the international group after the camp; Saurashtrans included Sidi Wahid Ismail Makwa of Bhavnagar, Sidi Imran Razzak of Rajkot, Sidi Aslam Allarakha of Junagadh, Sidi Sadik Ghulam Rassul of Jamnagar, Nawaz Allarakha of Diu, Mohsen Sidi of Surendranagar, and Sidi Rafiq Bacchubhai of Jambur; Ahmedabad Sidis included Zahir Noormohamad Sidi, Sidi Arif Chhotubhai, and Farook Umar Sidi.

[19] Rumanaben Bilalbhai Sidi of Ahmedabad, Hamidaben Hajiani Sidi of Jambur, Faridaben Al-Mumbrik of Bhavnagar, and Sairaben Saidubhai Sidi of Surendra were the women co-administrators of the *malunga* camp.

[20] Linguist, Abdulaziz Lodhi, of Uppsala University is currently working on the 125 *jikrs* collected by Rumanaben, which she has subsequently developed further to a total of about 150 texts.

[21] Video footage of Mestre Amen's *Capoeira* encounter with Sidi Goma, highlighting *berimbao / malunga* comparisions, is soon to be edited at Apsara Media.

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13

Arts and Agency: Patchwork Quilts and Quilting Cooperative of Siddis from Northern Karnataka, India

Henry John Drewal

Introduction – History and Culture

There are many African communities with rich artistic traditions scattered across this planet. Westerners may be familiar with the history and artistry of African peoples and their descendants in the Americas, but we know little or nothing about Africans in other parts of the world, especially those in India, known as Siddis.

Africans, probably from the Horn of Africa (Nubia, Ethiopia, and Somalia), traveled to South Asia (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka) early in the first millennium A.D. as merchants and sailors. Later (circa twelfth century), they went as professional soldiers, sailors, and administrators for the Mughals and Arabs. These early immigrants settled in northwestern, northern and central India (the Deccan) and were mostly Muslim. Some rose through the ranks to become rulers, prime ministers, admirals, generals, and religious leaders.

Europeans - first the Portuguese followed by the Dutch, British, French, and Americans – arrived in the Indian Ocean and South Asia in the late 15th century. Beginning in the 16th century, they enslaved Africans and carried them to different destinations, including India. Those brought by the Portuguese to Goa on the western coast of India gradually escaped bondage and moved southward into the remote and generally inaccessible western Ghat mountains of Northern Karnataka in order to create free, independent African diaspora communities, much like the *quilombos* of Brazil, *palenques* of Colombia, the *cimarrones* of Panama and Mexico, or the *Maroons* of Jamaica. Others left the service of Muslim and Hindu rulers and migrated into the area from various directions at different times.

Today, the Siddis, descendants of these Africans, live scattered in the thick forests and high plains South of Goa and number about 15-20,000. Those who fled Portuguese Goa were generally Catholics. Most spoke a dialect called Siddi-Konkani, but the younger generation now also speaks Kannada or English or Hindi. Their African origins were probably in the region of southern and eastern Africa - they might have come from a wide variety of cultural groups both near and far from the East African coast. Another segment of the population, which might have come from Hyderabad or the Deccan, was Muslim and spoke Urdu or other local Indian languages. A small percentage of Karnataka Siddis are Hindus.

While they adopted, adapted, and integrated many cultural aspects of the Indian peoples with whom they lived for generations, Siddis have also retained and transformed certain cultural and artistic traditions from Africa. The performing arts are the strongest, especially certain music (drumming and song) and dance traditions such as *damam*. In the visual arts, one tradition stands out – the art of patchwork quilts known as *kawandi*.

Siddi *kawandi* / Quilts

Walking through a Siddi village one sees a colourful array of quilts draped over fences, hung on lines or spread on low roofs to be aired and dried in the sun. Some are bright and newly sewn. Others show the effects of regular use. These wonderful textiles are the traditional beds and covers of the people, made with love by women, especially the elderly, for their progeny – children and grandchildren. This textile tradition is not unique to the Siddis – other neighboring cultural groups create similar work. Yet, Siddi quilts have a distinctive style that sets them apart from those of other groups. It is to these creations that we now turn, a textile tradition that, until recently, was known only in northern Karnataka.

The Quilters

Women, especially older women who can no longer work in the fields, are the most numerous quilters, but younger women who have learned the skills from their mothers or female relatives, may also become well-known quilters. Those with the best reputations are occasionally commissioned to make quilts for relatives, friends and neighbours, sometimes in exchange for goods or cash.

The Creative Process

The women gather pieces of old and worn-out clothing from family members and friends and bundle them together. When they have enough to make a quilt, they go to the market to purchase several items: a cotton *sari* (traditional dress of Indian women consisting of a piece of fabric usually five to six metres long that is draped around the body); thick, white cotton thread and needles; and additional bundles of used clothing or cloth remnants if needed.

At home, they begin the work sitting on a shaded verandah, or inside the house near a window or doorway with enough light. Sometimes several women (friends or relatives) will work together to create a quilt. At other times they may work alone whenever they have a free moment during their long labour-filled days. Whether working alone or in groups, they sometimes sing, choosing from a large repertoire that has been passed down for many generations. If they want to create a large quilt, they may sew two *saris* together to make a wider piece that becomes the backing for the patchwork facing of the quilt. Then they begin to select pieces of cloth for the patchwork design, sometimes cutting or tearing them to different sizes, sometimes using them unchanged. They start at one of the corners of the *sari* and begin to work their way around, usually in a counterclockwise direction, fixing the patches with a running back stitch that eventually covers the entire quilt, both patchwork top and *sari* bottom.

Some women create running backstitches that are spaced close together (1/2 inch apart) and small, others spread them farther apart. The stitches exhibit a distinctive rhythm that is part of the "visual signature" of the artist along with the colours, sizes, shapes, and designs/arrangements of the cloth patches. Some women incorporate parts of garments uncut, like the neckline of a child's blouse, or an old shirt with some of its buttons still attached. Others cut small square or rectangular patches of brightly coloured cloth (*tikeli*) to place on top of other larger patches in contrasting colours. One woman favours a kind of step pattern of small squares that descends diagonally across a field of large multi-coloured rectangles. Others decorate their corners with a series of parallel chevrons that end in small detached squares, a design said to be favoured by some Muslim Siddi women.

Depending on the need, a quilter may choose to create a thicker or thinner quilt. To create a thicker one, she does extensive overlapping of her patches as she works inward toward the centre of the quilt, or slight overlapping to keep it thin. As she works, she will take care to smooth down each piece so that it lays flat on the *sari* backing and the other patches already attached by the running back stitch. Sometimes she will fold under the uneven or ragged edge of a patch, but at other times, she may choose to leave it rough-edged. When she is nearing the centre of the quilt and the end of her creation, she may include a "design flourish". Sometimes a Catholic Siddi woman will sew one or more crosses. A Muslim quilter may incorporate a crescent or the outline of a mosque or minarets. Others will vary or intensify the straight-lined running stitch with a cluster of stitched patterns in the central patch. Occasionally, a specially selected cloth from a favoured discarded garment, or highly decorative *sari* with sequins, will be used in the centre. After working from the outer edges to the centre (the reverse of most western quilters, and regarded as a more difficult, challenging way of working), some quilters finish the edges with a row of stitches that seals the backing to the patchwork.

Finishing a quilt requires one seemingly mandatory decoration - sewing at each corner of the quilt one or more square patches folded twice to form a multi-layered triangle called *phula* or "flower". These serve no specific function, yet they are essential to a properly finished or "dressed" Siddi quilt and are a distinctive style element. As one Siddi quilter explained to me, "They must be there, if not, the quilt would be naked!"

Aesthetics

Siddi quilts are highly individualistic and unique, yet quilters share many clear and precise opinions about quality and beauty, and the need to "finish properly" a quilt with *phulas*/flowers at the corners. The size and shape of the quilts and their patches vary significantly from quilter to quilter. Sizes generally fall into several categories and are measured by a "hand" – the length between the elbow and fingertips of the quilter, which can thus vary. The size categories are: large/family (6x6 hands); double (5x6 hands); single (3x5 hands); and baby/crib (2x3 hands). Some quilts are quite regular and orderly, others are more varied, dynamic, and "unruly" in terms of colours, patterns, and scale. Some have no or few small patches scattered over the surface, others are bejeweled with lots of small, colourful patches (*tikeli*), and these quilts elicit much praise for their pains-taking artistry. Quilters unanimously admire work with straight lines of small, regular, closely-spaced and carefully rendered running back stitches, and the rhythms created by the patterns of stitches and patches. In terms of colour, Siddis prefer bright and light colours and patterns, which makes sense given their interior domestic contexts – dark sleeping rooms in homes with small, shuttered windows, only recently supplied with electricity. They especially prize baby quilts filled with brightly coloured *tikeli* in a variety of shapes and sizes that will stimulate and entertain the child wrapped in it.

When not in use or folded in piles in a room, *kawandi* are displayed outside, hanging from roofs, clotheslines, or fences in order to air out and dry in the sun. Their bright colours and vibrant patterns contrast sharply with the brownish red earth and tiled roofs. The beauty and artistry of the finest quilts sometimes prompts friends and neighbours to commission a quilt from a master quilter, but the vast majority are made by and for a family member.

Uses

Quilts are traditionally made for family members as sleeping mattresses or covers to keep them warm during the cool, damp monsoon nights (May-September). Small, crib-sized ones are often highly decorated with bright colours and lots of small patches. These fill wooden cribs suspended from the rafters of Siddi homes. Larger ones come in sizes to accommodate one, two or more family members. Ones for three or more persons are seen as auspicious for they imply progeny - a prosperous, growing family with children. Old or tattered quilts may be repaired with additional patches both in front and back, but when they are no longer useful for sleeping, they serve other purposes – some may be re-cycled into newly stitched quilts, others may be used for cleaning, as a door mat, or a verandah shade until they fall apart and are thrown away.

A Siddi quilt/*kawandi* is the visual history of a family and its fashions. A quilt documents the well-worn; discarded clothes of family members over the previous years. Mixing together vibrant array of patterns, colours and textures from all kinds of fabrics, this patchwork summarizes the fortunes and the styles of family members as they embody the artistic sensibilities of their makers – the women of Siddi communities.

History of the Siddi Women's Quilting Cooperative Project

In February 2004, while documenting Siddi expressive culture (performing and visual arts) and living with a Siddi family in Northern Karnataka, I noticed the beautiful quilt I was given to sleep on. Then, as I visited Siddi communities, I began to see them hanging out in the sun to dry, and women sitting on shaded porches beside bundles of old clothes, sewing them into marvelous creations. I learned that my Siddi "grandmother" was a well-known quilter and I asked her to make one for me. She contacted two close friends and together the three of them gathered the materials and began to create a large "family" quilt which I documented with video and photos.

From this humble beginning, I began to wonder if these family quilts could become an income-producing activity, especially for older women or those who stayed at home to raise a family. At Mainalli, I spoke with The Sisters of Mercy of the Holy Cross, a social service ministry devoted to social, educational, economic and health empowerment. This Catholic order was founded in Switzerland in the 19th century and has been very active throughout India. They have worked with Siddis and other marginalized groups in Karnataka for more than ten years and in other parts of India as well. With the invaluable help of these Indian Sisters, several Siddi women leaders in three communities (Mainalli, Kendalgiri and Gunjavati), as well as assistance from another Catholic service organization, Loyola Vikras Kendra (founded by the Jesuits and inspired by an Indian adaptation of Liberation Theology), we began to discuss the establishment of a quilting cooperative. The Sisters greeted this suggestion with enthusiasm. They had already helped found a women's cooperative in Mainalli to deal with micro-credit, health, and social issues. This work greatly facilitated our own efforts to establish the Siddi Women's Quilting Cooperative (SWQC) which was accomplished in 2004.

I commissioned a quilt by three women in Mainalli (one was from the family with whom I lived) and purchased two others. I brought these to the Triennial Symposium on African and African Diaspora Arts held at Harvard University (April 1-3, 2004) and presented this Afro-Indian art tradition on a panel entitled "Indian Ocean World: Arts, Cultures, and Identities" that I co-chaired with Allen Roberts of UCLA. Pashington Obeng was one of the presenters. The quilts created lots of excitement and several people even placed orders for them! So the Siddi quilt project was launched. Between March and my return to India in August, I communicated with the Sisters in Mainalli via e-mail. They instructed several women to begin making quilts as they would for their families, but for sale. While these developments were going on, I met twice with Pashington Obeng in the US. Together we planned the next steps in the project which he would undertake when he returned to Mainalli in June. When I came at the beginning of August, I collected 11 quilts that had been made between April-June. Another 13 were also made.

An initial grant, from (Pashington Obeng and myself) paid for the first group of twenty-four large quilts that were made in the village of Mainalli. As agreed by the women of the SWQC, in August 2004 I collected and shipped these quilts to the United States with the intention of organizing exhibitions and sales of the quilts as art, offered at American art market prices. The project was soon extended to two other Siddi communities (majority Muslim) - Kendalgiri and Gunjavati - and an additional grant paid for baby (crib-sized) quilts. These crib-sized quilts were completed in January 2005 and sent to me in the US.

All profits from sales (after expenses such as dry cleaning, shipping, publicity and preparations for exhibitions) have been, and continue to be, sent periodically to the Siddi Women's Quilting Cooperative and used for projects determined by Cooperative members at their regular meetings. At present, these projects include the following: 1) Farming (seeds, fertilizer, bullocks, hoes, etc.); 2) Health (treatment, medicines, emergency operations, etc.); 3) Education (school fees, uniforms, books and supplies, etc.); and 4) Interest-free loans (for individual needs, projects) that are paid back to the Cooperative's account.

History of Exhibition / Sales, 2005-07

With the help and encouragement of a former student and art teacher, Carol Parker, I organized and curated the first exhibition/sale of the Siddi quilts at St. Mary's College in San Antonio, Texas during February 1-25, 2005 entitled, *Stitching History: Patchwork Quilts by Africans in India*. I gave a talk about the project. Due to the interest and enthusiasm of the audience, we sold several quilts. The next exhibit took place at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Held in the Gallery of Design from August 26-September 25, 2005, the exhibit was a great success. We published a small brochure on the history and aesthetics of Siddi quilts and objectives of the Siddi Women's Quilting Cooperative. We sold many of the quilts, primarily the baby quilts. The next exhibit/sale of quilts took place during the TADIA conference in Goa, January 10-14, 2006 where several international participants purchased quilts for themselves and friends. Two other exhibits/sales took place at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, one (April 2006) was a "quilt-turning" – an American textile tradition of stacking up quilts and allowing potential buyers to go through and select and bargain for ones they wanted to buy. The latest exhibit/sale took place at the 30th Annual South Asia Conference, October 19-22, 2006 in conjunction with a panel I organized on the Siddis of India with papers by Pashington Obeng, Bani Singh, Berehoze Shroff, and Ababu Yimene. I am now planning to organize and package the quilts as a traveling exhibition and offer it to various educational and cultural institutions such as university and college art museums/galleries and other cultural organizations. In addition to portraits of the quilters and photographs of their homes and environment, I expect to produce a film and a catalogue to accompany this traveling exhibition in order to highlight the history, culture and arts of the Siddis.

Monies generated by the exhibition fee and sales of quilts are being sent to the SWQC as before.

Developing a Local Indian Market for the Quilts – the Work of Bani Singh

Since the creation of the SWQC, I have been working with an Indian colleague - Bani Singh - a design graduate of National College of Art, Ahmedabad. She has been instrumental in maintaining the craftsmanship and quality of the quilts by holding extensive discussions with the quilters about their aesthetic criteria – what makes a quilt beautiful. She has also been the one to select the best quilts for export, exhibit and sale. She has had discussions with crafts industry promoters to develop a local Indian market for Siddi quilts and other craft products created using Siddi quilting techniques. We have been having discussions with experts in the field of Indian craft industries who have advised that for the domestic Indian market, the quilters must use new cloth, whether for the patchwork or the cotton sari backing. This is very different from the export part of the project, where what is valued by buyers/art collectors (in the US and Europe) are "authentic", that is, older, used quilts in good condition. Sustaining the quilting tradition may also be a challenge. Young Siddi women seem less interested in learning quilting as they begin to go to school and leave their village communities for larger, commercial centres or for seasonal, tourist work in Goa.[1]

Postscript

Research on Siddi arts and the visual art tradition of kawandi/quilts, as well as the SWQC project described in this paper, are the result of an evolving methodology and philosophy which I term "observant participation" with a strong emphasis on active *participation.* This is a clear break from the traditionally more passive Anthropological approach called "participant-observation" – which stressed observation over participation. I believe that we must recognize and evaluate our inevitable impact on the people we work with, who are at the same time the subjects we study. The ethics of such research and study require that we work for the benefit, not the detriment, of those individuals and communities. Such a commitment attempts to bring together knowledge/scholarship and social justice issues – just as the TADIA-sponsored events of January 2006 brought together international scholars and Siddi community leaders for both an academic conference and a workshop on social, economic, and political issues debated by Siddi communities from different parts of India. I hope this approach continues in the future, for the mutual benefit of scholars of Siddi culture and history, as well as Siddi individuals and communities.

Note

[1] Anyone interested in supporting this non-profit project in obtaining more information about Siddis and their quilts can contact me at: hjdrewal@wisc.edu or Department of Art History, Chazen Museum of Art, UW-Madison, 800 University Avenue, Madison, WI 53706.

14

The Wargharkar Family in Siddi Janjira

Anuradha Bhattacharjee

The world has been a spectator, sometimes mute and at other times interventional, of the Middle-East violence for the last fifty-five years. Reports of mindless violence between Israelis and Palestinians fill news columns and television screens as a routine. In spite of both, Islam and Judaism, emanating from the same region of the world and the Shrine at Jerusalem, a pilgrimage centre most revered to both the faiths and Christians all over the world, the region is one of the bloodiest in the world.

Faraway in India exist examples of harmony between the two communities, since the advent of the Muslims in the western coast of India in the seventeenth century, when they rose to power under the Bahamani kingdom. However, Muslims had been coming to the Konkan coast by way of trade much before the Muslim invasion of the North in 1000 AD by Mahmud of Ghazni.

Muslims and Jews in India have co-existed peacefully and in a unique brotherhood. It is believed that Jews first came to India around 175 BC and have stayed on ever since. The Jewish and the Muslim communities in India have the closest ties anywhere in the world. They often share cemeteries. Both use the same nomenclature for many religious terms – *namaz* for prayers, *roza* for fasts, *masjid/ masheed* for place of worship and *kabristan* for cemetery, amongst others. One may argue that the communities were not vying for power and dominance with each other. True, but the Muslim invaders to India had gained considerable dominance in many parts of the country, including in parts of Konkan coast where the Bene Israeli people or *Yehudis* had been the most concentrated. In the tiny state of Janjira in the Konkan coast of India, however, Shalom Bapuji Israel Wargharkar, a Jew, became the *Karbhari* (prime minister) from 1891 to 1896, under Nawab Sidi Ahmedkhan, a Muslim ruler of Abyssinian origin. Records reveal that the state saw a renaissance and period of great progress during Israel's *karbharisship* and was long remembered and revered after he reverted back to British service after the completion of his tenure. Not only then, but even today, both communities live in close proximity. It is perhaps the only one of its kind in the world, and is an example to be followed rather than forgotten in the sands of time.

The Siddis of Abyssinia had originally entered India in the capacity of traders, but by the late fifteenth century they had begun settling down on the West coast, taking up military positions with the existing Bahmani kingdom in the vicinity. They soon made their mark on the political fabric of the kingdom they served on account of their military prowess and bravery.[1]

The demise of the Bahmani kingdom occurred along with that of the Nizam-ul-mulk in 1489. His son, Malik Ahmed thereafter established, with the assistance of the Siddis in his service, the Nizamshahi dynasty of Ahmednagar between 1491 and 1492. He then proceeded to conquer much of the north Konkan region and posted officers or *Thanedars* including Sidi Yahut Khan at Danda-Rajpuri. Following his death in 1508, his son and heir, Burhan Shah designated Mirza Ali and Kalbe Ali as the next *Thanedars* of Danda-Rajpuri.[2] The *Kohlis* (local fisherfolk) of Rajpuri who were constantly harassed by the Marathas and Malbaris around the area, under the protection of the *thanedars*, set up their residence in a make-shift wooden fort-like structure on the island off Rajpuri. The assaults continued on a couple of occasions, first by the Malbaris, followed by an attack by a foreign legion, probably the Portuguese. However, both attacks were quelled with the help of the Nizam Shahi *thanedars*. Subsequently, the Europeans gained ascendancy in the region with the formation of the various East India Companies, culminating with the English East India Company.

According to historian, H. S. Kehimkar (1937), the Bene Israel people arrived in India about 175 BC. He assumes that they fled Galilee to escape the oppression of the Greek overlord Antiochus Epiphanes. A more contemporary historian Benjamin J. Israel (1998) opines that they came to India in the fifth or sixth century AD from either South Arabia or Persia. It is believed that the ship in which they were traveling got blown off course and was wrecked at Navgaon, about 20 miles South of Mumbai. A monument marks the spot today. It is notable that these people, in spite of long centuries of isolation, kept faith with whatever they remembered of Judaism, essentially the strict observance of Sabbath, circumcision of the male child on the eighth day and a rudimentary observance of some of the festivals at approximately the correct time and following of certain dietary laws especially about fish, till their "discovery" by David Rahabani, a Cochini, and the religious renaissance that followed.

More recently a study of the genetic material of the Indian Bene Israel people by British scientist, Dr Tudor Parfitt, Professor of Jewish Studies at London's School of Oriental and African Studies, has linked them as the direct descendants of the Cohanims, a small group of hereditary Israelite priests of the Second Temple of Jerusalem. Being high priests, it can be assumed that they had the knowledge of refining oil used for the "eternal flame" in the synagogue. It is likely that they drew upon that knowledge on reaching India to make a livelihood. Combined with their strict observation of Sabbath, they began to be identified as *"Shanwar Telis"* or "Saturday oilpressers".

Agriculture has traditionally been the main occupation of the people and typically, land in India was owned by the Brahmins, while lower castes served as serfs.

The stratified nature of Indian polity and society allowed the Bene Israel to make a niche for themselves amongst the numerous castes and subcastes. Each group had its distinct area in the village. Since various shades of religious practices have abounded, the Bene Israel people could stay together and continue their religious practices unhindered. It is not known what language they spoke on arrival, but they adopted Marathi, the local language and adapted to the local dressing styles, and soon became one of the many castes that abound there. Old photographs, however, reveal that the men wore sidelocks, which linked them, in later studies, to Yemenite Jews.

As their population grew, they moved on to other nearby villages and adopted the local system of the village name as surname, just like all else in the region, appending *kar* at the end of the village name. Thus names like Penkar, Ashtamkar, Divekar, Rajpurkar abound. At one time there were as many as 142 such surnames (Israel 1998:24). A marking of the villages whose names have been adapted, in the erstwhile Kolaba district, now Raigad district of Maharashtra, supports the arrival at Navgaon and their fanning out with the growth of population. Most of these villages lie in a compact area of Konkan.

The practice of peasants getting into army service of the prevailing ruler is typical of most parts of the world, and India was no exception. It is true even today that a few male members opt for army service in the Indian Army to augment the family income from agriculture. The Bene Israel were no exception, being fully integrated with the local society. It is not known who was the first Bene Israel to enlist and in whose service, but research has shown that they formed a part of Shivaji's army and were present in the navy of the Siddis and Angrias who ruled the Konkan coast. On conquering a fort or height, called *gad* in Marathi, Shivaji usually made a family from the nearby village loyal to him, responsible for its security from other invading forces. They were then known as *gadkar* or "keepers of the fort". This surname abounds in the Bene Israel community, as amongst other Marathas.

Good work has traditionally been rewarded with a grant of land, and that may have been the case with the patriach of the Wargharkar family. According to Benjamin J. Israel, a scion of this family, who later adopted the surname Israel, the patriach had a different surname till he was settled in Warghari village of Janjira state.[3] He, however, suggests that it was possibly from service to the Angrias, the powerful Maratha naval commanders of that period. According to him, Wargharkars were very small in number and all traced their roots to this single family. There was, however, a considerable population of Jews in the kingdom of Janjira. Each of the three and a half talukas that remained of the State, till it merged with the Union of India in 1947, it had a synagogue and a designated cemetery.

The Bene Israel, like the other Indians continued to join the ranks of the army, and many distinguished themselves, including Bapuji Abrahamji Wargharkar. By the nineteenth century, the Wargharkars had relocated to Ahmednagar, the erstwhile headquarters of the Bahamani kingdom, the reasons for which are neither known, nor can be established.

Abrahamji Wargharkar was enlisted in the Fourth Rifles Regiment of the English Bombay Presidency Army, and soon rose to become a Havaldar Major, a very high rank for a native officer. He went on a military expedition to China preceding the First Opium War of 1839 and never returned.[4] Abrahamji's brother Solomon alias Silleman alias Satkelji was a Havaldar in the 25th Regiment of Bombay Native Light Infantry. Ezekiel, alias Bapuji, Abrahamji's son was enlisted as a boy recruit into his father's regiment by the commanding officer, as the boy became an orphan after the death of his father. His mother had died in his early childhood. Enlisted as a sepoy, Bapuji soon began to rise and attained the rank of Subedar in 22 years of service, after which he sought retirement. He wore two medals - Mooltan and Persia. He could not stay on to attain the highest rank permissible to a native officer of the period - Subedar Major, as he had lost all his teeth and was not able to give the drill commands effectively, as was required by his rank.

He then came back to Ahmednagar and was re-employed in the Police Department in 1863 as a native commandant in Ahmednagar District. He rose to become Police Inspector and was posted to Pune. He had the opportunity to serve various dignitaries during his career with the police, the foremost being Prince of Wales, Maharaja Tukojirao Holkar of Indore and Sir Salar Jung Saheb of Hyderabad. He was also involved in the management and distribution of aid during the famine of 1875-76 in the Deccan. Several times he was posted out of Ahmednagar on promotions, which he sacrificed to remain in Ahmednagar and oversee the education of his sons - Shalom, Hyam and Jacob. His name appears in the Bombay Government Gazette of 21 February, 1878, as Chief Constable.

Though not greatly educated himself, he took a keen interest in his son's education. He spearheaded the movement for the inclusion of Urdu and Persian at school level for the benefit of non-Brahmin boys. The teaching fraternity was dominated by Brahmins, who balked at the teaching of Sanskrit to non-Brahmin pupils, deeming it to be a religious language, the texts of which were the revered religious books. Shalom was a victim of such prejudice and nearly dropped out of school. Bapuji was a well-respected member of the Bene Israel community in Ahmednagar and also served as *muccadam* or head of the community for sometime.

Shalom Bapuji Israel studied upto matriculation and joined Government service as a clerk in 1872 at a salary of Rs 10/- per month. He rose rapidly through the revenue and legal departments and by 1880 became a Deputy Collector. By 1888 he was bestowed the honorary title of Khan Saheb. In 1891, he was appointed *Karbhari* of Janjira State on a salary of Rs 400/- per mensem, where he remained for the next six years. The Nawab of Janjira and he had the most cordial relations. Bringing with him his vast experience in the various government departments, Shalom Bapuji Israel initiated many far reaching reforms in the State, which pleased R.A. Lamb, the Political Agent of Kolaba greatly. Nawab Sidi Ahmedkhan, eager to please the Political Agent implemented most of the reforms suggested, and governance in the state improved, as did productivity of crops and collection of revenue. Communal tensions were firmly reigned in and all the communities – Hindus, Muslims and Jews coexisted peacefully.

Jews had lived in Janjira State for a long time under the Siddi rulers, albeit a minority community. There has been no history of persecution of Jews in India and the existence of synagogues, prayer halls and cemeteries to date vouchsafe the tolerance of the Muslim rulers of the region and period. However, at one time, to keep crimes against women in check, the Nawab had issued orders that no young woman could remain a widow indefinitely in those communities which allowed remarriage. She would have to get married to any man who came forward to marry her and paid a fee of Rupees fifty to the State treasury. Shalom Bapuji Israel's grandmother (Bapuji Israel's mother-in-law) had come under the purview of this law years earlier. A Churrikar by birth, she had been married to a middle-aged wealthy widower Mhaselkar (of Mhasala village still in Janjira) who owned a fair amount of land and had a few grown-up children. He died early, leaving behind a young widow with a baby daughter and other grown-up children. In accordance with the prevailing laws a man whose details were not known came forward to marry her and paid the requisite fees to the State treasury. Since the lady was grossly unwilling to enter into such an alliance, she called for her brother, a *havaldar* in the Third Regiment of Bombay Army, who came armed with a letter from his commanding officer addressed to the Political Agent, Janjira. At the Political Agent's intervention, the Nawab relented and gave them twenty-four hours to leave the borders of the State. The lady never returned to Janjira, forfeiting all claims to her deceased husband's property and remaining deeply distrustful about Janjira.[5] Benjamin Israel notes in his book, that years later she even rebuked Shalom B Israel about taking up his appointment at Janjira.

Reverted back to British service after his stint in Janjira, Shalom B. Israel, however, moved on to Khandesh as deputy collector and personally oversaw the distribution of grants and aid to 1,305 grantees during the famine of 1906, before retiring from government service.

Ezekiel Israel's second son, Hyam, died of tuberculosis in 1880 at the age of twenty while still a student at Elphinston College in Bombay. The third and youngest son was Jacob. After graduating from Elphinstone college in 1885 with Persian and Urdu, he joined Government service as a clerk in the Revenue Department at Sirur, Poona district and quickly rose through the ranks. In 1901 he was appointed *Karbhari* of Aundh State. It was a troubled period for the State. Being a confidante of the

Political Agent, Jacob Bapuji Israel served two terms of five years in the position and saw three Chiefs in ten years. This earned him the dubious distinction of being a "king-maker and king-breaker", which came in the way of his later appointments till his premature retirement in 1916. In 1910, he was awarded the title of Khan Bahadur. A detailed chronicle of the Aundh period would make a separate study in itself. Jacob Bapuji threw himself into business ventures and communal politics after retirement, but could not make a success of either.

Shalom Bapuji Israel's son Hyam Shalom also studied up to graduation and distinguished himself in government service. He was appointed *Karbhari* of Akalkot State in 1917[6] during the reign of Raje Saheb F.S. Bhosle. Subsequently, he was second grade Mamlatdar in East Khandesh in 1923,[7] from where he went as Assistant Commissioner, Revenue, to Poona in 1931.[8] He was decorated with an OBE in 1938. He was active in communal matters and is listed in the Jewish Yearbook, communal directory of 1936, along with his father.

Jacob Bapuji Israel's son Benjamin too joined government service in 1929, and served till 1959. He presided over the Bombay Philosophical Society in 1962-64, and published several volumes on the origin and history of Bene Israelis in India.

Hyam Shalom's son Joseph Hyam joined the British and later Indian army and served at various places defending the country's frontiers. Major Josephs Israel's daughter Naomi made available many archival documents quoted in this article to the author, after much persuasion.

It is to the credit of Indian Muslims, especially the Siddis of Janjira, that while drawing from the same Holy Qu'ran as Muslims all over the world, they treated the Jews in their area with respect and tolerance in spite of their small numbers. Another case in point is the revoking of death penalty of Samuel Divekar of the British Army by Tipu Sultan, the Muslim ruler of Mysore in the eighteenth century (The Mysore Wars lasted from 1792-99), at the behest of his mother quoting the Qu'ran.[9] This could be attributed to the fact that there might have been an underlying feeling of kinship in a distant land. Even today in India, many Bene Israeli people have cited instances where they have been received reverentially by members of the Muslim community and in places where there is no Jewish cemetery, the Jews laid their dead to rest in Muslim cemeteries. One reason to explain this may be the fact that the origin of most Indian Muslims is Hindu.

The recent trends notwithstanding, all communities have co-existed with mutual respect in this country and are present in every profession and service, rising to the limit of their calibre. The examples from the Jewish community are one Jewish officer who engineered the surrender of Pakistani troops at Dhaka during the 1971 Indo-Pak conflict, leading to the liberation of Bangladesh, and another Jewish Sanskrit scholar honoured with Padma Shri. In fact, Benjamin Israel has noted that India is the only country in the world where Jews had lived for centuries as ordinary citizens, with respect and honour, with freedom to choose their profession, something they had only aspired for elsewhere, till the formation of the Zionist State of Israel. The presence of Bene Israelis in the Konkan coast is a tribute not just to India, but also the Siddis who had complete control over the area before the British.

Notes

[1] Siddi comes from the Arabic word "Syed" which means priest. However, Banaji is doubtful as to whether it had this meaning in the context of the Siddis in question as they did not display any priestly qualities. The Abyssinian traders of ancient times had identified the island of Tajpuri as a suitable base of their trading operations on the West Coast of India. They were, therefore, excellent mariners and were well-renowned in European chronicles for their naval and military prowess as soldiers of the Ottoman Empire (Banaji 1932:xix-xx)

[2] Inayatullah Khanzada, original notes on the establishment of the fort and the Siddi kingdom of Janjira, compiled in the 1950s; translated above from Urdu by Faaeza Jasdanwalla, p. 2.

[3] *Khan Bahadur Jacob Bapuji Israel*, a personal sketch, a privately circulated book. p. 2.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 39.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 48.

[6] Letter No EST 7 of 1917 from AHA Simcox to Raje Saheb of Akalkot, dated 8 November 1917

[7] *Bombay Government Gazette* April 19, 1923. p. 785.

[8] The Bombay Civil List. 1937. p. 60.

[9] Sameul Divekar later had the "Gate of Mercy" Synagogue constructed in Bombay as Thanksgiving.

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15

Changing Marriage Patterns among the Sidis of Janjira and Sachin

John McLeod

In a significant study that uses the life of the seventeenth-century African-Indian strongman Malik Ambar to examine elite slavery in the Deccan, i.e., peninsular India, Richard Eaton (2006: 60) comments that "By the eighteenth century, Habshis [Ethiopians] had disappeared as a distinct Deccani group and military caste." He suggests three major reasons for this: the paucity of African females in the Deccan meant that Habshi men usually married local women, so that their descendants were progressively absorbed into the local population; the end of the importation of Africans into India as elite military and administrative slaves; and the nature of elite slavery in India, which meant that a single individual could go from being a kinless alien to a native householder, and to all intents and purposes a free man.[1]

Two related groups which descended from the elite Africans have, however, retained a distinct identity down to the present. These are the Sidis who ruled the princely states of Janjira and Sachin from the seventeenth century to 1948. To this day, they use the name Sidi, and are highly conscious of their African origin.[2] In my paper, I propose to examine one aspect of the history of the Sidi royal families of Janjira and Sachin which has a bearing on the preservation of their identities, that is, their marriage-patterns, the question of who the members of the two families chose as wives and husbands for their sons and daughters. Elite marriage-patterns in India have attracted some scholarly attention, though not much. My findings with regard to Janjira and Sachin show similarities to what I observed in my study of Hindu royal marriages in colonial India, as well as differences. They also echo some of the work of Theodore P. Wright on marriages among royal and non-royal elite Muslim families of South Asia, but diverge from the observations made by Francis Taft Plunkett on the Hindu Rajput royal families of Rajasthan (McLeod 1986; Wright 1991; Wright 1994; Plunkett 1972). Despite the fact that they were ruled by related families, the history of Janjira and Sachin meant that the two states were structured somewhat differently, which, in turn, affected the marriage patterns (at least until the late nineteenth century). I shall, therefore, first examine marriages in Janjira, and then turn to Sachin, after which I shall offer some observations on the patterns and on what they tell us about the identities of the two modern Sidi royal families. The data on which the paper is based are drawn from my own genealogical researches on Indian princely families (McLeod: forthcoming; Robbins and McLeod 2006: 213-15, 229-33). They are admittedly incomplete, but I believe there is enough information to support some tentative conclusions.

Janjira

Janjira state lay on the Arabian Sea, about forty miles South of Mumbai. It had an area of 326 square miles and a population of 103,557, in 1941. The heart of the state, and its capital until 1904, was the great fortified island of Janjira (this name comes from the Arabic word for island). During the wars with the Marathas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Sidis were sometimes temporarily driven from all of their mainland possessions, but they retained the island through seven Maratha sieges between 1659 and 1760 (Jasdanwalla 2006; McLeod 2006a).

Traditional marriage-patterns among the Sidis of Janjira reflect the history and political structure of the state. The island of Janjira came under the rule of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar in the late fifteenth century. A hundred years later, the African Malik Ambar became the master of the Ahmadnagar sultanate (Eaton 2006). Perhaps because of the strategic importance of Janjira, Malik Ambar apparently decided that the island fortress should be governed by fellow-Africans, and in 1618, he appointed an African named Sidi Surur as *Thanedar* or commandant of Janjira.[3] From then on, Malik Ambar consistently appointed Africans to Janjira, Sidi Yaqut I in 1620, and Sidi Ambar the Little in 1621.

These African commandants were no doubt accompanied to Janjira by their families, friends, soldiers and subordinates, many of whom would themselves have been Africans. At any rate, by the mid-seventeenth century, there was a sizeable African community living within Janjira fort, alongside the Hindu Koli fisherfolk who had inhabited the island since time immemorial. These Sidi Sardars, or chiefs, formed the aristocracy of Janjira.

The recruitment of Sidis to Janjira during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has yet to be studied. It is not clear whether additions to the community came directly from Africa, or whether they were members of the wider African-Indian elite which had settled at Janjira as opportunities had narrowed in other parts of India. There is one clue in the name of a nineteenth-century Sardar, Sidi Husain Jabarti, which will be discussed shortly and which name indicates that he was an Ethiopian.[4] By the nineteenth century, however, the Sidi Sardars had become a closed group, replenished exclusively by birth. According to a census taken in 1901, Sidis numbered 240 out of the fort's total population of 1,620 (Government of India 1908-1909: 59, 61).

During the government of the commandant Sidi Ambar the Little (1621-1642), the administration of Ahmadnagar broke down under the pressure of constant war with the Mughal Emperors, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Janjira became effectively independent, to the point that in the mid-1620s Sidi Ambar the Little successfully defied Malik Ambar's attempt to replace him with a new commandant, Habash Khan who was apparently also an African. Sidi Ambar the Little is accordingly considered to have been the first Nawab or monarch of the princely state of Janjira. For some time, it appears that the position of Nawab was hereditary, as Sidi Ambar the Little seems to have been succeeded by his son Sidi Yusuf in 1642 and then his grandson Sidi Fateh (1648), although according to the seventeenth-century historian, Khafi Khan, Sidi Fateh was not only not Sidi Yusuf's son, he was not even a Sidi at all, but a Pashtun or Pathan from Afghanistan. By the mid-seventeenth century, however, the Sidi Sardars had become powerful enough to challenge Sidi Fateh for control of Janjira. For some time the Nawab held the upper hand, which he maintained by executing about fifty Sardars. Then, in 1667 (or 1670, according to another account), three leading Sardars deposed him and chose one of their number, Sidi Khairiyat, to rule in his stead. For the next 140 years, the Nawabs of Janjira were merely first among their equals, the Sidi Sardars. The Sardars had, and often used, the power to remove the ruling Nawab from power and to elect a successor when the Nawab died or was deposed. An indication of the relative importance of the Nawab and the Sardars may be seen in the fact that the first treaty between Janjira and the British East India Company, concluded in 1733, was signed by seven Sidi Sardars but not by the Nawab (Aitchison 1929-1933: (8) 89-92). This was because an agreement entered into by the Sardars was considered binding on Janjira, with or without the involvement of the Nawab.

Then, in 1804 (or 1803), the Sardars chose one Sidi Ibrahim II as Nawab. Sidi Ibrahim had already served one term as Nawab; his first reign had ended when he was deposed and imprisoned by a Sardar named Sidi Jamrud. Now, he refused to accept the election unless the Sardars consented to make the office of Nawab hereditary in his family. The Sardars apparently accepted this condition, for since Sidi Ibrahim II, the title of Nawab of Janjira has descended in an unbroken line from father to son through six generations to the present. Nevertheless, it can be seen that as late as 1879, the Sardars claimed the right to make and unmake Nawabs.

The historic relationship between the Nawabs of Janjira and the Sidi Sardars is significant in the consideration of marriage patterns. Given that for 140 years the Nawab was merely one among many Sardars, and that any Sardar could theoretically become Nawab, marriage-patterns for the Nawabs and their families were inseparable from those of the Sardars as a whole. The data are incomplete, but it appears that the Sardars were endogamous, that is to say, the sons and daughters of sardars married the daughters and sons of other sardars.[5] Thus, we know that Sidi Jauhar, a Sardar who was Nawab from 1784 to 1789, was married to the daughter of his predecessor Sidi Abd ul-Rahim (1772-1784). This seems to have remained true for several generations after the institution of hereditary succession in 1804, as the three wives of Sidi Ibrahim II's grandson Nawab Sidi Ibrahim III (reigned 1848-1879) were all apparently the daughters of Sidi Sardars: Sharifa Bibi, Fatima Bibi I, and Fatima Bibi II.

Despite these family ties, however, Sidi Ibrahim III was keen to assert himself over the Sardars. In a pattern common in princely India in the nineteenth century, he sought to reduce the power of his nobles, and filled many administrative posts with educated Hindus rather than with the old aristocracy (Ramusack 2004: 111-14). This naturally embittered the Sardars. So did the Nawab's relationship with a woman named Saidabai, the daughter of a Maniyar or bangle-seller. The Maniyars are Muslims of low status, and today rank as an Other Backward Caste in Maharashtra. Sidi Ibrahim claimed that he had legally married Saidabai, whom he renamed Zainab Begam, and her son Sidi Mohammad (1853 - 1920) was his favourite child. There were indications that Sidi Ibrahim intended to name Sidi Mohammad as his heir-apparent. This was of particular concern to supporters of his Sidi wife Fatima Bibi II, whose own son Sidi Ahmad (1862 - 1922) was of pure Sidi descent. One thing led to another, and in 1869 Fatima Bibi II was murdered by the supporters of Zainab Begam.

Marriage-patterns in the Janjira royal family had now led to violence, but Nawab Sidi Ibrahim apparently took no action against the murderers. The following year, he went to Bombay to meet Queen Victoria's second son, the duke of Edinburgh, who was visiting India. During his absence, the murdered Fatima Bibi's father, Sidi Husain Jabarti, led a revolt of the Sardars, who seized control of Janjira fort, proclaimed the deposition of Sidi Ibrahim, and installed the young Sidi Ahmad as Nawab. This marked a reversion to the practice of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the Sardars could make and unmake Nawabs. The British, who were now the overlords of Janjira, however, felt that the old ways were no longer suitable, and forcibly reinstated Sidi Ibrahim as Nawab; the Sardars finally acquiesced in 1873 (FDP Political B, Mar.1874: 79-82).

The Sardars asserted themselves for the last time after Sidi Ibrahim died in 1879. The disagreements as to whether he had ever actually married Zainab Begam meant that it was uncertain whether her son Sidi Mohammad was legitimate or not. On the other hand, there were no such questions about the next son, Sidi Ahmad, whose mother was Fatima Bibi II. Sidi Ahmad had been the Sardars' choice as Nawab in 1870, and one would assume that the nobles would again support him in preference to the elder, but only half-Sidi, Sidi Mohammad. Instead, this time, the Sardars elected Sidi Mohammad, perhaps merely in an attempt to assert their old rights. The British, however, rejected the election, ostensibly at least on the grounds of Sidi Mohammad's questionable legitimacy, and placed Sidi Ahmad on the throne of Janjira (FDP, Political A, May 1879, 158-164; FPDP, Political A, Aug. 1879: 67-86).

By this time, the separation between Indian princes and their nobles was moving to a new level, with princes forming part of an All-India community in which monarchs from different parts of the subcontinent had more in common with each other than they did with the nobles in their own states. One aspect of this was education. From the 1870s, the Chiefs' Schools brought together young members of royal families. Sidi Ahmad was no exception. He was the first member of the Janjira family to attend the oldest Chiefs' School, Rajkumar College at Rajkot in Gujarat, where he studied alongside Hindu and Muslim princes from across western India (Ramusack 2004: 111; Khan 1898).

Another aspect of this growing Indian princely identity was in the choice of marriage partners. Historically, most princely families, Hindu or Muslim, had intermarried within a relatively small circle. Partners typically belonged to the same community, so that Rajputs married Rajputs, Marathas married Marathas, Pathans married Pathans, and so on; while marriage alliances between two princely families did occur, a prince was just as likely to take a wife from a noble family of his own state belonging to his community as he was to marry the daughter of another prince (Plunkett 1972: 67-79). The endogamous marriages of the Sidis of Janjira were historically of this pattern. In the late nineteenth century, however, princely families increasingly intermarried with other princely families, even if they came from different communities and from a considerable distance, to the exclusion of marriages with their own nobles. This clearly reflected a growing sense that a royal family's community, from which marriage partners should be selected, was South Asian royalty as a whole rather than the local nobility.[6] (At this stage, religion was still a consideration, although the process continued to the point that, in the twentieth century, one Hindu prince saw his eldest son marry a Muslim princess and his second son a Buddhist princess.) In 1882, Sidi Ahmad became the first recorded Nawab of Janjira to marry a wife belonging to another princely family.

It is impossible to offer a precise figure for the number of princely and chiefly states in India. If, however, we consider those whose rulers were recognised by the governments of India and Pakistan after Independence, there were a total of 39 Muslim states in the subcontinent. Eight of these (all now in Pakistan) were ruled by Baloch, Burusha, or Brahoi families, and three small states in Gujarat were ruled by the descendants of Hindu converts to Islam. The remaining twenty-eight comprised the two Sidi states of Janjira and Sachin, twenty states ruled by the Pathans, and six by Mughals. (Mughal in this case refers to a Turkic origin in modern Uzbekistan, and not necessarily to kinship with the imperial Mughal dynasty.)

Given the preponderance of Pathans among the Muslim royal families of India, it is not surprising that Sidi Ahmad's non-Sidi bride came from a Pathan family. Her name was Ahmad Bibi, and her father was Nawab Abd ul-Khair Khan of Savanur, a small state near the centre of what is now Karnataka. In the seventeenth century, the ancestors of its Nawabs held high office under the Sultans of Bijapur; on the Mughal conquest of Bijapur in 1686, a member of the family submitted to the emperor Aurangzeb and received a grant of land that became the Savanur state (Chitnis 2000).

However, Ahmad Bibi died childless after just three years of marriage. At the suggestion of Lord Reay, the British Governor of Bombay, Sidi Ahmad then in 1887 married a lady of rather unexpected antecedents (FPDP, 286-P/1928). This was Nazli Rafia Begam, both of whose parents came from the distinguished Tyabji (Tayyibji) family of Bombay. The Tyabjis belonged to an Ismaili sect from Gujarat, known as the Sulaimani Bohras, and were well known for their "progressiveness" (they rejected *purdah* in the 1890s), liberal sentiments and community leadership; Nazli Rafia Begam's maternal great uncle Badr ud-Din Tyabji was the first Indian barrister, a distinguished judge, and the president of the 1887 session of the Indian National Congress (Wright 1976). The Congress poetess Sarojini Naidu later wrote a poem in Nazli Rafia Begam's honour (McLeod 2006a: 194). It may seem odd that a British Governor would encourage a young prince to marry a woman from such a family, but Lord Reay was known for his own liberalism, and in any case the marriage took place before the Congress clashed with the British. Reay probably hoped that the marriage would help spread the Tyabjis' progressive sentiments in what was then the backward state of Janjira. The fact that the Tyabjis are Shias, while the Janjira family members are Sunni, may also make the marriage seem odd. As Wright notes, however, marriages between elite Sunnis and Shias were more common in the past than might be expected (Wright 1994: 143 note 45). Moreover, the Janjira Sidis show some Shia traits; for example, the ritual centre of Janjira fort is a shrine containing the relics of the Holy Family (the Prophet, Fatima, Ali, Hasan, and Husain).

Unfortunately, this marriage too was childless. In 1913, in order to secure the succession, Sidi Ahmad accordingly took another wife, Kulsum Begam, 35 years his junior (FDP Internal B, Apr.1913, 267-268).[7] Perhaps because his ventures into matrimony with wives from non-traditional backgrounds had been unsuccessful, Sidi Ahmad now reverting to the ways of his ancestors, married a Sidi, Kulsum Begam the daughter of a Sardar named Sidi Husain who was distantly related to the Nawab. The following year, Kulsum Begam bore Sidi Ahmad his only child, Sidi Mohammad (1914-1972), who, in 1922, succeeded his father to the throne of Janjira.

The new Nawab Sidi Mohammad III was raised to consider himself a member of the wider princely fraternity. Like his father, he attended the Rajkumar College, from where he went on to Deccan College in Pune. In 1933, he married his only wife, in a choice that further reflected the notion of a Muslim princely community. This was Rabia Sultan Jahan Begam, whose father was Mohammad Iftikhar Ali Khan, Nawab of the princely state Jaora on the border between the present states of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan (Government of India 1941: 11; Luard 1908: 182-88). The ruling family of Jaora is descended from a Pathan, named Abd ul-Ghafur Khan, a military commander in the service of the Maharajas of Indore. At the outbreak of the Third Anglo-Maratha War in 1817, Abdul Ghafur Khan submitted to the British, who in reward recognised him as the sovereign Nawab of Jaora. Until 1933, the royal family of Jaora had generally intermarried with other Pathan families, so the marriage of Sidi Mohammad III and Rabia Sultan Jahan Begam represented a new departure for both dynasties.

In 1948-1949, the Indian states were merged into and integrated with independent India (Menon 1956). Their rulers remained a distinct class in the eyes of the law until 1971, when the Constitution (26th Amendment) Act deleted the constitutional provisions that had guaranteed their personal rights, privileges and dignities and the payment of their privy purses, and had provided for presidential recognition of rulers (Mankekar 1974). The end of the existence of the states meant that there was no longer any political reason for the princely families to conclude marriage alliances, and the abolition of the last vestiges of rulership in 1971 meant that the princely families ceased to form a community except insofar as they shared a common history. Meanwhile, many members of princely families left their ancestral homes for larger cities, where they were often integrated into upper class urban society. At the same time, "love matches" became increasingly common in some circles in India, including some princely families.

The result of all of this is that while many princely families continued their traditional marriage-practices over the last half-century, many others intermarried with the wider upper classes of India. Thus, one Hindu Maharani is married to a leading industrialist. A Muslim Nawab and a member of a Hindu princely family are each married to Bollywood actresses. (In both cases, their children have followed their mothers into film.) Other members of princely families have taken spouses from military or professional backgrounds. Marriages between members of different religions occur with some frequency, and in an increasing number of marriages, one of the partners is a non-Indian.

These patterns also apply to the last two generations of the Janjira family. Sidi Mohammad III and Rabia Sultan Begam had four daughters and one son. The second daughter never married, but the others wed diverse husbands. The eldest, Fatma Begam (b 1934), married Adamji Jasdanwalla, member of a family of Dawudi Bohras, originally from Jasdan in Gujarat, but prominent in trade and industry in Bombay for many years. (The Dawudi Bohras are an Ismaili sect, who like the Sulaimani Bohras, including the Tyabjis, were historically merchants in Gujarat.) The third daughter, Mumtaz Jahan Begam (b 1939), married Salim Ahmad Khan, a Pathan from western Uttar Pradesh. (His father was a police commissioner, but belonged to a family which was, first and foremost, landowning.) The fourth, Qamr uz-Zaman Begam (b 1943), married a fellow Sidi, her distant cousin Sidi Zaher, a member of the Sachin royal family. Sidi Mohammad III's only son, the present nawab Sidi Shah Mahmud (1952-), married Kishwar Monim Begam, of a Muslim family of tea planters from Jalpaiguri in northern West Bengal. (Her family owns several estates, and her father is on the board of a leading tea company in Calcutta).

At the moment, three of Sidi Mohammad III's grandchildren are married. Fatma Begam's son Arshad Jasdanwalla (b 1970) is married to Shireen, the daughter of a Parsi gentleman who works as a construction engineer, but belongs to the Parsi priestly class and is trained as a priest. Mumtaz Jahan Begam's daughter Sahar Khan (b 1971) is married to Noman Mughal, a Pakistani living in Dubai, whose name points to a Mughal origin. And Nawab Sidi Shah Mahmud's elder daughter Tazeen Jahan Begam (b 1978) is married to Shaad Khan, a physician who practises in Mauritius.

Sachin

The other modern Sidi state, Sachin, was founded by the son of an eighteenth-century Nawab of Janjira (McLeod 2006b). Its ruling family might therefore have been expected to follow the same marriage-patterns as that of Janjira. In fact, the circumstances under which Sachin was established represented a rejection of the idea that the Nawab was merely one among the Sidi Sardars, and instead postulated him as having an inherited royal status that set him at the top of the society. For this reason, Sachin, unlike Janjira, did not have a community of Sidi nobles, and its Nawabs apparently began marrying non-Sidi wives earlier than their kinsmen in Janjira. (I say apparently because my data are incomplete).

On the death of Nawab Abd ul-Rahim of Janjira in 1784, a Sardar (who happened to be his son-in-law), Sidi Jauhar, became Nawab. Abd ul-Rahim's eldest son Balu Miyan challenged the new ruler's right to the throne, claiming that, as the late Nawab's eldest son, he was the rightful sovereign of Janjira. This implied a belief in succession by primogeniture and a repudiation of the notion that any Sidi Sardar could become Nawab. When his challenge was unsuccessful, Balu Miyan fled to Pune and sought the help of the Peshwa, the principal ruler of the Marathas. The Peshwa saw an opportunity to achieve his ancestors' long-cherished hope of acquiring the island-fortress of Janjira. At the suggestion of his (temporary) British allies, the Peshwa entered into an agreement with Balu Miyan by which the would-be Nawab was recognised as the lawful ruler of Janjira, and the Nawab simultaneously ceded all his rights over the kingdom to the Peshwa. In return, the Peshwa undertook to compensate Balu Miyan with lands in Gujarat that yielded a revenue equal in value to that of Janjira. The idea was that this would give the Peshwa legal title to Janjira. He could then drive Sidi Jauhar from the island as a usurper and annex Janjira to his own dominions.

In the event, Balu Miyan got the better of the arrangement. The Peshwa was never able to take Janjira, but he did give Balu Miyan the lands in Gujarat which became Sachin state. Sachin lay near the city of Surat. It had an area of 49 square miles, and, in 1941, a population of 26,231. Not surprisingly, Balu Miyan had no desire to surround himself with a body of Sardars. As a result, the only Sidis in Sachin were his direct descendants.

I have not yet found information specifying the origins of the earlier queens of Sachin, although the names of Maryam Bi, wife of Balu Miyan's son, Sidi Ibrahim I, 1802-1853, and Saheb un-Nisa Begam, wife of Sidi Ibrahim II, 1868-1873, may suggest Mughal or Pathan antecedents. The picture becomes clearer in the latter part of the nineteenth century, as an All-India princely community began to form. Like their contemporary Sidi Ahmad of Janjira, Nawab Sidi Abd ul-Qadir of Sachin (1864/6-1896) and his brother Sidi Nasrullah (d 1924) attended Rajkumar College at Rajkot. They and their two sisters, however, made marriages that apparently reflect links with the wider South Asian Muslim aristocracy rather than with princely families specifically: Sidi Abd ul-Qadir's wife was Mehr un-Nisa Begam, possibly another Mughal or Pathan; Sidi Nasrullah's wife Rabia Sultan was the daughter of Sir M.A. Nakuda; and Karim un-Nisa and Vazir un-Nisa both married men of the Edrus family, whose members have been prominent as Sufi scholars in Yemen, India, Indonesia, and Malaysia since the fifteenth century (Löfgren 1960-2002: 780-82).

Nawab Sidi Abd ul-Qadir's sons' marriages suggest simultaneous membership in the Sidi community, a princely community and an upper-class Muslim community. The eldest son, Nawab Sidi Ibrahim III (1886-1930), married four wives. Fatima Sultan Jahan was a Sidi and his own first cousin, the daughter of his uncle, Sidi Nasrullah. Mehr un-Nisa Begam came from the princely state of Radhanpur in North Gujarat. (The Radhanpur Nawabs belong to the Babi family of Pathans, who held high rank under the Mughal emperors, and ruled five states into the twentieth century; *Cutch,* Palanpur and Mahi Kantha 1880: 322-28; The Babi Rulers 1903.) Fakhr un-Nisa Begam belonged to the Beg family, a prominent Muslim family from the Maratha state of Baroda, and was related to Sidi Ibrahim III on his mother's side. (Judging by their name, the Begs were probably of Mughal origin.) Iqbal Jahan Begam (FPDP, Internal, B, Mar. 1919, 66-67) was the daughter of a widow of Nawab Jafar Ali Khan of Cambay, a princely state in Gujarat whose Mughal rulers had served the Shahs of Iran before settling in India (*Rewa Kantha* 1880: 220-333). (Before marrying Sidi Ibrahim, Iqbal Jahan Begam had been the wife of Abd ul-Razzaq, son of a sometime Sheriff of Bombay named Hajji Suleman Abd ul-Wahed).[8]

Nawab Sidi Ibrahim III's brother Sidi Ahmad (1889-d?) sought his fortune in Hyderabad, the most important princely state in India. Like many African-Indians, he entered the Hyderabad army (Khalidi 2006). Unlike these humbler soldiers, he was of course an officer, and became second in command of one of the state military units. As was common with senior officers, Sidi Ahmad was absorbed into the Muslim nobility of Hyderabad; he married Laiq un-Nisa Begam, daughter of a noble, named Nawab Mumtaz Yar ud-Daula. Their sons' marriages reflect the same simultaneous membership in princely and broader aristocratic communities: Mustafa Khan married Mumtaz, daughter of Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, one of the greatest landlords of Sindh, and, of course, father and grandfather of two Pakistani prime ministers (Wright 1994: 135), while Imtiyaz Khan married Sartaj Jahan Begam, daughter of Nawab Abd ul-Majid Khan of Savanur.[9]

The five sons and one daughter of Nawab Sidi Ibrahim III made a total of ten marriages, all of them either with princely families or with nobles from Muslim princely states. Four of the ten marriages were with members of the ruling family of Loharu, a state in Haryana: the eldest son Nawab Sidi Haidar (1909-1970) married as his first wife Arjumand Bano Begam, daughter of Nawab Aiz ud-Din Khan Ahmad of Loharu, and then her first cousin Alima Sultan; the third son Sidi Salim (1913-1975) married as his second wife, Alima Sultan's sister Abida Sultan; and the daughter Roshanara Begam married Arjumand Bano Begam's brother Salah ud-Din Ahmad Khan. (The Loharu family is Mughal, descended from an eighteenth-century immigrant from Bukhara in Uzbekistan. In 1806, Ahmad Bakhsh Khan, son of the immigrant, received the territory of Loharu from the Raja of Alwar in Rajasthan in recognition of his role in negotiations with the British. Loharu is only eighty miles from Delhi, and in the nineteenth century the family made marriages that tied it to the Mughal imperial family and to the great poet Mirza Ghalib; (Government of India 1916; Wright 1994: 137-38).

The other marriages of Sidi Ibrahim III's children were as follows: after his two Loharu wives, Nawab Sidi Haidar married Manzar Sultan and then Khurshid Zaman Begam, who by their names may also have been Mughals. Sidi Ibrahim III's second son, Nawab Sidi Surur (1911- 1990), married one wife, Habiba Sultan Begam, daughter of Sardar Nishat Mohammad Khan, a Pathan who was one of the leading nobles of the princely state of Bhopal in Madhya Pradesh. Like the Sidi Sardars of Janjira, the Pathan Sardars of Bhopal traditionally intermarried with their Nawabs (Sultaan 2004; Khan 2000). The third son, Sidi Salim, who, as noted above, married Abida Sultan of Loharu, took as his first wife a lady named Rukhia Sultan. She came from the princely state of Cambay, but was apparently unrelated to its Nawab. Her father was named Aga Saheb, however, which suggests that she belonged to an Iranian family known to have lived in Cambay.

Sidi Ibrahim III's two remaining sons each married one wife: Sidi Abd ul-Qadir (1926- 1994) married his first cousin Mihr un-Nisa Begam, who came from his mother's Beg family in Baroda. Sidi Yaqut (1928- 1980) made a marriage into a ruling family, to Khushhal Sultan, daughter of the chief of the tiny state of Bantwa, which, like Radhanpur, was ruled by the Babi family of Pathans.

The next generation saw the first marriage recorded between the Janjira and Sachin families, when in 1974, Sidi Zaher, son of Sidi Salim, married Qamr uz-Zaman Sultan, daughter of Nawab Sidi Mohammad III of Janjira. Sidi Zaher's first cousin, Nawab Sidi Nasrullah (b 1933), the son of Nawab Sidi Surur, is a retired physician and the present Nawab of Sachin. His wife, Shams un-Nisa Begam, belongs to a noble Pathan family from Nipani in Karnataka. His three children are all married: the heir-apparent, Sidi Reza (b 1961), to Fatima Sultan Jahan, whose father is a Hyderabad noble named Nawab Ghulam Mohammad Omar Khan of Walia Estate; the daughter Farah Sultan (b 1963), to Mohammad Adil; and the younger son, Sidi Faisal (b 1965), to Bilqis Jahan, daughter of two Pathan nobles from Bhopal, Mohammad Iqbal Khan and Surur Jahan. At least on the basis of these marriages, the Sachin family appears,in recent generations, to have maintained more conservative marriage patterns than their kinsmen in Janjira.

Conclusions

The following table summarises marriages in the Janjira and Sachin families over the last 150 years. They are arranged according to the birthdates of the Janjira and Sachin partners; the next two columns indicate the background and sex of the Janjira and Sachin partners' spouses, so that "3 Sidi Sardar ♀" means that the person in question married three ladies whose fathers were Sidi Sardars. U indicates a partner from the urban upper classes, whether commercial, industrial or religious. R indicates a partner from a rural landowning background or the nobility of a princely state. The distinction between U and R is sometimes subjective.

Birth Date:	Janjira:	Sachin:
1820-1850	3 Sidi, Sardar ♀	1 Maniyar, commoner ♀
1850-1880	1 Pathan, prince ♀	1 Mughal or Pathan (?) ♀
	1 (Muslim) U ♀	1 (Muslim) U ♀
	1 Sidi, Sardar ♀	2 (Muslim) U ♂
1880-1905		1 Sidi, princely ♀
		1 Pathan, prince ♀
		1 Mughal, R ♀
		1 Mughal, prince (?) ♀
		1 (Muslim), R ♀
1905-1930	1 Pathan, prince ♀	3 Mughal, prince ♀
		2 Mughal (?) ♀
		1 Pathan, R ♀
		3 (Muslim) R ♀
		1 Mughal, prince ♂

		2 Pathan, prince ♀
1930-1955	1 (Muslim) U ♂	1 Pathan, R ♀
	1 Pathan, R ♂	1 Sidi, princely ♂
	1 Sidi, princely ♂	
	1 (Muslim) R ♀	
1955-1980	1 Parsi, U ♀	1 (Muslim) R ♀
	1 Mughal, U ♂	1 (Muslim) R ♂
	1 (Muslim) U ♂	1 Pathan, R ♀

On the basis of these data, which are admittedly limited, some conclusions can be arrived at. Despite the estrangement between the Nawabs and their Sardars, which took place gradually in Janjira during the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, and rapidly in Sachin following the exclusion of Balu Miyan from the Janjira throne in 1784, the two royal families have always been conscious of their identity as Sidis. Not surprisingly, this has been reflected in their marriages. Until the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Janjira family apparently intermarried exclusively with Sidi Sardars and the last such marriage took place as recently as 1913. There were no Sardars in Sachin, but members of that family had married into both their own house and, in 1974, the Janjira house.

At the same time, from the 1870s, the Sidis of Janjira and Sachin shared in the growing consciousness that Indian princely families formed a distinct community. This may be seen in the marriages concluded by persons born between 1850, the generation in which this consciousness first became clear, and 1930, the last generation to reach adulthood before the end of princely rule. The partners have been identified with certainty in twenty-three of these marriages. Eleven of the partners were from princely families elsewhere in India. This is fully in keeping with patterns observed in other Indian princely families. Nevertheless, these marriages with princely families were never to the exclusion of marriages with Sidis, indicating that the princely identity supplemented or complemented the Sidi identity in both families, but did not supersede it. Meanwhile, marriages with the urban elite, rural landowning families and nobles from other princely states show the existence of a third identity, that of the upper class Muslim.

Since the end of the princely states in 1948-1949, the Sachin family has maintained traditional marriage patterns, even though the fact that the present Nawab is a physician might suggest an identification with the urban professional classes. The members of the Janjira family, on the other hand, have married into a range of princely, industrial or professional, and rural noble families. This is a pattern observed in other princely families as well. The best way to look at the three identities revealed in marriage-patterns may be as a series of circles: the small Sidi circle overlapping two larger circles which themselves overlap, princely India and the Muslim upper classes of South Asia.

Still, the Janjira and Sachin families have always seen themselves as Sidis first. Both the current Nawabs use the name Sidi and justifiably take pride in their ancestry. And so, in at least in the case of these two families, the Africans who attained power in the Deccan in the seventeenth century have preserved a distinct identity down to the present.

Notes

[1] The survival of non-elite Siddis as distinct African communities in Gujarat and Karnataka is a different matter.

[2] The name of the African-descended Scheduled Tribes of Gujarat and Karnataka is usually written as Siddi. At least since the eighteenth century, however, the Sidis of Janjira and Sachin have spelled their name as ℜϖℵ∼ in Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, and as Sidi in English. This spelling is accordingly followed here.

[3] The first Thanedar appointed by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar after he acquired Janjira in the late fifteenth century was also an African, Sidi Yaqut. This led to the claim that Janjira was continuously under Sidi rule from the fifteenth century until 1948. Actually, there is no evidence of any Sidi serving as commandant for over a hundred years after Sidi Yaqut until the appointment of Sidi Surur in 1618.

[4] Ethiopian Christians variously use the word Jabarti to refer to Muslims living in the mainly Christian plateau of Ethiopia and Eritrea, to all Ethiopian Muslims, or to all Muslims. Properly, however, it means an inhabitant of Jabart (Jabara), or Zayla and Ifat, and this is the sense in which Muslims use the word. See, Ullendorf 1960-2002.

[5] Given this, it is not surprising that the Sidis of Janjira never followed the marriage patterns noted by Plunkett among the Rajput royal families of Rajasthan, where, although sons of the rulers took both royal and non-royal wives, "the daughters of ruling houses were invariably married to ruling princes or their heirs" (Plunkett 1972: 67). Wright comments that elite Muslims in South Asia do not necessarily follow the supposed Muslim preference for marrying their own first cousins (1994: 131). This seems to be equally true of traditional marriages among the Sidis of Janjira, with the qualification that the small size of the Sidi Sardar community meant that even if they were not first cousins, husbands and wives must often have been close relatives.

[6] This new sense of an All-India princely community has not previously been noted, but my extensive research into marriage patterns seems to confirm its existence. Both Plunkett (1972: 68,71) and Wright (1994: 131) comment on the central role of royal or elite marriages in cementing alliances. The precise nature of these alliances with

regard to princely marriages of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries requires further examination. I offer some speculations in McLeod (1986:189).

[7] This marriage led to an estrangement between Sidi Ahmad and Nazli Rafi Begam, who were divorced in 1920; after her divorce, the Begam returned to Bombay, where she and her sister conducted a literary salon on Malabar Hill.

[8] Jafar Ali Khan (1846/8-1915) apparently left at least two widows, Khurshid Jahan Begam (grand daughter of a sometime Iranian Consul in India) and Sikandar Jahan Begam; it is unclear which of them was the mother of Iqbal Jahan Begam.

[9] Sartaj Jahn Begam was a distant kinswoman of Ahmad Bibi, the Savanur lady who married Nawab Sidi Ahmad of Janjira. As her mother had been a sister of Laiq un-Nisa Begam, she was also a first cousin of her own husband Imtiyaz Khan.

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16

Linguistic Evidence of Bantu Origins of the Sidis of India

Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi

1. Introduction

Scattered and less known communities of African descent in the Indian sub-continent, Sri Lanka and the nearby islands in the Indian Ocean are generally known as Sidi or Siddi. Their presence in India was first mentioned in colonial annals as a novelty or in Census Reports (Freeman-Grenville 1988:XVII).[1] However, recently several serious studies about their history, social organisation, cultural and economic activity, their military exploits in the various colonial armies and their political participation have been presented at international conferences by both Indian and Western scholars (*Indian Ocean Studies Conference*/IOS 2002; Jayasuriya and Pankhurst 2003).[2]

2. Historical Background

Camara (1997) reported the self-identifying "Afro-Indians", i.e., Indians of African origin in India, to number about 35,000, settled in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Karnataka, and in the former Portuguese territories of Daman, Diu and Goa. In Gujarat, they are found in the districts of Ahmedabad, Amerli, Jamnagar, Junagadh, Rajkot, Bhavnagar, Bharuch, Ratanpur, Surendranagar and Cutch. According to the Census Report of India (Naik and Pandya 1981), Sidis in Gujarat in 1980 numbered about 5,000 and during the past decades their number was fairly constant there because of migration, mainly to the Mumbai region.[3] They are normally settled in areas/hamlets/villages of their own but in Ahmedabad, Bharuch and Cutch they live in mixed areas as they do in parts of Andhra Pradesh

These Afro-Indians are variously known as Sidhi/Sidi/Siddi or Habshi/Habsi in India, Shidi/Shidee in Pakistan and Kaffir in Sri Lanka. It is generally accepted by scholars that these ethnonyms tell us that the Sidis were in the employ of Sayyads, the Muslim rulers of India, and that many of them came from Ethiopia and Sudan in the 1500s as mercenaries and prisoners of war sold as slaves (Pankhurst 2003).[4] The Arabic religious and/or aristocratic title "Sayyad" or "Sayyid" is usually given as the etymology of the ethnonyms Sidhi, Sidhdhi, Siddi, Sidi, or Shidi.

My recent research into the etymology of the term Sidi, and its variants, suggests a possible alternative meaning of the term Sidi, i.e., Arabic *"saydi"* with the emphatic a /]/ consonant "saad" (ص) meaning "captive" or "prisoner of war" instead of the established Arabic religious and/or aristocratic title *"Sayyad"*, *"Sayyid"*, *"Seyyid"*, *Sayed* or *"Syed"* with the non-emphatic /s/ consonant "siin" (س) [5] which is ultimately reduced to "Sidi" in many African dialects of Arabic,[6] whereas the former term with the emphatic /s/ consonant meaning "captive" is never reduced in this way.

In the past, Sudanese and Ethiopian prisoners of war were sold as slaves to other African rulers who sold them to slave traders who in turn brought them to the Middle East and India. As late as the beginning of the 20th century, in the Ottoman armies there were more than 10,000 African mercenaries spread all over the Ottoman empire. The term Sidi might have been borrowed in India from early Ottoman Arabic usage. In pre-Ottoman period, African soldiers in India were referred to as Habshi or Habsi.[7] Early African soldiers in India appear to have been mostly freemen and mercenaries, and it has been established that there were several groups of Africans who were traders and sailors who had immigrated to India. Thus, all Africans in India were not slaves nor were they of slave descent. However, Sidis in the Portuguese enclaves and most Sidi females in domestic employ in the aristocratic households were probably slaves or of slave origin.[8] Ian Hancock (PC 1996) is of the opinion that many Sidis appear to have deserted the various armies at different times and found refuge among the Gypsy/Roma already in India and also after the Roma came to Europe, and got assimilated. This is sometimes apparent in the physiognomy of some Roma with darker complexion and somewhat woolly hair.

A great majority of the Sidis of India today are Sunni Muslims, and a few Hindus and Christians are found in Diu, Daman, Goa and Karnataka.[9] The Karnataka Sidis are descendants of the deserters who left Portuguese Goa and fled to the forest across the border, and they most probably originated in Mozambique and Angola.[10]

The Sidis are loosely organised into mostly endogamous tribes or professional castes. The Royal Sidis, sometimes called Sidi Badshah, are survivors of the former Sidi State of Jafarabad established by the Sidi Naval Chief of Janjira during the time of the warrior King Shivaji of the Maratha in the mid-1600s.[11] These Jafarabad Sidis together with the Royal Sidis in Hyderabad, Aurangabad and the former Sidi principalities of Radhanpur in the Kathiawar region of North Gujarat, and in Sachin near the port of Surat, marry mostly among themselves or with upper class/caste Muslim Indians.[12] In some cases they have special tribal names such as the Tai of

Saurashtra, the Shemali of Jambur (probably of Somali origin)[13], the Kafara[14] of Diu (probably from southern Mozambique and/or South Africa) and the Saheli[15] of Daman (probably from the Kenya-Tanzania coast). In a few cases in Cutch they also have traditional Indian caste names such as Sidhi Langa (Musicians/Drummers), Sidhi Dhobi (Washermen) and Sidhi Kharwa (Sailors, Fishermen, Saltminers).

The Kafara Sidis of Diu have maintained some of their East African customs and a few linguistic items. Small groups of Shemali Sidis and Saheli Sidis have kept alive some rites and rituals from their East African Bantu past, but otherwise the Sidis are *de facto* Indians since they speak Indian languages as their mother-tongues and practice mostly the Indian variant of Sunni Islam with the Indian Sufi cult of *pir* (saint) with rituals and celebrations performed at a *dargah* (mausoleums, shrine). At these shrines they worship also ancestors and founders of settlements (Patel 1986; Catlin-Jairazbhoy 2002; Basu 2002; and Shroff 2002).[16]

There are several legends about the origins of some early Sidi settlements, but so far no contemporary written record has been found to verify their early oral history or substantiate the Sidi claims of various ancestries; however, there are a few early reports by European officials and travellers, and one short language study by the explorer, Richard F. Burton (1851).

According to one commonly accepted legend (Patel 1986), the founder of the Sidi settlement in Jambur in Gujarat is supposed to have originally come from Kano in Nigeria via the Sudan and Mecca after his Hajj pilgrimage. This leader was a wealthy merchant by the name of Baba/Bava/Bawa Ghor who first settled in the Rajpipla Hills near Bharuch and Khambat where he developed mining and trade in agate, the precious stone known as *akik* in India.[17] A certain variety of agate beads are known as Baba Ghori; another maroon cornelian stone is named after his sister and successor Mai Mariyam, also known as Mai Misra/Mishra.[18]

It appears that a large number of Sidis came, or were brought, to India from different parts of Africa as soldiers to serve in the Muslim armies of the Nawabs and Sultans - hence their Muslim faith and relative absence of the Hindu caste system among them. Many were officials in the Muslim, and later Hindu, armies; and as royal bodyguards some of them rose to power in more than one place, i.e., Jafarabad, Radhanpur, Ahmedabad and Aurangabad. Some were singers and ceremonial drummers. In Gujarat, the drummers are known as *nagarchi*, and the Chief Drummer had the title of *nagarsha(h)* (King of Drums). In Cutch and Sindh, the Sidi singer-drummers are known as *langa* (male *lango*, female *langi*) and they are prestigious and respectable professionals. It is also claimed by the Shemali Sidi that one of Bawa Ghor's younger brothers was a *nagarsha* in the former Kingdom of Madhapur, and he is worshipped as one of the several *pirs* in Jambur.

Some Sidis came to India as special servants in the courts of Muslim Nawabs and Sultans, some came as herbalists and midwives, a few were brought by Indian merchants returning home from Africa, and a few were brought as domestic slaves especially in the Portuguese territories (Shirodkar 1985: 27 and *passim*).

Noble North Indian families had a convention of keeping Habshi, or other non-Indians, as personal attendants since servants having no local social or blood connections or roots guaranteed political loyalty and security (as was the case with the Arab/Omani sultans of Zanzibar whose armed forces and administrative personnel consisted mainly of the Balochi and Makrani of Iran/Pakistan, and Cutchi/Sindhi and Pathan of north-west India). Very few African slaves were brought to the Indian subcontinent to provide cheap labour. Ownership of African slaves was an expensive affair since local Indian feudal practices related to slavery provided abundant indigenous cheap or free labour to rulers, land-owners and the upper castes. The rulers of India could also obtain slaves of various categories from other parts of Asia, Eastern Europe and the Caucasus. The descendants of these slaves of different origins in most Muslim societies generally cannot be distinguished as racial or ethnic groups or minorities since most of them were employed in the higher administration and the armies, serving different governments and later marrying the natives. As Bates and Rassam (1989) describe it, they were a kind of life-long servants of the ruler, rather than slaves in the Western sense.

3. The Sidis Today

Before the coming of the British rule in India, the Sidis were undergoing a process of assimilation, but the British divide-and-rule policy segregated the Sidi groups from one another and also from the indigenous Indian communities in which they lived. As a result, the Sidis became "re-tribalised" and impoverished in many areas.[19]

Those Sidi settlements in Gujarat which are organised as separate communities with a tribal system existing outside the main political stream and currents of socio-economic development, have been classified by the Central Government as Scheduled Tribes and they get Central Government support. Jambur Village near Madhapur with its own *panchayat* (Five Member Leadership Committee), a primary school and a shop, was the first Sidi enclosure to get such support (*Census of India 1961*). Most

Sidis in Gujarat are farmers and unskilled workers, but in other regions one finds Sidi doctors, lawyers, policemen, journalists, technicians, teachers, businessmen and landowners. There is an inter-state movement to organise and unite all the Sidi groups and improve their economic conditions and raise their social status. An increasing number of them are realising economic improvement as healers and entertainers in the growing tourist industry.

3.1. The Language Situation of the Sidis

East African slaves were randomly caught, or were recruited from different tribal lands; they usually spoke related languages and several individuals came from the same area or were members of the same ethnic group. For these reasons, they could communicate in an Eastern African language in the beginning; but as mixed groups, small in numbers and spread over wide areas surrounded by large Indian languages with a long tradition, they could not maintain or transmit their original languages and cultures to future generations. Instead, they became indianised, leaving few African linguistic traces in their speech and cultural registers of terminology. Another factor was Islam, the religion of the politically dominant section of the Indian society with whom the Sidis were initially allied, which became a common denominator of their cultural identification and also facilitated their social and linguistic integration, and economic, political and military success in many areas before the advent of the British colonial rule.

Thus, the Sidis today speak Gujarati (or a mixture of Gujarati and Hindi) in the Saurashtra region of Gujarat; in the district of Cutch they speak Cutchi (a dialect of Sindhi), and in Daman and Diu they speak the local Gujarati dialects with some Swahili / Bantu words and phrases. In Sindh, they speak Sindhi and Urdu, and Dakhini in Andhra Pradesh. Other groups of Sidis speak Marathi, Malayalam, Konkani or Kannada according to their region of settlement.

Richard Burton's wordlist of 1851 is "a brief and random lexicon" (Freeman-Grenville 1988:18) of the Sidi language as spoken in coastal Sindh and Cutch at that time and contains altogether 122 words, phrases and numerals and 22 place names including some tribal homelands; the numerals and place names are all derived from languages spoken in Tanzania (Shambaa, Zigua, Ngindo and Yao) which points to the Tanzanian mainland as their original home. In other parts of the Indian sub-continent, some linguistic items from Mozambique (from Makua, Nyanja and Yao languages) and Malawi (Nyanja / Chewa) have been identified.[20]

The following is a short list extracted from Richard Burton's "Sidi" language (collected in Sindh during 1845-9, and not claimed by him, nor by the contemporary Sidis, to be Swahili).

Burton`s Sidi Language	**Modern /Standard Swahili based on Zanzibar Town**	**Burton's Sidi Language**	**Modern /Standard Swahili based on Zanzibar Town**
moto	moto (fire; hot)	viyakazi (daughter)	vijakazi (slave girls, maids)
komongo	chuma (iron, iron bar)	moya	moja (one)
maji	maji (water)	perhi	mbili (two), pili (second)
nyumba	Nyumba (house, home)	tahtu	tatu/thathu (three)
somba	samaki, insi, nswi (fish)	mme	nne (four)
vura	mvua (rain)	thano	tano/thano (five)
khundoro	kondoo/khondoo(sheep)	thandatu	sita (six)
mawingo	mawingu (clouds)	fungate	saba (seven, week) (Old Swahili 'fungate')
pinde	pinde (bow)	mnani	nane (eight)
mukoki	mkuki (spear)	mpya	tisa, kenda (nine)
menu	meno (teeth)	kummi	kumi (ten)
nyoere	nywele (hair)	akachukola	akachukua (he/she took it away)
muguru	mguu (foot)	akaje	akaja (he/she came)
macho	macho (eyes)	akanepa	akanipa (he/she gave me)
devo	ndevu, devu (beard)	akabija	akauza (he/she sold it)
mototo	mtoto (child, son)	akafenga	akaiba (he/she stole it)
baba ya	baba (father)		

Place names, languages and ethnonyms mentioned by the Sidis of Sindh and recorded by Burton (1851) are:

Lamo (Lamu along North Kenya Coast)
Baramaji (Mbwamaji South of Dar es Salaam)
Kinkhwere (Kinghwele spoken South of Dar es Salaam)

Whiteley (1969: 52) reported "... many slaves seem to have come from the coastal areas, and the 'Sidi' language appears to have been one they could all speak.... Though they include members of some inland tribes, such as Nyamwezi and Sagara, many are easily recognizable as coastal groups, e.g., 'Dengereko, Makonde, Matumbi, Gindo, Mudoe, Mzigra, etc.' Mr. R. B. Patel, of Nairobi, tells me that there is still a Swahili-speaking 'Sidi' community in Kathiawar, in the remote Gir forest some 200 miles S.W. of Ahmedabad."

Recent fieldwork by the author among the Sidis in Ratanpur and Bhavnagar in Gujarat during January 2007 has yielded only about a dozen surviving Bantu/Swahili single word items and about a dozen phrases and a couple of complete Swahili-sounding sentences, e.g., "*Ee manamuki, wapi koenda?*" (You young woman, where are you going?) In modern Swahili it would be *"Wee mwanamke, unakwenda wapi?"* A couple of sentences were of mixed Bantu-Gujarati construction, e.g., "*Kulya karwa jae!*" (Let us go to eat!). One lexical item, *"injoro"* (curry) used in Ratanpur, is not derived from any Bantu language but rather from the Ethiopian usage *"injira"* (or Somali *"anjera"*).[21]

4. Summary

In the face of globalization which seems to make the world become more inter-connected, ethnicity is increasingly emphasised in many parts of the world where claims to specific local identities and renewed or (re)constructed ethnicities are more loudly presented.

The Sidis of Gujarat in India are a fragmented East African community of mixed ancestry, primarily descendants of Muslim African traders, sailors and mercenaries. A few of them are of slave origin. Today, they speak Gujarati and Cutchi with only a few Swahili/Bantu expressions mostly connected with their Sufi ritual dances and music.

A long period of relative isolation of the Sidis has been broken by both Indian and Western anthropological and historical interest in the various Sidi communities and this has given them a wider recognition both at home and abroad. For the last few years, Sidi cultural societies have been organising international festivals in Gujarat and participating in international cultural gatherings in East Africa with their song and dance troupes which have also been touring the West. These renewed contacts of the Sidis with East Africa have increased slightly the number of Swahili/Bantu word stock in their Gujarati and Cutchi; for example, the Sidis, though being culturally and linguistically *de facto* Indian, are emphasising their African heritage and their entertainment groups are now increasingly using Swahili greetings when addressing their public, and their men dress like the East African Swahili Muslims. An increasing number of Sidi individuals are also involved in modern sports (football) and athletics (running) especially in Pakistan, thus playing the role of an essential factor of Sidi ethnic identity.

During the last decade, several Western researchers have been emphasizing the "africanness" of the Sidis and have exaggerated their "slave origins" (Kjaerholm 1992; Whitehead 1997 and 1999) which some Sidi groups are capitalising on. Recently, a couple of Sidi groups of artists have toured East Africa and Europe on a commercial basis performing Sufi dances and songs with the repertoire in Gujarati and Hindi mixed with some Swahili phrases. It seems, the Sidis are "adopting" Swahili as "their" ancestral language, as many African-American communities have done in the United States. Sufi cult and dance groups (e.g., the "Sidi Goma" and "The Black Sufis of Gujarat"), healing rituals, spirit possession and exorcism, and annual celebrations, have become objects of historical and social anthropological research mostly supported by Western institutions and they are increasingly becoming exotic tourist attractions.[22]

James Clifford rightly points out that "The currency of diaspora discourse extends to a wide range of populations and historical predicaments (1997:257)." Many individuals, groups and whole communities of the African diaspora around the world have reconstructed, reinvented and imagined their ancestral homeland[23] (For a broad history and deeper discussion of these ideas, see Sidney Lemelle and Robin D.G. Kelly 1994) and the Sidis of Gujarat are increasingly perceiving East Africa, misconceiving particularly Zanzibar, the central slave market of the Indian Ocean during the 18th and 19th centuries, as the home of their African ancestors and Swahili as their ancestral language!

Globalization and technological advances have strongly pushed the Sidi communities in the general trend in the world of nations becoming culturally heterogeneous, with minority languages, or minority language use, in some cases playing the role of an essential factor of ethnic identity, whether traditionally inherited or newly constructed.

Notes

[1] The Graeco-Egyptian maritime manual *Periples of the Erithraean Sea,* written around the first century AD, mentions export of slaves from East Africa to the northern shores of the Indian Ocean, but provides no figures. In official Indian annals, the earliest mention of African presence in India is in the person of Jamaliddin bin Yakut, the stable master of Raziya Begum, Empress Radiyya of Delhi (AD 1236-40).

[2] The pioneering works highlighting the African diaspora in the Indian Ocean and South Asia are by George Shepperson (1968) and Joseph E. Harris (1977/1971), a comparative perspective of which is provided by Edward A. Alpers (2003: 19-50).

CONEXOES Newsletter of the African Diaspora Research Project, Michigan State University, contains reports on extensive ongoing research in the field of African diaspora, in general. Another very recent work edited by Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy and Edward A. Alpers (2004) contains a dozen different accounts of various aspects of Sidi history, culture and ethnicity in India.

[3] Private Conversation (PC) with various participants of the IOS 2002. In 1853, it was reported by Major Hammerton, the British Consul in Muscat, that "a lively slave trade existed between Zanzibar and the Indian States of Cutch and Kathiawar" (Jayasuriya and Pankhurst 2003:10). Since this trade would have by today generated tens of thousands of descendants of those "slaves", it is my contention that such a "lively" trade could not have existed, and that instead there were many East Africans who came to Cutch as sailors and short-term employees of the Cutchi, Sindhi and Kathiawari merchant houses. Moreover, my data collected from the archives of Zanzibar and field-work in India in 1991 do not support the claims of a lively trade in slaves between East Africa and India during the 1850s. See, also, Shirodkar (1985) for the Portuguese slave trade between Mozambique and Goa.

[4] Malik Ambar, the ruler of Ahmadnagar during 1601-1626, was of Ethiopian origin and was succeeded by his son. Another African, historically noted, was Sidi Sayyid, a wealthy ex-slave, who, in 1573, built the famous Juma Masjid, the great Friday Mosque in Ahmedabad, with the help of African architects and craftsmen (Harris 1998: 98). See also several studies by Richard Pankhurst on the Ethiopian diaspora in India.

[5] Lodhi. 1998. posting to the forum namaskar-afrikana-l@home.ease.lsoft.com, September 24, 1998.

[6] The ethnonym "Sidi" was taken from northern India by the British and applied to all Afro-Indians, and today, it is used by many Sidis as a surname. Its earliest mention in English is by W. Bedwell in 1615 as a name or title of honour of Africans and African descendents in high position in the Middle East and India (as quoted in *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. 1919:22).

[7] The ethnonym "Chaush" used by the Sidis of Hyderabad is a Turkish loan originally meaning "military commander" or "officer in charge". In pre-colonial Swahili one finds *chausi*, *shaushi* and *bishausi* with the same connotations as in Ottoman Turkish and Hindi/Urdu.

[8] Such female domestic servants of African or mixed descent in the aristocratic households were referred to as *khadi* in Gujarati, which is derived from Arabic *khadim* (serf) and also loaned into Swahili as *khadimu/hadimu*.

[9] Lodhi's,field notes and PC with Jayanti K.Patel, Ahmedabad, January 1991. Patel has collected a wealth of sociological and cultural-anthropological material on the Siddi of Gujarat, but almost nothing linguistic. The present writer was given the opportunity to go through Siddi wedding and other songs in Gujarati in which only a few Bantu words were identified. A couple of other non-Indic items appearing in these songs from Jambur which were not of Arabic, Persian or Turkish origin may be of Hausa, Amharic or Somali origin.

[10] It should be noted that most of the Gujarati Sidis I have spoken with categorically claim that they are not of slave descent!

[11] The name "Janjira" meaning "island" is derived from the Arabic "jazira".

[12] This can be compared with the situation in Sri Lanka where in 2001 there was only one reported marriage between two Kafara Sidi partners. All other Kafara marriages involved a non-Kafara partner (PC with Jayasuriya, April 2002).

[13] The term "shemali" seems to be derived from "somali" which is also pronounced "shomali" in various Indic langauges.

[14] The term "Kafara" is of Arabic origin meaning "pagan" and in the colonial usage of various European languages in eastern and southern Africa, it was borrowed from Swahili to mean "Negro" or "Black". The British took many southern African Kaffirs to the Indian Ocean islands of Mauritius, Seychelles etc., after 1847 from Kafraria, the British Cape Colony Reserve near Cape Town.

[15] The term "Saheli" is derived from the Swahili word "mswahili" originally meaning "of/from the coast". It is derived from Arabic *swahil* (coast) and *swahily* (of/ from the coast).

[16] Updated findings of these four authors have been published in Catlin-Jairazbhoy and Alpers (2004).

[17] This stone is known as *akiki* in Eastern Africa. It is an Arabic loanword both in the Indian and East African languages. For details of this trade, see, Kenoyer and Bhan (2004: 42-61).

[18] According to one tradition in the Dongri district of Mumbai, Mai Misra is called so because she came to India via Misar (Egypt). Other traditions claim her to be Baba Ghor's daughter, or his wife.

[19] However, during the early British rule in East Africa, dozens of Cutchi and Gujarati speaking Sidi individuals and families from the ports of Mandvi and Surat immigrated to Zanzibar and Mombasa where they are today completely assimilated into the East African Swahili-speaking coastal Muslim communities. Many more were repatriated by the British and rehabilitated by the various mission stations along the East African coast and converted to Christianity. Descendants of these are today recognised as Christian first language speakers of Swahili in Mombasa, Tanga, Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar. However, this repatriation did not have any notable impact on India or East Africa and the diaspora, in general, as it was over the Atlantic in West Africa.

[20] I have recently suggested to Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy (working on the Sidis of Gujarat) and Sabir Badalkhan (working on the Shidis of Pakistani Baluchistan) the etymology of a couple of "Sidi" linguistic items, among them *"magulman"* as Bantu *"magulu mane"*, the four legged high drum commonly used during the Sidi Sufi performances. The term *"magulman"* is also used by the Baluchistan Shidi to refer to the songs sung with this drum, and the performance itself may be called *"magulman"*, which is sometimes pronounced as *"mugalman"* leading some people to erroneously assume that the drum and the dances are from the Mughal court or period. The phrase *"magulu mane"* is commonly found in several local languages of Mainland Tanzania

such as Zaramo/Zalamo, Shambaa / Shambala, Bondei and Zigua/Zigula, speakers who were part of the East African diaspora to Gujarat via southern Somalia during the first three quarters of the 1800s.

[21] In about 50 "Jikr" of the Sidi lady Rumanaben Bilal of Ahmedabad, collected by Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy, there are many Bantu/Swahili words, phrases and even some complete sentences, most of which are not understood by the Sidis themselves. This linguistic data together with the data from January 2007 will be analysed and published by the present writer in the near future.

[22] This phenomenon has been capitalised on by several radio and TV channels such as the private station, *Talking Africa* (June 2002, London) and the BBC which aired a series of programmes in November 2000 and an article entitled "The lost Africans of India" by Andrew Whitehead of *The World Today*. BBC News Online Friday 24 November, 2000. This approach has the tendency to formalize a "collective memory" in the words of Robin Cohen (1997).

[23] For a broad history and deeper discussion of these ideas, see Lemelle and Kelly 1994.

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17

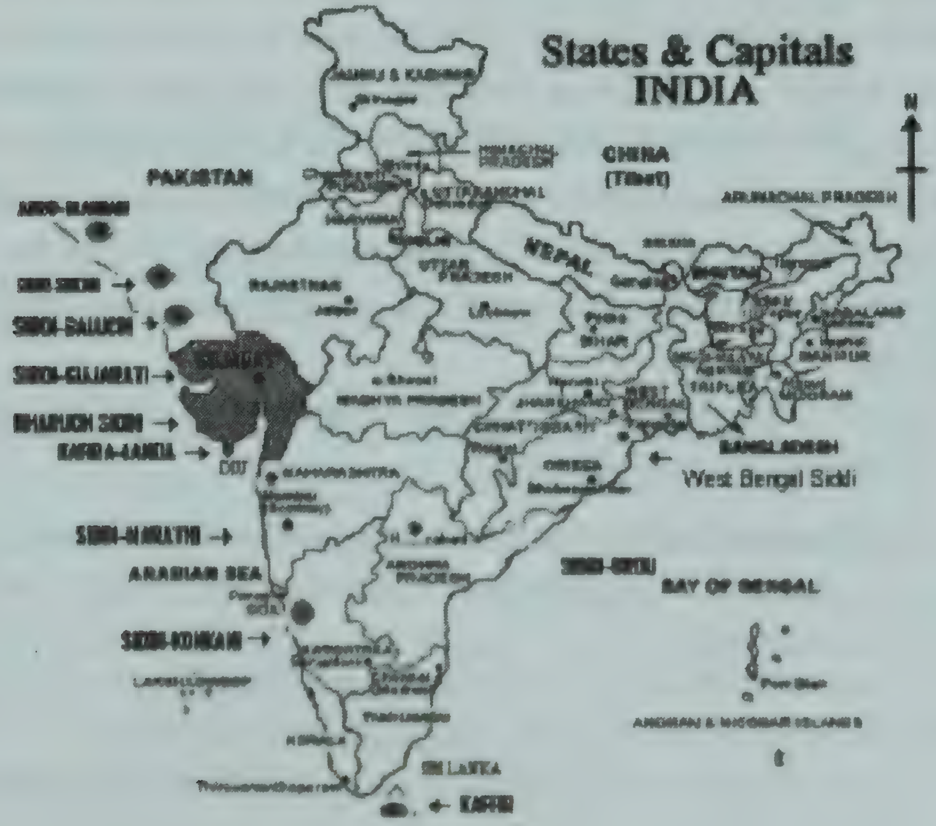
The African, Portuguese, Kannada, Marathi, Malvani, Hindi and English Influences on the Hybridized Siddi-Konkani Dialect [1]

Geralda de Lima Angenot
and Oziel Marques da Silva

1. This paper aims to present a general survey of the linguistic features which characterize the variety of the Konkani language spoken by the Siddis who live in Yellapur subdistrict and its surrounding areas in Karnataka. We try to show definitively that Siddi-Konkani cannot be defined as being an African language nor a creolized language, but is only a specific hybridized dialect of the Konkani language which has integrated several successive external linguistic influences.

Siddi-Konkani is a relatively endangered language which is mainly spoken in Uttara Kannada district of Karnataka, India, by about 12,000 tribal descendants of African slaves who escaped, between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries from Goa to hide in the deep Western Ghat forests, outside the Portuguese Crown colony. Its present survival is threatened by Kannada, the regional Dravidian language used as the official vehicle for education, and by Marathi, the official Indo-Aryan language of the neighbouring state of Maharashtra, also frequently used in the northern border area of Karnataka state.

The areas of the Siddi-Konkani can be visualised on the following map:



Of course, the mother tongues spoken by the ancestors of the contemporary Karnataka Siddi people formed a constellation of African languages which belonged mainly to the Bantu family, given that most of the slaves forcibly transported by the Portuguese were captured in the immense interior of Eastern and Central Africa, which is still populated today by speakers of a lot of different, but relatively closed, Bantu languages, before being transported from the trading posts of Mozambique and the East African Swahili coast.

The existence of a common pan-Bantu vehicular pidgin that was used by the slaves on their arrival in Goa can be deduced from the typological proximity of their original languages and from the traditional African habits of bilingualism characterised by the use of a regional vehicular language for interethnic communication at the same time as Goans christianized the individiual tribal mother tongues. This pidginized Bantu language was probably strongly influenced by the common variety of Portuguese used in usual international communication in the Asian and Indian Oceanic world for several centuries, given that usually the slaves, for quite a long period, lived in captivity in the Portuguese quarters of the East African ports, before being transported to Goa. In Goa, the African slaves progressively lost the use of this slightly portuguesized Bantu pidgin in favour of a creolized version of the language of their owners, who were, for the most part, Portuguese expatriates and rich christianized Goans, and who were, generally, bilingual in Portuguese and in a growing Portuguese-variety of the Konkani language, which was notably used with the servants, the slaves and the low caste people, in general. Given that the African slaves deported to Asia were a lot less numerous than those taken to the Americas, and that they were, above all, destined for domestic activities and not for plantation work, as was the case in Brazil, for example, their linguistic habits evolved in a very fast way, through a gradual and constant process of assimilation by the dominant Portuguese-Konkani spoken by their Christian Goan masters. The marooned slaves who escaped from Goa and crossed the border of the current Karnataka state to take refuge in the deep forests of the Western Ghâts spoke a relatively simplified version of the Konkani spoken by the Christian Goans and their servants.

To sum up, we can consider that the linguistic history of the Siddi-Konkani people experienced the following evolving steps:

(1) a constellation of related Bantu languages spoken by populations who are generally bilingual users of their mother tongue and of a regional language;

(2) a pidginized Bantu language with elements of the Indian Oceanic variety of Portuguese used as "lingua franca" in Asia;

(3) a creolized popular variety of the Portuguese-Konkani spoken by the Christian Goans;

(4) a decreolized popular variety of the Portuguese-Konkani spoken by the christian Goans;
(5) a growing marathized variety of the original christian Goan Konkani spoken by the minority hinduized section of the Siddi-Konkani people who left their Christian roots after leaving their forestal protective screen;
(6) a growing influence of Kannada, the official language of Karnataka state accentuated by the relatively recent access to schooling; and
(7) a growing influence of English loan-words as a consequence of education, travel and other external contacts.

In other words, the *substratic* ancestral African languages were gradually substituted by a dialectal variety of the *superstratic* Konkani language, which, as for that, was successively hybridised by borrowings from the Portuguese, Marathi, Kannada and English languages.

The current Siddi-Konkani language is the hybridized result of various prehistoric and historic interactions between several members of several linguistic families, phyla and megaphyla, as we can synthesize in the following simplified chart :

MEGAPHYLA :	**PHYLA :**	**FAMILIES :**	**LANGUAGES :**	
KongoKordofanian	....	Bantu	Eastern group Central group	SUBSTRATE
Nostratic	Indo-European	Indo-Aryan	Goan Konkani	SUPERSTRATE
			Marathi	ADSTRATE
		Romance	Portuguese	
		Germanic	English	
	Dravidian	....	Kannada	

Finally, we have to point out the existence of a third Siddi community of Sunni Muslim Siddis (30%) living in Karnataka near the Christian Siddis (45%) and the Hindu Siddis (25%) (see, Câmara, 2004:102). They speak a dialectal variety of the Urdu language because of their different origin. They are not descendants of escaped Goan slaves but the descendants of African mercenaries demobilized by the British raj. They mainly left West Bengal, Janjira Island, Mumbai city and different places in the Deccan region to settle down in Hyderabad. An avant-garde of this internal migration reached Karnataka where they met Christian and Hindu Siddis who were already settled there.

2. What about possible hidden remnants of an African Linguistic Component which could originate from Eastern and Central Africa Bantu languages spoken notably in Mozambique and in the broad Swahili area?

So far no words of clear African origin have been found in Siddi-Konkani in the usual vocabulary, contrary, for example, to the Siddi-Gujarati languages where several items of African origin were identified, notably by Abdulaziz Lodhi (see, his article in this volume) and Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy (personal communication).

Only the following, still hypothetical, indications of possible African retentions can be suggested, with reservations:

(a) Virtual hidden African lexical vestiges could probably be identified in specific domains of the Siddi culture, such as the oral transmission of myths and legends, the practice of ancestral animist rituals and traditional music, dance and songs. It is necessary to warn that access by a non-Siddi researcher into these very private cultural domains constitutes a sensitive, and necessarily a long time challenge.

(b) A phonotactical Bantu feature can explain the systematic allophonic tendency manifested by the Siddi speakers of realizing open syllables with a schwa vowel at the end of the word [# (...)$\$C_1V_2\$C_3$⚐ #] where the original corresponding Goan Konkani has a final syllable closed by a consonant [# (...)$\$C_1V_2C_3$ #]. Of course, an alternative less radical hypothesis can consider what occurred to be only a Bantu conservative reinforcement in Siddi-Konkani of an Old Konkani structure that is weakened in the contemporary Standard Konkani. For example, the word for "back" is pronounced ☯✍♐✌▫◆❋☸ in Goan Konkani but ☯✍□☝✌▫◆❋⚐☸ in Siddi-Konkani.

(c) Another theme for a future instrumental inquiry is the alleged different melody that characterizes the overall perception by many non-Siddi speakers of the Siddi-Konkani pronunciation. It is interesting to compare such intonation features with the corresponding Bantu ones.

(d) While the phonetic and phonological systems of Goan Konkani, mainly in Christian Goan Bardeshi dialect, are characterised by a set of nasalised vowels that is the counterpart of the set of oral vowels, in Siddi-Konkani the nasalised vowels are absent. This neutralization of the contrast between oral and nasal vowels could be explained as the result of the maintenance of the well-attested phonotactic restriction tendency, which is common in the Bantu languages, where the absence of vowel nasalisation is general. Nevertheless, the weakness or sometimes the lack of nasalised vowels is sometimes attested in some Goan Konkani dialects or sociolects.

For example, the word for "tomorrow" is pronounced ☯✍♐🗀🗎♋✌●♏✌◑☸ in Goan Konkani but ☯✍□☝✌●♏✌☸ in Siddi-Konkani.

The documentation of this Afro-Indian language is extremely important for the theoretical development of the studies of the different typological cases of contacts between the world´s languages. Indeed, all the African origin creoles, pidgins, sabirs and other weaker forms so far observed have resulted from contacts between African and European languages, with the notable exception of Kiswahili, born from a meeting between a Semitic and a set of Eastern Bantu languages. Siddi-Konkani constitutes the first documented case resulting from historical interactions between an Indo-Aryan and African languages. Furthermore, in the hypothetical case of identifying one day some lexical elements from African origin in Siddi-Konkani, it would be a valuable help for getting a more accurate geographical identification of the African ancestors´ homeland.

3. The Borrowed Portuguese Lexical Items of Siddi-Konkani resulted from the contact period with the Portuguese or Christian Goan owners of the slaves.

While Christian Goan Konkani integrated a large number of Portuguese loanwords in its vocabulary, this number is considerably reduced in Siddi-Konkani, not exceeding 10 per cent of the at least 2,500 Portuguese borrowings attested in Goan Konkani. An important explanation for these lexical losses is notably the forgetting of the designation of many of the material objects that the escaped slaves did not take with them when they penetrated deep into the woods. It was natural that fugitives did not burden themselves with tables, windows or chairs, for example. So they forgot the Portuguese words for such objects and they have recently adopted English borrowings for denoting them again after coming out of the forests some decades ago.

The semantic fields represented by the Portuguese borrowings in Siddi Konkani are extremely limited. All the 214 loanwords we have identified are restricted to the following topics:

(a) names: 32.5 per cent ;
(b) surnames of non-Siddi people of Goan origin: 15.2 per cent;
(c) Catholic religion: 26.2 per cent;
(d) manufactured objects : 19.5 per cent;
(e) human relations: 3.8 per cent;
(f) fruits: 3.7 per cent; and
(g) *varia*: 6.6 per cent.

The high number of terms related to Catholic practice is very much unexpected given the long interruption of direct contact with priests during the centuries of isolation in the forests. There are two possible complementary explanations for this. This can be an evidence for stating that the contemporaneous Siddi-Konkani people are not descendants of only the marooned slaves who ran away at the start of the colonial period but that there was a constant flow of escaped slaves for several centuries and also, following the abolition of slavery, many free Afro-Indians without lands followed the old "slave route" to the Western Ghat forests. Furthermore, for some decades the Catholic Church has been involved in an intense project of recouperation and reconversion of these descendants of christianized slaves, who were left forgotten for so long.

SIDDI NAMES : 32.5 per cent

	ENGLISH	PORTUGUESE	SIDDI-KONKANI
1.	*Abel*	*Abel*	☯✌♌☜●⚐❁
2.	*Abraham*	*Abrão*	☯✌♌☼✌👌⚐❁
3.	*Adam*	*Adão*	☯✌♎✌👌⚐❁
4.	*Agnes*	*Ines*	☯✋■♓⬧⚐❁
5.	*Alberto*	*Alberto*	☯✌●⚐👌🏱⧫✷⚐❁
6.	*Alph*	*Alfonso*	☯✌●⚐□👍□▪⬧□❁📪 ☯✌●⚐□👍□▪⬧⚐❁
7.	*Ambrose*	*Ambrósio*	☯✌♌⚐□❷♎✤⚐❁
8.	*Angela*	*Angela*	☯✌▪♎☾☜●✌❁
9.	*Anna*	*Ana*	☯✌■✌❁
10.	*Aurelia*	*Aurélia*	☯✌⬧⚐□☜●✌❁
11.	*Barbara*	*Bárbara*	☯♌✌□⚐♌✌☼✌❁
12.	*Benedict*	*Benedito*	☯♌♏■♏♎♓⧫⚐❁
13.	*Benjamin*	*Benjamim*	☯♌♏▪♎☾✌○♓❁
14.	*Cain*	*Caim*	☯&✌er⚐■⚐❁
15.	*Cajetan*	*Caetano*	☯&✌er⚐⧫✌■⚐❁
16.	*Camil*	*Camilo*	☯&✌○♓●⚐❁
17.	*Celin*	*Celina*	☯💧♏●♓■✌❁
18.	*Clara*	*Clara*	☯&✌●✌□⚐❁
19.	*Clement*	*Clemente*	☯&⚐●♏○♏▪⧫⚐❁
20.	*Conception*	*Conceição*	☯&□⬧♏⬧✌👌⚐❁
21.	*Elizabeth*	*Elizabete*	☯✋●⚐♎✤✌♌☜⧫⚐❁
22.	*Emmanuel*	*Manuel*	☯○✌■◆⍓♏●⚐❁
23.	*Eva*	*Eva*	☯♓♑♏👌✌❁ 📪 ☯♓♑♏👌⚐❁
24.	*Fatima*	*Fátima*	☯□👍✌⧫♓○✌❁
25.	*Francis*	*Francisco*	☯□👍□✌▪⬧♓⬧&□❁
26.	*George*	*Jorge*	☯♎☾er❷□⚐♎☾⚐❁
27.	*Ignatius*	*Inácio*	☯✋■✌⬧⚐❁
28.	*Isabel*	*Izabel*	☯✋♎☾er✌♌♏●⚐❁
29.	*Jesus*	*Jesus*	☯♎☾♏♎✤◆❁
30.	*Joachim*	*Joaquim*	☯♎☾er✌♍♓■⚐❁

(Contd....)

31.	*Joan Joanna*	*Joana*	☯♎⌘◆⬧✌■✌☸
32.	*Joel*	*Joel*	☯♎☾□⌖☜●⚐☸
33.	*John*	*João*	☯♎⌘◆⌖✌⚐☸
34.	*Joseph*	*José*	☯♎⌘☙◆♎☾♏☸
35.	*Judas*	*Judas*	☯♎☾◆♎✌⬧⚐☸
36	*Lawrence*	*Lourenço*	☯●❷□♏▪⬧⚐☸
37	*Lazarus*	*Lazaro*	☯●✌♎⌘⚐□⚐☸
38	*Lina*	*Lina*	☯●♓■✌☸
39	*Linda*	*Linda*	☯●♓▪♎✌☸
40	*Louis*	*Luís*	☯●◆✞♓⬧⚐☸
41	*Lourdes*	*Lourdes*	☯●◆♎☾♓☸
42	*Luke*	*Lucas*	☯●◆&✌⬧⚐☸
43	*Madeleine*	*Magdalena*	☯○✌♑⚐♎✌●♓■⚐☸
44	*Mark*	*Marcos*	☯○✌□⚐&□⬧⚐☸
45	*Martha*	*Marta*	☯○✌□⚐⧫✌☸
46	*Matthew*	*Mateus*	☯○✌⧫♏✞⚐☸
47	*Michael*	*Miguel*	☯○✋☠♑☜●⚐☸
48	*Moses*	*Moises*	☯○□♎☾☙♏⬧⚐☸
49	*Paul*	*Paulo*	☯□✌👌⚐●◆☸
50	*Peter*	*Pedro*	☯□♏♎⚐☼◆☸
51	*Philip*	*Felipe*	☯□♒✋●♓□♏☸
52	*Philomena*	*Filomena*	☯□👂✋●□○♓■✌☸
53	*Remedius*	*Remédio*	☯□☜○☜♎⚐☸
54	*Rita*	*Rita*	☯□♓⧫✌☸
55	*Rock*	*Roque*	☯□□♍♓ ☸
56	*Rosario*	*Rosário*	☯□◆♎⌘✌□☙□☸
57	*Rose*	*Rosa*	☯□□♎⌘✌☸
58	*Sebastian*	*Sebastião*	☯♌✌⬧⚐⧫♓☺✌👌⚐☸
59	*Simon*	*Simão*	☯⬧✋○✌👌⚐☸
60	*Theresa*	*Teresa*	☯⧫♏□♏♎⌘⚐☸
61	*Veronica*	*Verônica*	☯👌♏☼□■♓&✌☸
62	*Xavier*	*Xavier*	☯♎☾♏✞♓☺♏□⚐☸
63	———	*Carmela*	☯&✌□⚐○☜●✌☸
64	———	*Estela*	☯♏⬧⚐⧫♏●✌☸
65	———	*Francisca*	☯□👂□✌▪⬧♓⬧&✌☸
66	———	*Inácia*	☯✋▪⬧♓☺✌☸
67	———	*Joanita*	☯♎☾□■♓⧫✌☸
68	———	*Natalina*	☯■✌⧫✌●♓■✌☸

(Contd....)

69	———	*Pedrina*	☯❑♏♎⚐☼♓■⚐📪 ❑♏♎⚐☼♓■✌☸
70	———	*Romana*	☯❑❑○✌■⚐☸

NON-SIDDI SURNAMES KNOWN BY THE SIDDIS: 15.2 per cent

71.	———	*Carvalho*	☯&✌❑⚐👌✌●❑☸
72.	———	*Costa*	☯&❷⬧⚐◆✌☸
73.	———	*Coutinho*	☯&◆◆♓▫■❑☸
74.	———	*de Souza*	☯♎✸♓⬧❑♎⌘✌☸
75.	———	*Diniz*	☯♎🖐■♓⬧⚐☸
76.	———	*Fernandes*	☯❑👂♏❑⚐■✌▪♎♏⬧⚐☸
77.	———	*Figueiredo*	☯❑👂♓♑♏❑♏♎❑☸
78.	———	*Furtado*	☯❑👂◆❑⚐◆✌♎◆☸
79.	———	*Gomes*	☯♑❑○♓⬧⚐☸
80.	———	*Lima*	☯●♓○♋☸
81.	———	*Lobo*	☯●❑♌◆☸
82.	———	*Martins*	☯○✌❑⚐◆♓⬧⚐☸
83.	———	*Mascarenhas*	☯○✌⬧⚐&✌❑♏■✌⬧⚐☸
84.	———	*Miranda*	☯○🖐❑✌▪♎✌☸
85.	———	*Nazareth*	☯■✌♎⌘✌❑☜◆⚐☸
86.	———	*Osório*	☯❷♎⌘❷❑er❑☸
87.	———	*Pereira*	☯❑♏❑♏▫❑✌☸
88.	———	*Pinto*	☯❑♓▪◆◆☸
89.	———	*Rego*	☯❑♏♑❑☸
90.	———	*Rodrigues*	☯❑❑♎⚐❑🖐♑♏⬧⚐☸
91.	———	*Souza*	☯⬧❑♎⌘✌☸ 📪 ☯⬧❑♎☪✌☸
92.	———	*Vasco*	☯👌✌💧⚐&❑☸
93.	———	*Vitor*	☯✞🖐◆❑❑⚐☸

CATHOLIC RELIGION : 26.2 per cent

	ENGLISH	PORTUGUESE	SIDDI-KONKANI
94.	*altar*	*altar*	☯✌●⚐◆✌❑⚐☸
95.	*angel*	*anjo*	☯✌▪♎☪⚐ ☸
96.	*apostle*	*apóstolo*	☯✌❑🏳⬧⚐◆🏳●⚐☸
97.	*Hail Mary*	*Ave Maria*	☯✌○❑❑♓☸
98.	*bishop*	*bispo*	☯♌♓⬧⚐❑⚐☸

(Contd....)

99.	*blessing*	*benção*	☯♌♏⬩✌👌⚐❁
100.	*catholic*	*católico*	☯&✌◆❷●♓♍⚐❁
101.	*chapel*	*capela*	☯&🏳□♏●⚐❁
102.	*christian*	*cristão*	☯&🖐☼🖐⬩⚐◆✌👌⚐◐❁
103.	*Christmas*	*Natal*	☯■✌◆✌●⚐❁
104.	*church*	*igreja*	☯♓♑🏳□⚐♎⌘⚐❁
105.	*communion*	*comunhâo*	☯&◆❍🖐⬂✌👌⚐ 📪 &□❍◆⬂✌❁
106.	*convent*	*convento*	☯&❷●⚐❍♏▪◆⚐❁
107.	*cross*	*cruz*	☯&◆☼♓⬩⚐❁
108.	*curse*	*maldição*	☯❍✌●⚐♎🖐⬩✌👌⚐❁
109.	*devout person*	*devoto*	☯♎🖐👌□◆⚐❁
110.	*Easter*	*Páscoa*	☯□✌⬩⚐&☎✌◐❁
111.	*Father*	*padre*	☯□✌♎⚐☼♓❁
112.	*godfather*	*padrinho (=compadre)*	☯□✌♎♏■⚐❁
113.	*godmother*	*madrinha (=comadre)*	☯❍✌♎♏■⚐❁
114.	*gospel*	*evangelho*	☯👌✌▪♎☾♏●⚐❁
115.	*holy water*	*água benta*	☯✌♑⚐❍👁◆⚐❁
116.	*Lent*	*quaresma*	☯&🏳☼👁⬩⚐❍⚐❁
117.	*mass*	*missa*	☯❍♓▫⬩⚐❁
118.	*miracle*	*milagre*	☯❍🖐●✌♑⚐☼♓❁
119.	*mission*	*missão*	☯❍♓⬩✌👌⚐❁
120.	*mother (nun)*	*madre*	☯❍✌♎⚐☼⚐❁
121.	*novena*	*novena*	☯■□✞♏■⚐❁
122.	*picture of a saint*	*imagem (de santo)*	☯🖐❍✌♎⌘⚐❁
123.	*procession*	*procissão*	☯□◆□⚐⬩✌👌⚐❁
124.	*rosary*	*rosário*	☯□□♎⌘✌□❁
125.	*sacrament*	*sacramento*	☯⬩✌&⚐☼✌❍♏▪◆⚐❁
126.	*saint*	*santo*	☯⬩✌▫▪◆⚐❁
127.	*saint*	*santa*	☯⬩✌▪◆⚐❁
128.	*Saint-Agnes*	*Santa Ines*	☯⬩✌▪⚐◆♓■♓⬩⚐❁
129.	*Saint-Cross*	*Santa Cruz*	☯⬩✌▪◆✌&⚐☼◆♎⌘⚐❁
130.	*Saint-Ignacia*	*Santa Inácia*	☯⬩✌▪◆🖐■✌⬩⚐❁
131.	*Saint-Lucy*	*Santa Luzia*	☯⬩✌▪◆⚐●◆⬩♓☺✌❁
132.	*Saint-Martha*	*Santa Marta*	☯⬩✌◆⚐❍✌□⚐◆✌❁
133.	*Saint-Thomas*	*São Tomé*	☯⬩✌◆✌❍✌■⚐❁
134.	*Satanas*	*satanás*	☯⬩🏳◆☺✌■✌⬩⚐❁
135.	*sermon*	*sermão*	☯💧☺♏□⚐❍✌👌⚐❁

(Contd....)

136.	*soutane*	*loba (= batina)*	☯●❑▫♌⚐❁
137.	*third (of a rosary)*	*terço*	☯♦♏❑⚐⬩⚐❁
138.	*to bless*	*benzer*	☯♌♏▪♎✖✌❑⚐❁
139.	*to confess*	*confessar*	☯&◆○⚐⬩✌❑⚐❁
140.	*to pray*	*rezar*	☯❑⚐♎✖✌❑❁
141.	*to receive communion*	*comungar*	☯&❑○◆✱♑✌❑⚐❁

MANUFACTURED OBJECTS : 19.5 per cent

	ENGLISH	PORTUGUESE	SIDDI-KONKANI
142.	*to sing*	*cantar(=canto religioso)*	☯&✌▪♦✌❑⚐❁
143.	*vow*	*voto*	☯✞♏♦♏❁
144.	*bag*	*saco*	☯⬩✌▫&⚐❁
145.	*ball*	*bola*	☯♌❷▫●⚐❁
146.	*bench*	*banco (assento)*	☯♌✌&⚐❁
147.	*bomb*	*bomba*	☯♌❑○⚐♌✌❁
148.	*boot*	*bota*	☯♌◆▫♦⚐❁
149.	*bucket*	*balde*	☯♌✌●⚐♎♓❁
150.	*calico*	*chita*	☯♦💧♓♦✌❁
151.	*cupboard*	*armário*	☯✌●⚐○✌❑⚐❁
152.	*dish*	*prato*	☯❑⚐❑✌♦⚐❁
153.	*fork*	*garfo*	☯♑✌❑⚐♐⚐❁
154.	*glasses*	*óculos*	☯❑&⚐●⚐❁
155.	*glove*	*luva*	☯●◆👌⚐❁
156.	*guitar*	*guitarra*	☯♑✋♦✌❑⚐❁
157.	*handkerchief*	*lenço*	☯●♏⬩⚐❁
158.	*hat*	*chapeu*	☯⍚•☜❑❑❁
159.	*hook*	*gancho*	☯♑✌♎✖⚐❁
160.	*key*	*chave*	☯⍚•☺✌✞♓❁
161.	*lantern*	*lanterna (= candieiro)*	☯●✌▪♦♏❑⚐❁
162.	*napkin*	*toalha*	☯♦◆👌✌●❑❁
163.	*necklace*	*colar (=gola "neckband")*	☯&❑●✌❑⚐❁
164.	*palanquin*	*palanquim*	☯❑✌●⚐♍♓❁
165.	*photograph*	*foto(grafia)*	☯❑☝❑♦✸◆❁
166.	*pistol*	*pistola*	☯❑✋⬩⚐♦◆●⚐❁
167.	*plate*	*chapa*	☯♦💧✌❑⚐❁
168.	*pocket*	*bolso*	☯♌❑●⚐⬩⚐❁
169.	*raincoat (type Of)*	*capota (de chuva)*	☯&✌❑◆⚐❁

(Contd....)

170.	*reviewing stand*	*palanque*	☯❑✌●✌⁎♑🏳☸
171.	*salad*	*salada*	☯⬧✌●✌♎🏳☸
172.	*school*	*escola*	☯🖐💧🏳&➋●🏳☸
173.	*shawl*	*chale*	☯💧✌●🏳☸
174.	*soap*	*sabão*	☯⬧☺✌♌🏳■🏳📪⬧☺✌♌◆■🏳☸
175.	*sofa*	*sofa*	☯⬧□❑👍✌☸
176.	*soup*	*sopa*	☯⬧□▫❑🏳☸
177.	*spoon*	*colher*	☯&◆●♏❑🏳☸
178.	*table*	*mesa*	☯❍☜♎⌘☸
179.	*terrace*	*terraço*	☯◆♏☼✌⬧🏳☸
180.	*tile (type of)*	*cafre (= telha)*	☯&👍✌❑🏳☼♓☸
181.	*tower*	*torre*	☯◆□▫❑🏳☸
182.	*trunk (big)*	*mala (grande carga)*	☯❍👍✌▫●🏳☸
183.	*waistcoat, vest*	*colete*	☯&➋●♏♎⌘🏳☸

HUMAN RELATIONS : 3.8 per cent

	ENGLISH	PORTUGUESE	SIDDI-KONKANI
184.	*barrister*	*advogado*	☯✌♎🏳👌➋♑✌♎🏳☸
185.	*brother-in-law*	*cunhado*	☯&◆▪♎☾·er✌♎🏳☸
186.	*father*	*pai*	☯❑✌er🏳☸
187.	*married (woman)*	*casada (mulher)*	☯&✌♎⌘✌☼♓☸
188.	*master*	*mestre (carpinteiro)*	☯❍☜⬧◆🏳☸
189.	*mother*	*mãe*	☯❍✌er🏳☸📪☯♌✌er🏳☸
190.	*nurse*	*aiá*	☯✌er✌☸
191.	*to marry*	*casar*	☯&✌♎⌘✌❑🏳☸

FRUITS: 3.7 per cent

192.	*cashew*	*caju*	☯&✌♎⌘◆☸
193.	*coffee*	*café*	☯&👍✌❑♓☸
194.	*lemon*	*Limão*	☯●♓°♌◆☸
195.	*pawpaw*	*Papaia*	☯❑👍➋❑🏳er🏳☸
196.	*pear*	*pera (= goiaba"guava")*	☯❑♏▫❑🏳☸
197.	*pineapple*	*ananás*	☯🏳■🏳⬧🏳☸
198.	*pumpkin*	*abóbora*	☯♌□❑□➚➋☸

(Contd....)

OTHERS: 6.6 per cent

	ENGLISH	PORTUGUESE	SIDDI-KONKANI
199.	*all right!*	*certo!*	☯💧☜❑⚐◆⚐☸
200.	*bad breath*	*bafo*	☯👌✌♐⚐☸
201.	*calm*	*sossego*	☯⬧◆⬧♏♑⚐☸
202.	*cat's*	[mA)^{n}d^z«rAt^{s}o]	☯○✌■♎✽⚐❑✌◆·❑☸
203.	*dowry*	*dote*	☯♎❷▫◆⚐☸
204.	*feast*	*festa*	☯❑✋☜⬧⚐◆⚐☸
205.	*fresh*	*fresco*	☯♐☼♏⬧⚐&⚐☸
206.	*goodbye*	*adeus!*	☯✌♎♏💧⚐☸
207.	*greenish*	*garço*	☯♑✌❑⚐⬧❷☸
208.	*hol*	*buraco*	☯♌◆☼✌&⚐☸
209.	*kilo*	*quilo*	☯&♓●❑☸
210.	*quiet*	*sossegado*	☯⬧❑💧♏♑✌♎❑☸
211.	*to finish*	*acabar*	☯&✌♌✌❑⚐☸
212.	*to pay*	*pagar*	☯❑⚐♑✌❑⚐☸
213.	*to throw*	*jogar*	☯♎✽◆♑✌❑⚐☸

After their relatively recent coming out of the forests, Siddi-Konkani borrowed a growing number of lexical loans from other languages, notably Kannada, Marathi and English.

4. THE BORROWED KANNADA LEXICAL ITEMS

Sample of examples of lexical Kannada borrowings in Siddi-Konkani :

ENGLISH	KANNADA	SIDDI-KONKANI
bricks	☯♓▦▦♓♑♏☸	☯♓◆✷⚐☠♑♓☸
coloured	☯♌↲⬃⬃↲☸	☯♌⚐■✷■✷✌◆⬧☜☸
detail	☯✞♓✞↲❑↲☸	☯✞♓❖⚐❑⚐☸
monkey	☯○↲☠♑↲☸	☯○⚐☠♑❷☸
net for fishing	☯♌↲⇧☜☸	☯♎✽✌●✷☜☸
small hole in the earth	☯♑◆⇧♓☸	☯&◆●✷♓☸
small stool	☯○↲⬃☜☸	☯○✋⚐■✷♓☸
watermelon	☯&↲●●↲☠♑✌⬇♓☸	&⚐●✌◑☠♑♎✷❑☸
weapon for hunting	☯♌↲❑◆⬧♓☸	☯♌⚐❑◆⬧♓☸

(Contd....)

5. THE BORROWED MARATHI LEXICAL ITEMS

Sample of examples of lexical Marathi borrowings in Siddi-Konkani :

ENGLISH	MARATHI	SIDDI-KONKANI
watermelon	☯&☞●●☞☠♑✌⬇♓❁	☯&🏳●✌◑☠♑♎✹□❁
weapon for hunting	☯♌☞□◆⬧♓❁	☯♌🏳□◆⬧♓❁
asking	☯⬧♓◆⬧✌□◆✌◆❁	✝♓◆⬧✌□⚐◆✌◆⚐❁
bed	☯&☝❷◆✹❁	☯&☝❷◆⚐✹❁
but	☯□★■✹❁	☯□🏳■✹⚐❁
came	☯er♏⬧◆○❁	☯er♏👌◆○⚐❁
coconut tree	☯■✌□➚✌◆⬧♏ ♎⌘☝✌♎✹❁	☯■✌□⚐➚✌◆⬧♏ ♎⌘☝✌♎✹⚐❁
contact	☯⬧✌◑°□★□&❁	☯⬧✌◑°□🏳□⚐&⚐❁
far	☯♎◆□✹❁	☯♎◆□⚐✹❁
fish	☯○✌⬧★◆✹♓❁	☯○✌⬧🏳◆✹♓❁
from	☯&★♎✹◆■❁	☯&🏳♎✹◆■⚐❁
from top	☯⬧★□■★❁	☯👌🏳□⚐■🏳❁
here	☯♓◆☝♏❁	☯♓◆☝♏❁
here	☯♓&★♎♏❁	☯♓&🏳♎♏❁
in the computer	☯&★○□◆◆✹★□✌◆❁	☯&🏳○⚐□◆◆✹🏳□✌◆⚐❁
only this	☯er♏⬧♎☝★◆'❁	☯er♏✝⚐♎☝🏳◆⬧⚐❁
running	☯□★➚◆❁	☯□🏳➚◆❁
seen	☯♌★♑☝◆■❁	☯♌🏳♑☝◆■⚐❁
so much	☯&☝◆□❁	☯&☝◆□⚐❁
something wrong	☯♌♓♎★⬧◆♏❁	☯♌♓♎🏳⬧⚐◆♏❁
tailor	☯💧♓◑°□♓❁	☯💧♓◑°□♓❁
to be	☯○☝★■✹♏❁	☯○☝🏳■✹♏❁
to keep	☯◆☝★⬧◆★●♓❁	☯◆☝🏳👌⚐◆🏳●♓❁
tongue	☯♎☾♓♌♓●❁	☯♎☾♓♌♓●⚐❁
went	☯♎⌘✌⬧◆■❁	☯♎⌘✌👌◆■⚐❁
what	☯&✌er❁	☯&✌er⚐❁
wheel	☯◆⬧★&&★□❁	☯◆⬧🏳&⚐&🏳□⚐❁
with	☯⬧★♒♓◆❁	☯⬧🏳♒♓◆⚐❁

6. THE BORROWED MALVANI LEXICAL ITEMS

Sample of examples of lexical Malvani (an intermediate dialect between Marathi and Konkani) borrowings in Siddi-Konkani :

ENGLISH	MALVANI	SIDDI-KONKANI
after a look	☯♌★♑☝★●er✌❐❁	☯♌⚐♑☝⚐●⚐er✌❐⚐❁ (Contd....)
I	☯○er✌❁	☯○er✌❁
of boy	☯♎☾☝♓●♑☺✌◆⬩♏❁	☯♎☾☝♓●⚐♑☺✌◆⬩♏❁
to bird	☯◻✌&☝✌&❁	☯◻✌&☝✌&⚐❁
told	☯⬩✌◑☥♑◆♑❁	☯⬩✌☥♑◆♑⚐❁
white	☯◻✌◑▪♎★❐❐❁	☯◻✌▪♎⚐❐❐❁
why	☯&☝♏&✌❁	☯&☝♏&✌❁

7. THE BORROWED HINDI LEXICAL ITEMS

Sample of examples of lexical Hindi borrowings in Siddi-Konkani :

ENGLISH	HINDI	SIDDI-KONKANI
after a look	☯♌★♑☝★●er✌❐❁	☯♌⚐♑☝⚐●⚐er✌❐⚐❁
ant	☯○◆◑☥●♓❁	☯○◆☞●♓❁
boats	☯♎☝⌖★■♓er✌❁	☯♎☝⌖⚐■♓er✌❁
elephant	☯♒✌◆◆♓❁	☯♒✌◆⚐◆♓❁
hour	☯♑☝✌◑▪◆✵✌❁	☯♑☝✌▪◆✵✌❁
key	☯◆⬩✌♌♌♓❁	☯◆⬩✌♌⚐♌♓❁
lips	☯♒◻◆✵❁	☯♒◻◆✵⚐❁
moon	☯◆⬩✌◑▪♎❁	☯◆⬩✌▪♎⚐❁
pigeon	☯&★♌◆◆★❐❁	☯&⚐♌◆◆⚐❐⚐❁
rain	☯⬩★❐💧✌❁	☯👌⚐❐⚐💧✌❁
spider	☯○★&★♎✵♓❁	☯○⚐&⚐♎✵♓❁
stomach	☯◻♏◆✵❁	☯◻♏◆✵❁
tailor	☯♎★❐♎☾♓❁	☯♎⚐❐⚐♎☾♓❁
to return back	☯⬩✌◻★⬩❁	☯👌✌◻⚐⬩⚐❁

8. THE BORROWED ENGLISH LEXICAL ITEMS

Sample of examples of lexical English borrowings in Siddi-Konkani :

ENGLISH		SIDDI-KONKANI
bench	☯♌☜■◆⬩❁	☯♌♏▪◆⬩⚐❁
book	☯♌◆&❁	☯♌◆▫&⚐❁
brush	☯♌❐✍💧❁	☯♌❐⚐▫💧❁
bucket	☯♌✍&✋◆☝❁	☯♌✌&♏◆✵⚐❁(Contd....)

chocolate	☯⧫⬥❷&●🖐⧫☟☸	☯⧫💧□&●♏⧫⚐☸
cup	☯&☟👎□☟☸	☯&⚐▫□⚐☸
December	☯♎🖐⬥☜○♌★☸	☯♎♓💧♏°♌⚐□⚐☸
Drawer	☯♎□❷▫☸	☯♎□✌👌⚐□⚐☸
glass	☯♑●✌▫⬥☸	☯♑●✌▫⬥⚐☯
insult	☯🖐■⬥👎●⧫☟☸	☯♓▪⬥⚐●⧫⚐☸
jail	☯♎☾♏🖐🕿●☸	☯♎☾☟☺♏●☸
July	☯♎☾◆●♋🖐🕿☸	☯♎☾◆●✌er⚐☸
Licence	☯●♋🖐🕿⬥■❻⬥☸	☯●✌er⬥☺♏▪⬥⚐☸
machine	☯○★💧♓▫■☸	☯○♓💧er♏■⚐☸
Mother (nun)	☯○👎♎★☸	☯○⚐♎⚐□⚐☸
pencil	☯□☟☜■⬥●❻☸	☯□♏▪⬥♓●⚐☸
pope	☯□☟★◆🕿□☟☸	☯□❷▫□⚐☸
tie	☯⧫☟♋♓🕿☸	☯⧫✌▫er⚐☸
tomato	☯⧫☟★○✌▫⧫★◆🕿☸	☯⧫✷❷○☜⧫✷□☸
warm	☯⧫❷▫○☸	☯👌⚐□⚐○⚐☸

9. SOME OLD KONKANI RETENTIONS

elder	☯⧫☟□□●□☸	☯⧫☟□□⚐●□☸
fish	☯○✌◑▪⬥◆●♓☸	☯○✌◑▪⬥◆●♓☸
grazing	☯⧫⬥★□◆⧫✌☸	☯⧫⬥⚐□◆⧫✌☸
horn	☯⬥♓◑⁑♑☸	☯⬥♓⁑♑☸
people	☯○✌■✷★⬥✌☸	☯○✌■✷⚐⬥✌☸

Note

[1] This paper is an excerpt of a TADIA ethnolinguistic project granted by the *Fundação Oriente* of Lisbon and promoted jointly by the CEPLA research centre of the Federal University of Rondônia, Brazil and the Thomas Stephens Konkani Kendr, Goa.

The project plans to realize a complete description of Siddi-Konkani, a language that has not yet been the object of any previous attempt at linguistic description. The documentation will consist of instrumental phonetic (acoustic, articulatory and aerodynamic) analysis, a practical phonemic description completed by a more abstract non-linear reinterpretation, a grammar survey (morphology and syntax), a bilingual Siddi-Konkani-English and English-Siddi-Konkani dictionary with systematic inclusion of the Goan Konkani, Portuguese, Bantu, Marathi and Kannada etymological cognates, sociolinguistic reports and text collections. Video footage, audio tapes, computer files and field notes will be provided and deposited at the Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendr.

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Corrected Article at End of Book

18

The Retroflected Consonants in Siddi-Konkani: Dravidian Sub-Apical Palatal or Indo-Aryan Apical Postalveolar Articulation?

Jean-Pierre Angenot and
Selmo Azevedo Apontes

It is a known fact that human perceptive and cognitive systems require only a small number of distinct signals to encode all the words and sentences of a language. But these signals are not necessarily the same in every language. There are phonetic differences among the sounds that languages use for phonological contrasts. In relation to the inventory of all human speech sounds, it is obvious that some places of articulation, for example, are favoured far more than others. In this way, as Maddieson (1980) has shown, velar stops articulation occurs in 99 per cent of the languages of the world, whereas uvular stops occur in only 14 per cent. Similarly, the comparative infrequency of retroflex stops (11 per cent of the languages of the world) is due to the comparative complexity of the articulation required, which is explained by anatomical considerations.

Languages do not have just fixed places in the vocal tract as, for example, dental, alveolar, postalveolar and retroflex successive IPA (International Phonetic Association) positions; but instead exhibit a continuous range of places of articulation, some languages choosing certain areas within this range, and others choosing others. Ladefoged demonstrated that this is in fact the case with regard to retroflex sounds in different Indian languages. He has been concerned with two Indo-Aryan languages (Hindi and Urdu) and two Dravidian languages (Tamil and Telugu).

According to Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996/2002: 25),

> *"The term 'retroflex' has been used for a variety of different articulations, which are linked as much by the shape of the tongue involved as the region on the upper surface of the mouth.. A retroflex articulation is one in which the tip of the tongue is curled up to some extent. In addition to the sub-apical palatal articulations that occur in Dravidian languages (as in Toda, Tamil or Telugu), there is also retroflex gestures in which the tip of the tongue is curled only slightly upwards, forming an articulation in the alveolar or, more usually, post-alveolar region. We will symbolize articulations of this kind by a subscript dot beneath the symbol for the apical alveolar sound. This usage has been explicitely disavowed by the International Phonetic Association (1989), but*

> *we have retained it so that we can differentiate between two degrees of retroflexion, using the approved IPA symbols[⊞ ⬇ ⬃]for sub-apical palatal retroflex articulations of the Dravidian type (as Tamil and Telugu) , but the dotted symbols [♦→♎↓■✵☸] for apical (post-)alveolar retroflex articulations of the Indo-Aryan type (as Hindi) with a less retroflexed tongue shape."*

Several authors (Svarný and Zvelebil 1955; Ladefoged 1964; Bhat 1973; Catford 1977) have noted differences among sounds classed as retroflex. According to Svarný and Zvelebil (1955), there are two distinct sound types, which we might call retroflex (when the underside of the tip of the tongue is involved, as in the Dravidian languages) and cacuminal (when the tip makes contact with the post-alveolar ridge as in the Indo-Aryan languages). In fact, there is a continuum going from a very strong retroflex sound of the kind [⬇] used by speakers of Telugu and Tamil, through a slightly weak retroflex sound of the kind [♎↓] that occurs in Hindi and Urdu, to a non-retroflex sound involving the tip of the tongue such as English alveolar [**d**].

No acoustic property common to these two kinds of retroflex sounds has been found and there is not a specific and unique category "retroflex" but merely an ill-defined set of sounds that merges into neighbouring sets of sounds.

Articulatory Results of Retroflexion

There have been very few experimental studies of retroflex consonants.

The most detailed work has been done on Tamil and Urdu by Svarný and Zvelebil (1955). From a lengthy series of palatograms, linguagrams and X-rays, they found that the degree of retroflexion is greatest in Tamil with the tip of the tongue making contact in the prepalatal region, while Urdu has less retroflexion. Their X-rays also show that the degree of retroflexion is affected by vowel context, being less before a high backed vowel.

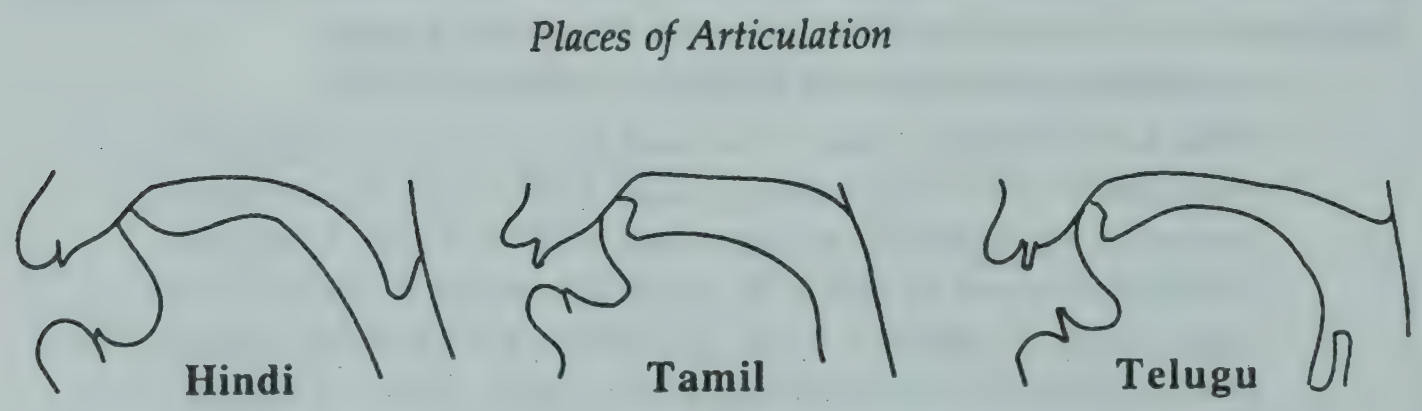


Figure 2.11 X-ray tracings of the apical retroflex ḍ in Hindi and the sub-apical retroflex ɖ in Tamil and Telugu (after Ladefoged and Bhaskararao 1983.)

Balasubramanian (1972) confirms through his palatograms and X-ray photographs that the contact for [⊞] in Tamil definitively involves the underside of the blade of the tongue in the palatal region.

Dave (1977), who uses palatograms to investigate Gujarati, concludes that the underside of the tip of the tongue is used curled back into the palatal region when [τ] and [d] are pronounced.

Nihalani (1974) has studied his proper pronunciation of Sindhi, an Indo-Aryan language. He noted that, in his speech, the sound is not a true representative of the traditional category of sounds known as "retroflex" sounds and he considered that the phonetic label "apical post-alveolar" would more adequately describe its formation.

In order to devise a quantitative measure of retroflexion in Hindi, Urdu, Telugu ans Tamil, Ladefoged and Bhaskararao (1983) estimate the angle between the mean slope of the surface of the blade of the tongue and that of the front of the tongue. The angles show clearly that the speakers of Indo-Aryan languages have less retroflexion than any of the speakers of Dravidian languages.

Acoustic Results of Retroflexion

Regarding the acoustic results of retroflexion, the general consensus seems to be that retroflexion affects mainly the higher formants.

Fant (1968) notes that a retrofflex modification of alveolar sounds lowers F4 so that it comes close to F3; but a retroflex modification of palatal sounds modifies F3 so that comes close to F2.

Stevens and Blumstein (1975) note that:

> *"(1) The F2 transition is similar for both retroflex and non-retroflex consonants; (2) The F3 transition tends to be rising from the retroflex position; (3) F4 starts very low, and undergoes a brief interval in this position before rising rapidly to the normal F4 position for the vowel.... The overall acoustic pattern is characterized by a clustering of F2, F3 and F4 in a relatively narrow frequence region."*

The latter point is confirmed by Dave (1977). Stevens and Blumstein also find that retroflex stops have a burst of noise with a centre frequency near F3 or F4. Dave (1977) notes that he has difficulty observing this, but, in general, he does find that the bursts for Indo-Aryan Gujarati dental stops are higher than those for retroflex stops.

Ramasubramaniam and Thosar (1971) give a series of rules for synthesizing retroflex sounds, including: "*when* / t□, d□, n□/ *precede and/or follow a vowel, the steady-rate value of F3 of the vowel is lowered by about 225 c.p.s.*". They also list the locus for both F2 and F3 in association with front vowels as 1900 Hz, with central vowels as 1450 Hz, and with back vowels as 1000 Hz. Dave (1977) is somewhat critical of this work. On the basis of his acoustic analysis of two speakers he considers the F2 locus to be at 2100 1Hz, with F3 and F4 having very low, but not fixed, loci. He also notes that in both his data and that of Stevens and Blumstein (1971) there are much greater formant transitions in going from a vowel into a retroflex consonant into a following vowel.

Walldén (1974-75) observes that in Tamil *"compared with a non-retroflex a postvocalic retroflex, especially* [♦] and [λ], *has a clear lowering effect on the preceding vowel, and F3 is mainly responsible for this"*.

Even if there is no particular language known that is characterized by a phonological opposition between "weak" apical (post-)alveolar retroflexes as [♦→♎↓■↓❁] and "strong" sub-apical palatal retroflexes as [▦⊞⬇✐], the existence of these two retrofiexion modalities concerns the phonological theory and requires specific resources of formalization, in particular for the following linguistics subfields:

(a) Historical linguistics: in case one kind of retroflexion has evolved to the other kind;

(b) loan phonology: in case of borrowings, nativization from a language where one kind of retroflexion is attested into another language characterized by the other kind;

(c) language contact studies: in case of bilingual context where the two different types of retroflexion interact mutually.

The semi-creolized Siddi Konkani language constitutes an interesting case of interaction between the two different series of retroflexes.

The Siddi Konkani people consists of a tribal community formed by about 18,000 Afro-Indians descendants of Bantu slaves from Mozambique and the Swahili coast, who escaped from the Portuguese Goa and settled as hidden maroons at the bottom of the deep rain forests of the current Karnataka state. Their original language was a sociolectal variant of the Konkani spoken by their former christianized Goan masters, a dialect that contains a lot of Portuguese elements. Further, the Siddis safeguarded various elements of their ancestral African vocabularies, mainly in some cultural domains. Moreover the contact between Siddi Konkani and its original source, Goan Konkani, was broken several centuries ago and, consequently, both the languages evolved separately.

Recently, mainly through the Siddi children's schooling, the Siddi Konkani hybridized language started to incorporate loan words from Kannada, the official Dravidian language of Karnataka. What consequences would follow from the encounter between two languages characterized by different typological and phonetic uses of the retroflex sounds? The following historical facts need to be remembered:

(a) When the fleeing African slaves left colonial Goa from the XVIth century, their proper Goan Konkani variant held the slight [♦→ ♎↓ ■↓✍✍✍☸] apical (post-) alveolar retroflexes common in the other Indo-Aryan languages as Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali and so on.

(b) Relatively recently, when they started to go out from the forests and got in touch with the local indigenous populations of Uttara Kannada, they were confronted with the pronunciation of the strong [⊞⬇⬃...] Dravidian sub-apical palatal retroflexes.

(c) Today, many speakers of the young generation are totally or partially bilingual in their use of the Siddi-Konkani and the Kannada languages.

How would the Siddis react faced with these two different kinds of retroflexion articulation?

We can only form three theoretical hypotheses:

(a) They learned to use the two different kinds of retroflexion depending on the language.

(b) They retained their original slight Indo-Aryan retroflexion even when they pronounced the Kannada language;

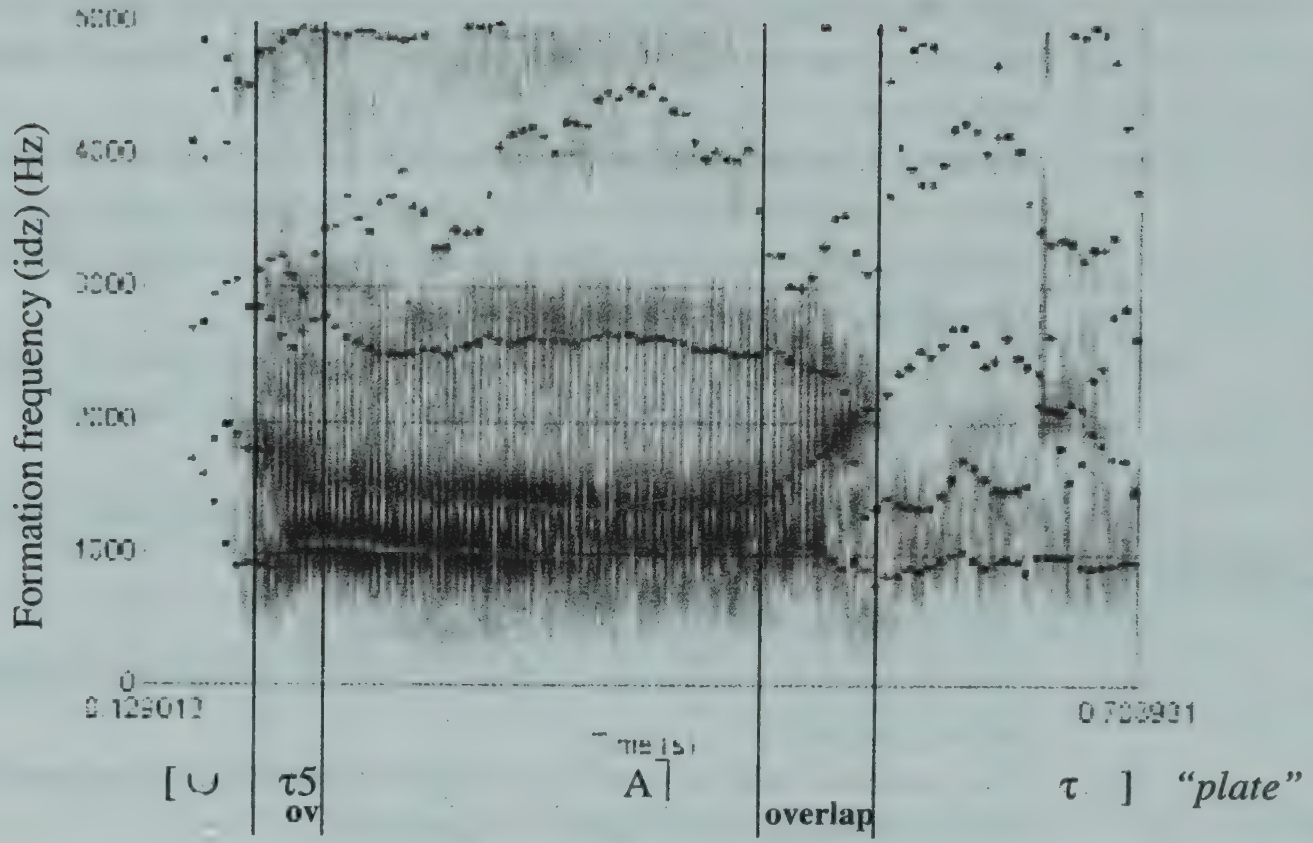
(c) They gave up their original Indo-Aryan slight retroflexion and they adopted the strong Dravidian retroflexion when they pronounced both their mother tongue and other acquired languages.

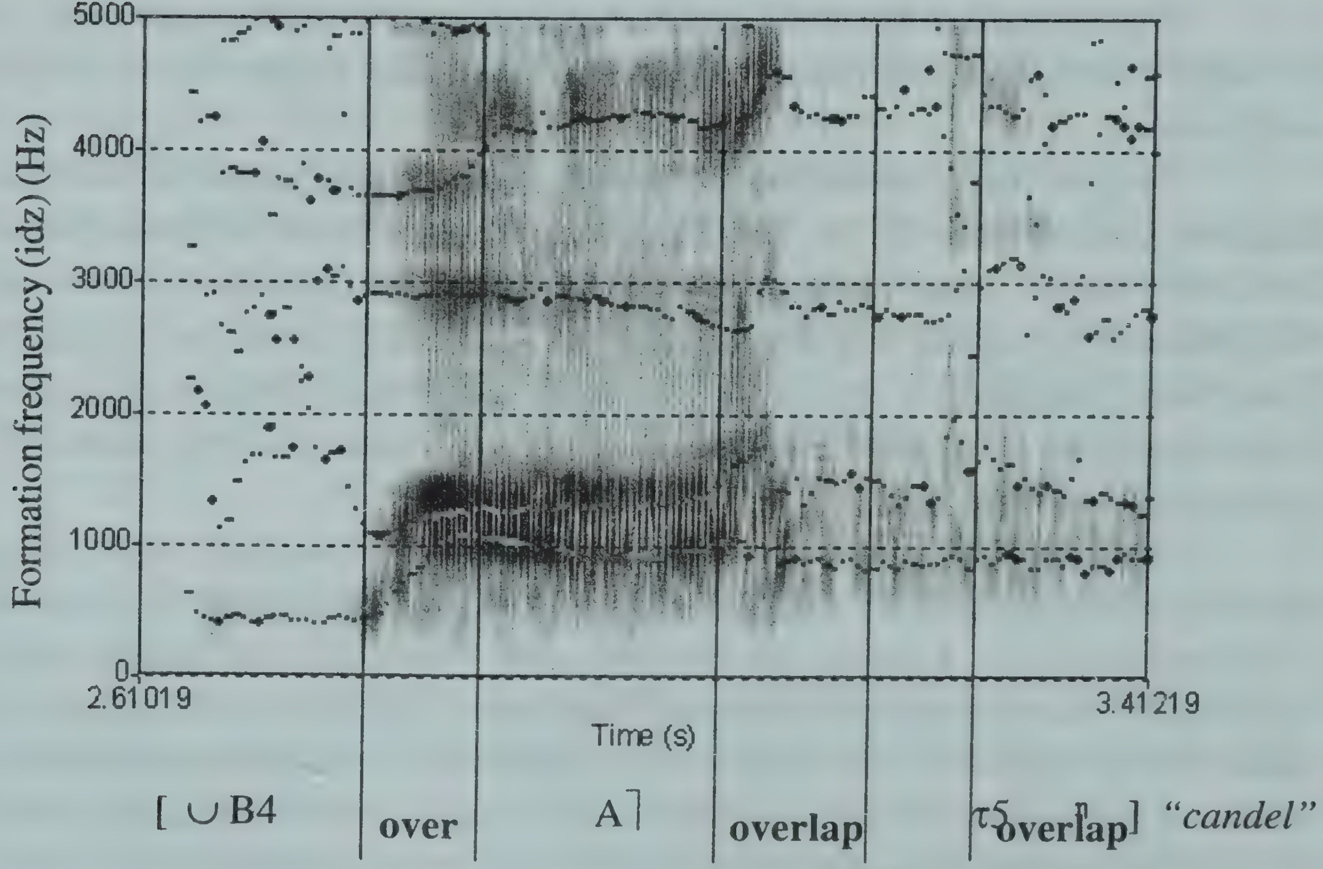
We can exclude the first linguistic behaviour that is highly improbable; while the other two hypotheses constitute possible linguistic adaptation in a bilingual confrontation.

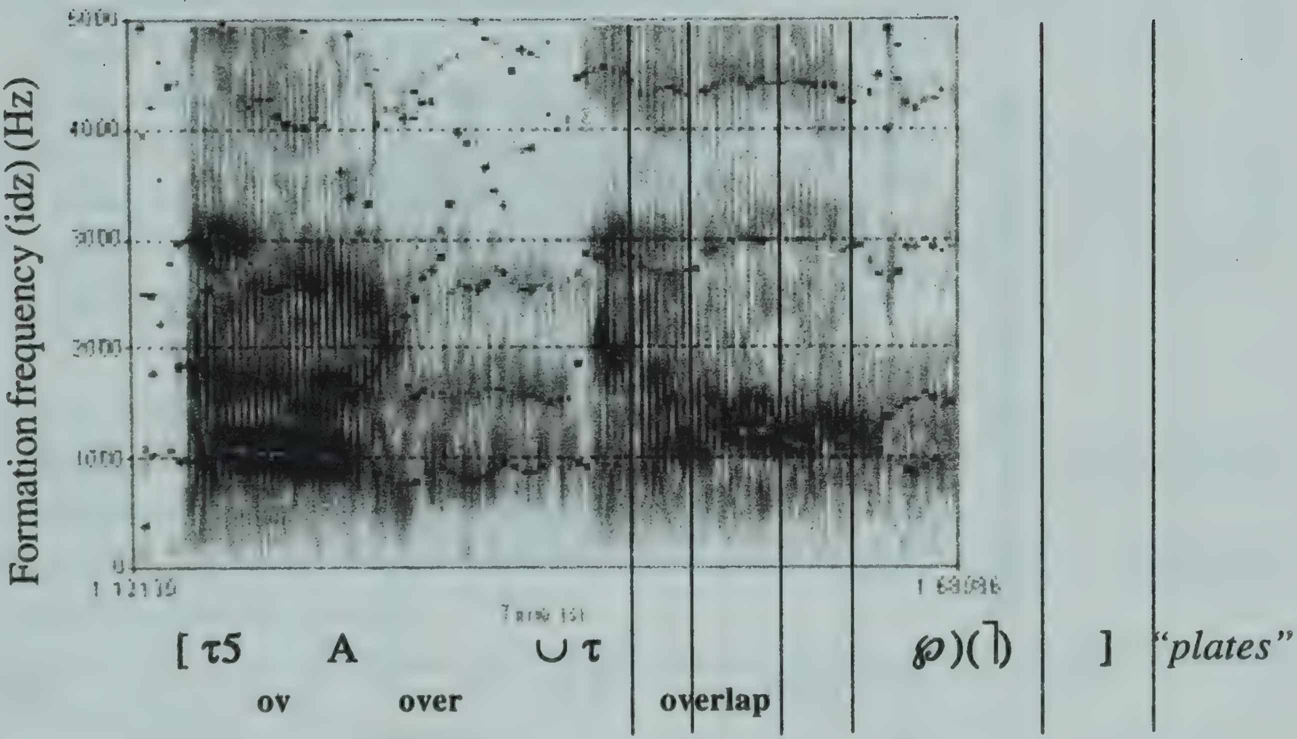
Only an experimental sociophonetic research will permit us to know the linguistic choices made by the Siddi speakers. An ethnolinguistic project about the documentation of Siddi Konkani, promoted by the *The TADIA Society,* has recently been planned by Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendr (TSKK) under the coordination of Jean-Pierre Angenot. A systematic detailed comparison between the acoustical characteristics of Siddi Konkani, Goan Konkani and Kannada is programmed for the next coming months.

By way of preliminary comparative sample, given here below are some spectrograms obtained by PRAAT system showing examples of the retroflex postalveolar stop [τ) versus the corresponding non-retroflexed dental stop [τ5] in Northern Goan Bardeshi Konkani and Karnataka Siddi Konkani. It appears that the Siddi retroflexed data seems to favour the hypothesis (b) stated above. However, this data were pronounced by an uneducated monolingual speaker. Of course, we'll need to verify the possible Kannada influence on the speech of the bilingual (semi-) educated Siddi people.

Bardeshi Konkani Data:






Formation frequency (idz) (Hz)
5000
4000
3000
2000
1000
0
1.12110
1.69096
Time (s)
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A
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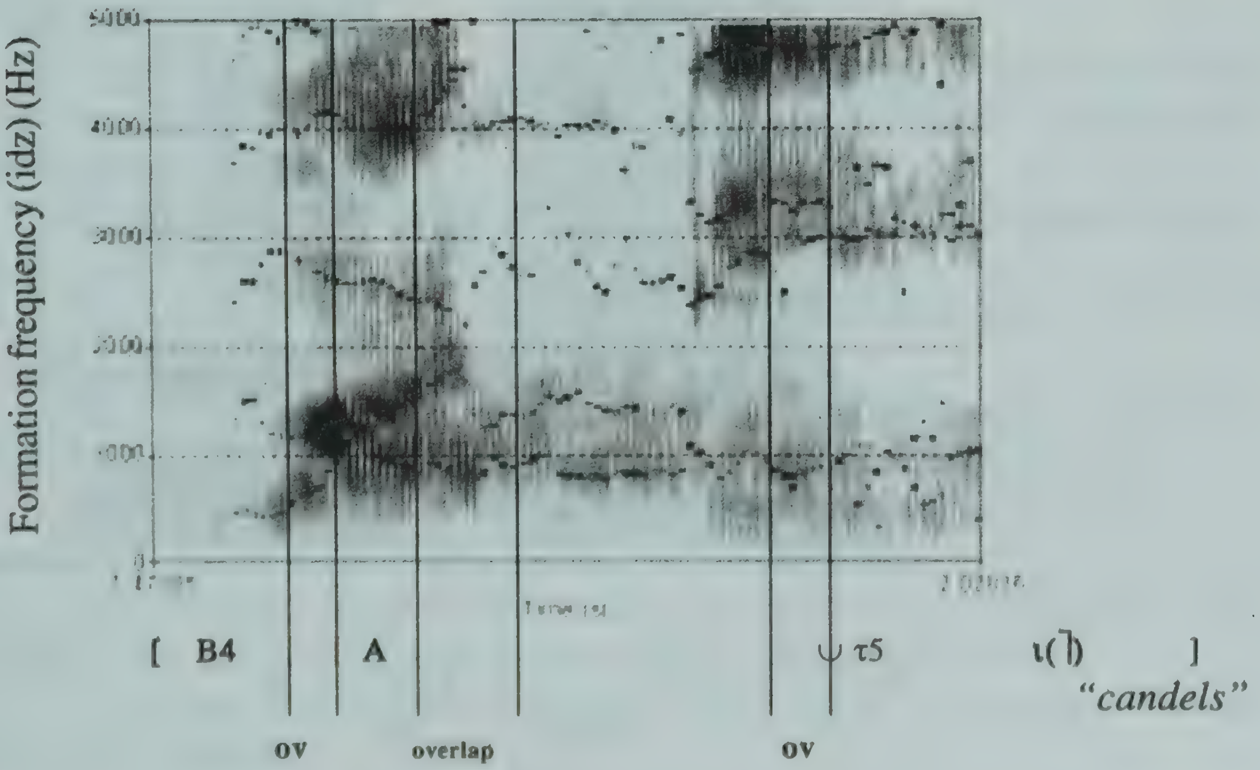
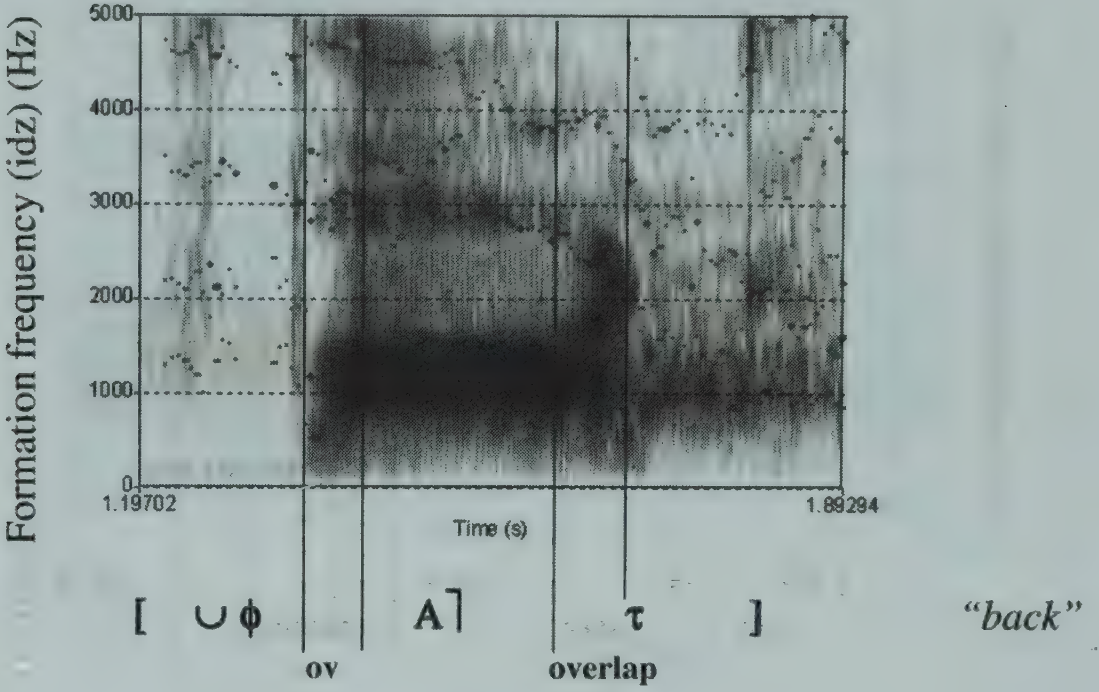
over
overlap

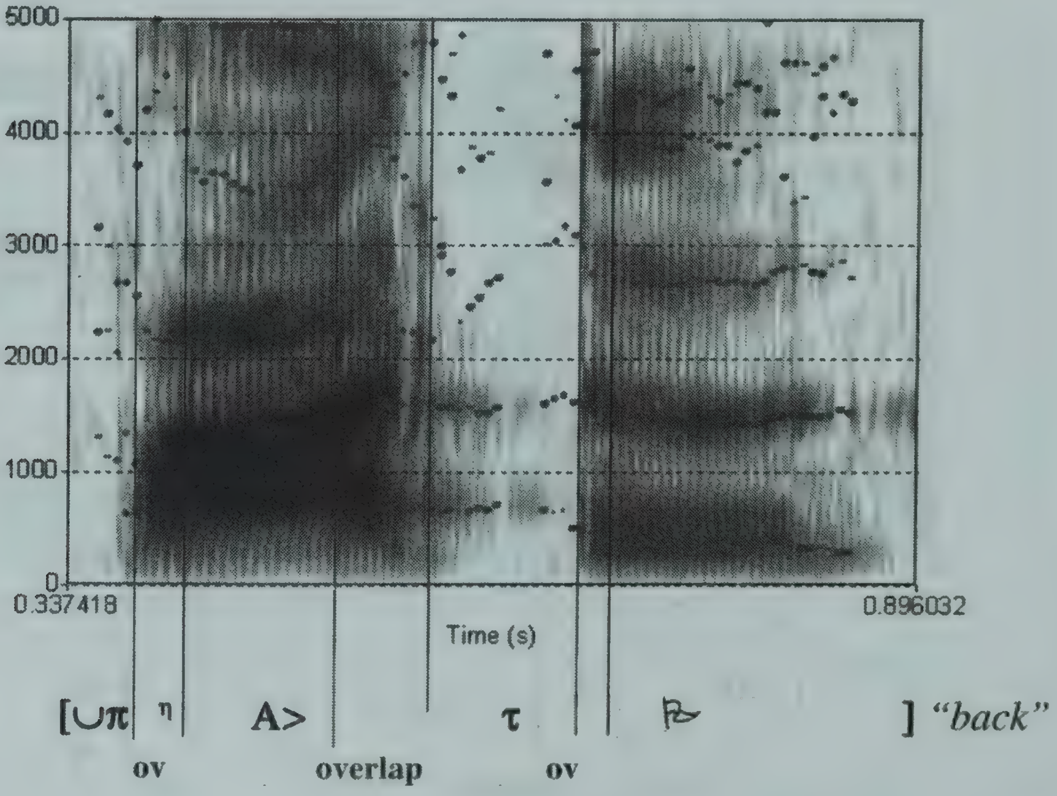

Formation frequency (idz) (Hz)
5000
4000
3000
2000
1000
0
Time (s)
[B4
A
ψ τ5
ι(ǀ)
]
"candels"
ov
overlap
ov

Comparison Between Bardeshi Konkani [∪φA⌉τ] *Back* and Siddi Konkani [∪πⁿA>τ ⊵] *Back*

Bardeshi Konkani:



Siddi Konkani:



It's interesting to observe the retention of two archaic features retained in the Siddi Konkani example (∪πHA>τ5Ᵽ) *"back"* instead of (∪ϕA˥τ5) in Bardeshi Konkani :

(a) the presence of the Old Konkani aspirated voiceless bilabial stop [π^{η}] instead of the unaspirated voiceless labiodental fricative [f] which is the current realization in Modern Bardeshi Konkani;

(b) the presence of a stressed mid-long vowel [A>] followed by a final unstressed rounded central schwa [Ᵽ] instead of a unique stressed long vowel (with compensatory lengthening by recuperation of the mora of a final floating vowel) in Modern Bardeshi Konkani.

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19

Patterns of Anaemia in the Siddis of Karnataka

Prakash V. Patil and
Pramod B.Gai

Introduction

Siddis are African diaspora, an ethnic group settled in Western Ghats in Uttara Kannada district of Karnataka. This ethnic group has marked similarities with the Negroid race, indicating that they were once Africans. Historical data indicate that Portuguese were importing slaves from Africa and involved in widespread slave trade.

The Portuguese traders showed great desire for Blacks for their slave trade. This was because the Black man was superior in work and cheaper in value (Winks 1972). Medical Literature reveals that Sickle Cell Anemia (HbS) and Thalassemia (HbF) were prevalent among the Africans and Black populations in the new world. This was considered to be a hereditary disorder of haemoglobin, which were broadly classified into two groups – Haemoglobinopathies and Thalassemias (Firkin *et.al* 1997: 137).

The present work was undertaken to study the frequency of anaemias and to understand the morphological types of anemias. We also wanted to examine if Sickle Cell Anaemia and Thalassemia still existed in the present generation of the Siddis.

Data

The study group comprised of 506 Siddis residing in different areas of Uttara Kannada district in Karnataka state. Of these, 379 (74.90%) were adults and 127 (25.09%) were children. The control group comprised of 317 Non–Siddis, i.e., people other than Siddis, residing in the same areas along with Siddis. Of these, 234 (73.81%) were adults and 83 (26.18%) were children.

Methods

The subjects were explained about the blood examination study. Oral consent was obtained prior to taking the blood samples. Blood was drawn from antecubital vein using sterile 23 gauge needle in sterile disposable two ml syringe. Immediately, two peripheral smears (PS) were done with a drop of blood. Blood was put into a bottle containing anticoagulant EDTA (1.5 mg / ml of blood) and mixed by rotating the bottle. One PS was stained by Wright's staining method and studied under microscope for morphological pattern of anaemia (Henry 1989: 602, 612).

Anticoagulated blood was used for

1) Haemoglobin (Hb) estimation by Sahli's method (Bharucha *et al* 1970: 80, 118).
2) Sickling test for HbS by Dacie and Lewis method using two per cent Sodium metabisulfite (Dacie and Lewis 1991: 266, 455, 488).

The other PS was used for HbF detection by Acid Elution method (modified method of Kleihauer and Betke) (Shepherd *et al* 1962:293). PolyAcrylamide Gel Electrophoresis (PAGE) was done to detect any abnormal Hb bands (Anbalagan 1985).

Observations

The children and adults with Hb levels below 12 gms per cent were considered to have anaemia. Anemia was seen in 55.33 per cent of Siddis (57.48 per cent of children and 54.61 per cent of adults). In Non-Siddis, anemia was observed in 76.97 per cent (73.49 per cent of children and 78.2 per cent of adults).

The findings of the Peripheral blood smear examination for morphological types of anaemia have been shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Morphological Patterns of Anemia in Siddis and Non Siddis(InPercentages)

Type of Anemia	Normocytic Hypochromic	Microcytic Hypochromic	Dimorphic	Macrocytic	Normal
Siddis					
Children	25	21.69	16.90	0	30.85
Adults	75	78.30	83.09	100	69.14
Total	**26.87**	**20.94**	**14.03**	**0.98**	**37.15**
Non-Siddis					
Children	33.69	20.73	4.54	0	41.55
Adults	66.30	79.26	95.45	0	58.44
Total	**29.02**	**25.86**	**20.82**	**0**	**24.29**

The Sickling test for HbS was negative in all blood samples. None of the samples showed sickling phenomenon.

All the 106 blood samples from Siddis and only 21 samples from Non Siddis, which showed microcytic hypochromic anaemia, were tested for HbF (by modified method of Kleihauer and Betke). All the cases tested negative for HbF.

PAGE was done on all the above 106 blood samples from Siddis and 21 samples from Non Siddis for any abnormal Hb bands. None of the samples revealed any abnormal Hb bands.

Discussion

Anemia (decreased Hb value) was seen to be less among the Siddi children and adults as compared to the Non-Siddi children and adults. This points to better nutritional status among Siddis than Non-Siddis which could be attributed to their food habits. The frequency of various morphological types of anaemia revealed that Normocytic hypochromic and microcytic hypochromic anaemia was more in the Non Siddi adults and children when compared to the Siddis.

Dimorphic Anaemia was seen more in Siddi children than in Non-Siddi children. However, among adults, the Dimorphic Anaemia was more among Non-Siddis. Pure Macrocytic Anaemia was seen in less than 1 per cent of the Siddis only. These findings indicate that frequency of anaemia was more in Non-Siddis and could be attributed to dietary deficiency of Iron, VitB12, Folic Acid and Proteins.

Sickling test was done to see if HbS was inherently still present in the Siddis. The HbS was less soluble than normal Hb in the reduced state. The RBCs containing HbS assume sickle or cresent shape when reduced. None of the Siddis or the Non Siddis RBCs showed sickling indicating that HbS gene had been probably lost.

Thalassemia is a heterogenous group of inherited anaemias, commonly seen in equatorial regions of Africa. In Thalassemia, increased amount of HbF is synthesized as a result of genetic defect. We could not detect any subject having HbF.

Conclusions

Blood examination for frequency and patterns of Anaemia, Sickling and Thalassemia, was done for the first time among the Siddis of Uttara Kannada.

Anaemia was seen to be less prevalent among the Siddis (55.33%) when compared to Non Siddis (76.97%).

Both in Siddis and Non Siddis, the commonest morphological type of anaemia was of Normocytic hypochromic type followed by Microcytic hypochromic, Dimorphic and Macrocytic type.

Sickle Cell Anaemia and Thalassemia were not detected in the Siddis and the Non Siddis, indicating that probably there was deletion of the abnormal gene for HbS and HbF over a period of 500 years since African diaspora landed in Uttara Kannada.

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III

AFRICAN DIASPORA IN ASIA OTHER THAN INDIA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN

20

African Presence in the Traditional Wedding Ceremonies in Dubai in the Pre-Oil Era and Now

Aisha Bilkhair Khalifa

This paper discusses the traditional wedding ceremony in Dubai and examines it as a medium through which African elements and its role, function and influence on Dubai's cultural history are measured. The evolution of the music in the wedding ceremony reflects the social and economic changes affecting musicians and their audiences. The description that follows is of a wedding celebration among tribesmen in the period before the oil era. The celebration of a traditional wedding is then related to its modern counterpart. Wedding practices in modern Dubai became standardised around the early 1970s during the process of constructing a new national identity and when its historically evolving communities, comprised of local Arab tribesmen, Persian merchants, Baharnah (Shiites from Bahrain) traders, Baluch handymen from Mkran (southern Persia) and African slave divers and domestic workers, merged into one identity known as Emirati citizens.

Traditional Wedding in the Pre-Oil Era

In the pre-oil era, marriage among tribesmen was a community affair that required the collective effort of relatives, neighbours and friends. Tribal traditions mandated the preservation of bloodline through paternal cousin marriages. Mothers and sisters assisted male members of their family and tribe in their search for and selection of a suitable mate. In arranged marriages among the same family, the choice was dictated by the fact that relatives were raised according to the same social standards and family values. In all cases, lineage (a traceable blood line and ancestry), tribal affiliation (tribal attachment or unification based on allies, friendship and association) and wealth were carefully scrutinised by the bride's family before a marriage proposal was accepted.

Marriage procedures among tribesmen began once the bride was selected. The groom and his parents, accompanied by their relatives and friends, would go to the bride's house and during such a planned visit the bride's family would be greeted, offered coffee, incense and perfume before the marriage proposal was made. This social gathering was gender-segregated and men and women discussed the topic exclusively. Before the departure of the guests, the bride's father would indicate his preliminary agreement to the request by hinting at his satisfaction and agreement with the person who made the request. Otherwise, the girl's father would request a period of reflection in order to consult with family members and make enquiries about the bridegroom's lineage and deeds.

Once an agreement was reached, the groom's family was informed and the two families would meet again to discuss bridewealth and wedding dates. Bridewealth was left to the discretion of the groom's family and consisted of an amount of money and goods. Bachelors were sometimes assisted by members of the community. Accordingly, depending on the profession of members of the community involved and their financial ability, grooms received gifts such as pearls, silks, bedding and even camels and goats.

Next, the groom's family made a public announcement and visited dignitaries and prospective guests to inform them personally and invite them to the wedding. The declaration of the wedding date also served to instruct the bride to go into seclusion *al-khba*, when brides were to be seen only by their immediate family members and friends. This period served as a beauty-enhancing time where the bride was taken away from direct harsh sunlight into the luxury of indoor shade and comfort. While in *al-khba,* she was covered with indigo *al-niyl* (a distinctive blue crystalline powder brought from India and obtained from various plants especially of the *genus Indigofera*) for three days which was renowned for its ability to cleanse and polish the skin (Handal 1978 :625). She remained in seclusion until the afternoon following the wedding night.

Traditionally, a wedding ceremony would take place on a Sunday or a Thursday night. As part of the wedding, the bride's family offered food and perfume and burned incense for the guests and musicians. Weddings of Shaikhs, for example, set economic standards for the rest of the population in terms of the number of days and the variety of music played during the wedding celebration. The groom was assumed to be the provider for his wedding, and in addition to the bridewealth, he provided the bride with a new wardrobe, jewellery and a place to live (Auaida 1998).

The duration of a wedding celebration depended on the financial status of the family of the bride/groom. In addition, neighbours in the community expected to be fed at least one meal a day, usually dinner, courtesy of the bride's household. The groom either supplied or paid for the food to be cooked. He also provided the rugs on which the guests sat, and the plates on which food was served. In the past, a Shaikh's wedding would have lasted for two weeks, while other tribe members would celebrate weddings for periods from three days to two weeks. The ceremonies of slaves and poor folk were usually planned to last for one or two days.

The wedding started with *al-miksar* which literally meant "the side of the house" (Handal 1978: 587). This ceremony was confined strictly to women. The bride's family invited the wives of the Shaikh, as well as their friends and relatives who lived some distance away to observe this "show and tell" the event. It involved a procession from the groom's house to the bride's house during which goods bought for the bride were transferred. Traditionally, *al-maᶜaliyyah* always accompanied this procession, and the music would attract the general public who would follow and gather around the singers. This aspect of a wedding gave men and women of African descent an opportunity to interact among themselves and with the general public. During this procession, *al-ma^c^aliyyah* participants entertained the audience and generated a celebratory atmosphere. The public's satisfaction reflected a wide acceptance of *al-ma^c^liyyah* as a concurrent cultural component.

Before the 1950s, *al-ma^c^aliyyah* singers walked and carried *al-zihbah*, the bride's trousseau, which included gold, fabrics and perfumes (Handal 1978: 277). The goods were carried in *al-buqshah*, cloth-tied bundles. Later, this practice changed and members of *al-ma^c^aliyyah* groups travelled by car along with the goods. The gifts then carried in *tink'a*, a painted tin or cast iron trunk that came from India. Travelling suitcases of leather were also used when they became available in the Gulf markets during the late 1960s.

Al-miksar often started around 10 a.m. once all the guests had arrived. Coffee cups were circulated, incense was burned, perfume bottles were distributed, *al-ma^c^aliyyah* was played and the show got under way. Slaves and selected women of the community exhibited gold necklaces, collars, earrings, belt and hairpins. Other women showed the cloths, the perfume and gifts from the groom. This was an exhibition of wealth and of the groom's potential as a provider. The bride's family listened to their guests' remarks and comments, since such observations were useful in measuring the community's opinion and satisfaction with their ceremony and choice of in-laws. This ceremony ended with a lunch, after which people went to their homes wishing luck upon all the concerned.

In the afternoon of *al-miksar*, musical groups such as *nuban, laywa, ^c^ayyalah, al-harbiyyah* and *al-malad* joined *al-ma^c^aliyyah* at the wedding. Although *al-malad* is a religious prose of the Prophet, it was exclusively performed just before the groom entered the bride's room. During a short break in *al-malad*, the marriage contract was officially executed by a recognised religious man. Then *^c^ayyalah* or the call for war, along with *harbiyyah*, the Bedouin version of *^c^ayyalah*, joined the wedding to exhibit tribal pride and strength. Although fundamentally identical, there were differences in performance. *^c^Ayyalah* and *harbiyyah* musicians and performers played their music until the sunset prayers around 6 pm. However, *al-ma^c^aliyyah*, *nuban* and *laywa* continued beyond the evening prayers around 8 pm, performing till 10 or 11 p.m. *Malad* was performed during the late hours, usually, from 10 p.m. to midnight.

Dubai had no legacy of a distinct instrumental form of music. There were *nahham* songs and other music of African origin that were performed by Africans, but *al-sawt*, literally "the sound", which was solo singing accompanied by lute, was introduced to Dubai in the 1950s. Duaib, considered the marginalized solo singing of the people of the UAE, a waste of time. This was because collective singing justified their activities and goals since people usually sang while performing hard and mundane tasks. He viewed group singing as an appropriate reflection of their lifestyle (Duaib 1982: 94-95).

During the 1950s, *al- ᶜud*, the lute became a popular instrument at weddings since many Baharnah brought singers from Bahrain for wedding celebrations (Duaib 1982: 94), and a number of these visiting singers taught interested Dubai youth how to play the lute. In time, this type of music became associated with late-night wedding celebrations and created a new type of entertainment. Thus, *al-samrah* emerged. Involving a drummer and players of lute and tambourine, *al-samrah* stretched the time for the playing of music at weddings up to the early morning hours. *Al-samrah* included songs from Andalusia as well as Yemen, Iraq and Egypt. As a new musical expression, it gained popularity and attracted the attention of many tribesmen and ex-slave musicians. Members of *al-maᶜaliyyah*, *nuban* and *laywa* groups frequently joined *al-samrah* as chorus members and/or dancers. Such participation stigmatised *al-samrah* dancers and allowed spectators to designate *al-samrah* dancing as an exclusive function of slaves and servants (Handal 1978: 96). It was during the 1950s that the slaves played a role in confronting the social resentment towards music and making *al-samrah* gradually accepted by the public.

The playing of the lute initiated the evolution and development of modern Gulf music, musicians and singers. From the 1950s on, the presentation of *al-sawt* included a combination of vocal and instrumental sounds. With the lute, Gulf music started to follow musical rules and principles that allowed the songs. *Al-sawt* was popular during the 1960s and 1970s and, on the occasion of many weddings, a designated place was created or a wooden platform built for *al-samrah* or for a late night show.

Al-samrah group consisted of five members: the lute player, who was often also the singer, two drummers, the violinist and a *murwas* player. They would face the audience and start to sing and play. Men, who dance during *al-sawt, ar*e called *al-zafin* for their expressions, and are associated exclusively with *al-sawt* (Dukhi 1984: 207). Young women joined in the singing and received compliments and tips from men. After the introduction of guitars and electronic synthesisers, the formation of musical groups and the death of old *sawt* singers, this type of music, as it was once known, ceased to exist.

Once the *al-maᶜaliyyah*, *nuban*, *laywa* and *malad* entertainers had retired, the groom's friends entertained him. Only then would he escorted to the bride's room. The couple would then be together from sunrise to the early morning hours, i.e., 4 -7 a.m. (Dukhi 1984: 272). The groom would then present the bride with *al-subahah*, usually a piece of jewellery, a gift given as an appreciation for chastity and for offering him her virginity. Between 7 and 10 a.m., most Shaikhs watched camel races arranged especially for the occasion (Khalaf 1999). It was an opportunity for the public to congratulate and extend their best wishes to the groom.

During this time, the bride changed into a new dress and was ready for *zafat al-duha,* the morning procession. Once the groom returned from his morning outing, i.e., the camel races and/or meeting with relatives and friends, he was welcomed to join the bride, and the couple would enjoy an uninterrupted mid-morning visit. In the afternoon, she received members of the community who came to admire her looks and good fortune. By sunset, the bride had said farewell to her family and accompanied her husband to his house. It was called *al-dawiyyah*, which, literally, means a night return. Every wedding ended in this way (Handal 1978: 96 ; Duaib 1982: 367). Once she was in her new house, people would visit her there to check on her wellbeing, house management and living arrangements. Shortly afterwards, the visits would gradually diminish and the bridal couple and the community resumed the routine of their normal daily lives.

With the exception of camel racing for the Shaikhs and wealthy tribesmen, the customs governing weddings were the same. However, things were different for slaves and poor folk. Slaves celebrated their weddings for fewer days and sometimes in silence. Slave women did not go into seclusion because their services were needed. Unlike poor folk, a slave woman rarely moved to the separate home of her slave husband since she was obliged to remain in the household of her holder along with her children to cater to its needs. During the wedding of their holders, they worked as cooks, musicians, dancers and spies reporting every incident to their holders.

Music of African origin had a particular function in the tribesmen's weddings. While *ᶜayyalah* and *harbiyyah* emphasised Arab and Bedouin traits and *malad* provided religious legitimacy, music of African origin on the contrary functioned as an entertainment device and reinforced notions of racial superiority. The most important aspect one could extract from the way marriages were conducted in the past, was the tolerance, appreciation and inclusion of music of African origin in their celebratory events. In this case, the music of African origin was played from the beginning of the ceremony to the end and, regardless of the newly introduced music, *al-samrah*, the older forms of *al-maᶜaliyyah*, *laywa* and *nuban* continued as part of the tradition because they had entered the ears, the homes and the hearts of Dubai's tribal population. These musical forms merged into the cultural practice of the population of Dubai, a fact that contributed greatly to their survival.

The Evolution of Weddings Since the 1970s

This section on modern wedding practices has focussed on the marriage procedures that underwent changes reflecting the new social values and changing economic status since the early 1970s. Marriage traditions have now been modified in accordance with "modern" norms. In the past, marriage proposals required family recommendations and the skills of matchmakers. Since the 1970s, and as men and women became educated and were integrated into the work force, they insisted on breaking away from arranged marriages. Even so, wedding arrangements are still made in accordance with the old traditions as the two families visit to negotiate bridewealth and to discuss logistics and wedding plans. Wedding invitations have also changed since the 1970s; currently, distinguished guests are invited personally while ordinary people are sent printed invitation cards.

After the mid 1970s, women were no longer secluded from public view since many of them had started attending schools, sought higher education or worked outside their homes in increasing numbers. Additionally, the customary exhibition of gifts had more or less faded out since it had become old fashioned, time consuming and financially inefficient. Many weddings were removed from neighbourhoods and relocated to hotel ballrooms and wedding halls. Most people who married at that time combined a hotel banquet with a traditional wedding that involved *al-ma^c^aliyyah*, *^c^ayyalah*, *laywa*, *nuban* and *al-samrah*. By 1975, a new practice had emerged whereby houses in which weddings were to be held, were often decorated with colourful lights that could be seen from a considerable distance at night.

Hotel-based weddings have altered the way people interact with the music of African origin. With the present trend, a hotel banquet is presumed to be practical, modern and economically efficient. The main reasons for abandoning traditional wedding practices involved three issues. First, an empty space or vacant site was needed for the performance of musical groups. Such spaces are scarce within Dubai's area that was constantly building residences, high rise apartments and other "modern constructions". Second, it is difficult and expensive to buy food and find a place where meals could be prepared. Finally, there is the expense of hiring different musical groups in addition to providing them with food and accommodation during the celebration.

For example, Salamah al-Mas, an ex-slave Dubai resident, attempted to cut wedding costs by arranging a double wedding for two of her children. One of the brides came from Iraq the week before the wedding while the other was a UAE national. Salamah vowed to include *al-ma^c^aliyyah* in the wedding and, therefore, co-ordinated a house celebration which was to be held in the house of the Emirati bride, and crowned by a hotel reception that would be held later in the week. Salamah was convinced that a double wedding was cost efficient and therefore, firmly advocated it.[1] This example shows that some Dubai people are under constant pressure to replace traditional weddings with modern ones. In Salamah's case, the house celebration would have been sufficient for the double wedding.

Ironically, the children of musicians and leaders of music of African origin sometimes tend not to make use of African music during their weddings. Lack of support for the music of African origin was the result of social pressure and the widespread perception that the music of their ancestors was somehow not adequate. This negation of the self stems from the desire of the old slave community to assimilate, equalise and be accepted by the tribesmen. Slaves operated from a point of view that assumed that, if they followed the rules, they would eventually find a place in the changing tribal system. Even the music they performed was, in part, a sincere expression of their love towards their holders.

In modern days and terms, the system of older tribesmen has evolved into one of neo-tribesmen. Many envy neo-tribesmen group. Socially speaking, its members have undisputed blood relations and tribal linkages, which consequently advance their political power and appointments within the government. Economically, many tribesmen own prime property that brings them a steady income. The neo-tribesmen are challenged by their dwindling numbers in a multi-national and more technically-advanced population. In these settings, children of slave descendents are disproportionately accepted by the neo-tribesmen. Descendants of slaves are a minority within a minority and therefore, possess characteristics typical of any threatened minority. Descendants of slaves strive to maintain standards, ethics and qualities that will compensate for their lack of true tribal links and qualify for acceptance from neo-tribesmen.

Nowadays, with the exception of a few families, it is rare to find a traditional house wedding combined with a hotel reception. Rather, a current wedding consists of two hotel receptions: one for the bride and her female guests and the other for the groom and his male friends. On an average, the cost of a hotel banquet for each party starts at $25,000 and goes up to $275,000.[2] In addition to this expense, there is the bride's dress and make-up, wedding platform, flowers, perfumes and essential oil, incense and jewellery, all of which constitute an added economic burden for the groom. Instead of being joyful, weddings often become occasions for pretence, and lavish life style and expenditure.

Since the 1970s, social pressure within the UAE has placed materialism and consumerism over traditional values and this has effectively encouraged people, despite their financial limitations, to strive for lavish weddings. In the past, weddings were also important for social visibility but in a more communal sense. Caring for and feeding wedding guests were the main elements that made weddings successful. To emphasise that weddings were community affairs, people often said, "When your neighbour has a wedding cook for more people", meaning that your neighbour's guests were also your guests, therefore, you must be prepared to assist others.[3]

Nowadays, the quest for distinction and individuality has created a superficial yet competitive relationship between neighbours and members of the community.[4] For instance, because many people refuse to use designs for invitation card that were used previously, graphic and art designers are required to come up with baffling creations. Other significant wedding details include the bride's dress, jewellery and entourage. In the past, most brides would have worn an embroidered dress. These days, however, the bride chooses among the latest western fashions and, usually, selects a traditional white western wedding dress to amuse the wedding guests.

The high cost of weddings has led Emirati bachelors to prefer foreign to local women. To rectify the problem, Shaikh Zayed initiated the Marriage Fund (MF) organisation in 1992. The main objective of the MF was to promote marriage between UAE nationals by assisting men to meet the basic costs of marrying an Emirati woman. In addition, Shaikh Zayed issued a decree in 1997 that limited a bridewealth to $2,500 and the divorce fee to $5,500,[5] in an initiative that aimed to encourage UAE nationals to avoid exorbitant and luxurious parties. Periodically, too, the federal and the local governments, along with businessmen have encouraged and financially supported group weddings through the MF.[6] To further serve the community, the MF launched the matchmaking project *tawafuq* in July 2002 (Mussallam 2002). Even so, and regardless of these various efforts and governments' appointments, social attitudes and norms, overwhelmingly, encourage exorbitant expenditure for an individual's wedding.

Before the influence of oil money was felt, the financing of a wedding reflected familial, communal and tribal cohesiveness. This is not the case today where some young bridegrooms are abandoned and left to pay bank loans on their own. Some estimates state that in the year 2000, up to 80 per cent of the UAE's consumer credit was generated by weddings.[7] Excluding the affluent strata of society, compliance with social expectations has made marriage an unbearable costly chore. In addition to utilising the MF and bank loans, families have sold their land and property to finance their children's weddings.

The newly-constructed marriage celebration is alien to the traditions of the UAE and is the result of the imposition of modern western values. UAE nationals often engage in a "modern" ceremony without questioning its validity, appropriateness or impact on their culture and tradition. Regardless of the conservative views and financial status of some grooms, it is more or less obligatory to have a western-style hotel reception. Such pressures make it compulsory for members of a society to modify their principles and beliefs in order to accommodate new social norms and trends. Yet, although weddings are major social events, some UAE nationals despise the ostentatious display of material wealth.[8] For instance, at the wedding of Ghaliah ᶜAli, she wore a dress that cost $10,000, in addition to her jewellery and other bridal accessories. As part of the wedding customs, some families scatter money on the newly-weds in the same way that some cultures use salt or rice. In this case, the bride's uncle scattered crisp 10 (UAE) dirham notes as the bride entered the wedding hall. Children and waiters collected the money.[9]

Modern Wedding Celebration

An account of a "modern" wedding celebration is as follows: On agreement with the groom, his father or his guardian accompanies the groom to the courthouse to register the newly-married couple officially and obtain a proper marriage certificate. A convenient date is set for the wedding. Even when officially married, the bride's mobility depends on her family. Some families restrain their daughters from interacting with their bridegroom prior to the wedding night because men sometimes divorce women before the wedding reception. The divorce rate among UAE nationals was estimated at 40 per cent in the year 2,000.[10] Furthermore, signing an early wedding contract served as a way of "reserving" a bride until the groom was ready and able to sponsor his wedding.

Wedding cards, stating the time and place of the wedding, are printed one month prior to the event. The two families share the cards and distribute them to co-workers and relatives. Men's banquet has no music while women's does. The former is a simple gathering followed by a dinner whereas the latter consists of live music and dinner. The bride's family often arranges and reserves the musical groups that will perform during women's banquet. Some families prefer all-women singing and performing groups; others seem to disregard this preference. The hotel wedding is a package deal that includes a ballroom, meals and catering services.

Some families bring extra traditional food that has been cooked in their homes because the quality and quantity of hotel's food is sometimes not up to their standards. The bride prepares herself by choosing the design, hairstyle, henna artist and the entourage that will follow her into the ballroom. She plays an active role in her own wedding. She is allowed to visit hairdressers and the beauty salon whenever she pleases.

Some tribeswomen apply henna as a temporary decoration for the hands and the feet. However, the so-called "henna night" is a tradition brought to Dubai by those who came from Bahrain and Persia and was never a tribal tradition or a Bedouin wedding custom in the past. Therefore, the increased popularity of the "henna night" among the city dwellers that we witness today has legitimised and made it part of a modern wedding. In traditional tribal weddings, the bride's hands and feet were decorated with henna, while she was in seclusion, and where the bride could only be seen by her immediate family, relatives and small girls.[11]

The night of the wedding starts with the line-up of the bride's family members to greet their guests at the hotel. Shortly thereafter, the musical group, with guitar, electronic organ and keyboard, starts to play whatever music is currently popular. The guests are offered beverages, usually coffee, tea or soft drinks, and by the time the ballroom fills up, it is around 10 p.m. and time to serve dinner. When the tables have been cleared, incense and perfumes are passed around to refresh the guests.

The band is then given a signal to play specific songs associated with the entrance of the bride. Some of the happenings accompanying the bride's entrance may include a laser show, disco or the throwing of rose petals in the bride's path, to name but a few. When the bride enters the ballroom, all eyes are upon her as the guests scrutinise her figure, dress and jewellery. People observe her closely as she makes her way to the wedding platform, pausing at every few steps to enable guests to confirm their thoughts about her. She climbs up a few steps on to the platform and strolls along a catwalk. When she reaches the chair where she is to be seated for the rest of the ceremony, her sisters and close friends assist her by adjusting her mantilla to enable her to sit. Once seated, she is greeted by well-wishers who fill the platform posing for amateur and professional photographs.

An hour later, another signal is given to the band to play music related to the groom and his luck during the wedding night. As the music alerts the audience, male family members and friends bring the groom into the ballroom. Like the bride, he passes through the ballroom scrutinised by the guests and takes his seat next to his bride. As men do not exhibit beauty and wealth, the crowd examines his age and his appearance and compares them with the observed qualities of the bride.

The groom then unveils the bride and kisses her forehead. His male companions stand next to him as a professional photographer takes photographs to commemorate the event. After a few minutes, the men depart from the ballroom leaving the groom by the side of his bride, surrounded by her sisters and close friends. The music group sings a selection of famous and popular songs that encourage guests to dance in front of the newlyweds.

After some time, the groom escorts the bride for the cutting of the wedding cake. They feed each other a piece of cake and sip orange juice, then return to their seats to listen to more music and to pose for more photographs with various people. Depending on personal choice, some couples go off to the bridal suite around midnight while others stay on into the early morning hours. When they do decide to leave, a third and last signal is given to the band to sing "going away" songs that wish the newly-married pair the best of luck in their future life together.

The couple's exit concludes the wedding. Some guests leave after viewing the newly weds, while others stay until the couple has left the ballroom. Video and conventional cameras record and photograph all wedding details. The day after the ceremony, this visual documentation will be circulated among family and friends and the video films watched for entertainment purposes.

The following day around midday, the newlyweds check out of the hotel's bridal suite, and the groom drives his bride to his home, where his family has prepared his room or living quarters for a bridal reception. The bride may also visit her family's house to collect some of her belongings. Some newlyweds depart for a honeymoon on the night of their wedding. After the wedding, some men stay with their families, while others break away by creating their own nuclear family away from the extended family's interactions.

An examination of the symbolism and social significance of wedding ceremonies revealed negative impact on Dubai's social, cultural and religious values by the adopted "modern" and "western" elements. Materialism and western concepts have found their way into the minds and the practices of potential brides. Many brides insist that the bridal dress must be new and especially cut and embroidered to compliment their figures. Although some expensive dresses are available for rent, most brides insist on purchasing a "special dress" based upon their belief in "a night that's worth a lifetime."

Brides believe that a wedding dress symbolises a happy marriage and that "you only get married once in life". On an average, the bride's wedding dress can cost anywhere between $2,000 and $20,000. Her jewellery consists of an eighteen-carat gold set that includes a necklace, ring, earrings and bracelet, preferably studded with diamonds. In addition, the bride requires a Swiss-made watch, which should be of gold with diamonds. The price tag for such items may run from $15,000 upwards. As with a traditional wedding, a successful modern wedding is one that is attended by huge crowds and has modern musical bands that perform at length and are accompanied by numerous volunteer dancers.

Conclusion

It is safe to conclude that on the social, cultural and religious fronts, wedding ceremonies are becoming pretentious and individualistic, and are losing their sense of community. For example, when invited to a wedding, people may decide to attend only at the very last minute. When invited adults are unable to attend, they send their children, accompanied by their Asian nannies. The host family receives the children and seats them at tables that would otherwise be occupied by adults. This practice has prompted some people to state on their wedding invitations that children are not welcome. Having such young people at weddings reduces the level of personal interaction and clearly indicates a lack of respect to the hosts who expect adults to attend rather than youngsters. This is a sign of the social deterioration of the community.

Additionally, the diminished role of religious participation in weddings marginalises the importance of ceremonial and symbolic acts and rituals in the weddings. Since the mid-1970s, the *malad* religious blessing has been replaced by a hotel banquet or dinner held in the same week as the women's banquet. Although the men's party consists only of a dinner, the switching from a religious practice to a secular one has its consequences. For example, some brides wear low-cut dresses on the night of wedding. While their exposure to men other than their husbands and family would have been unheard of in the past, now many see them as they stroll into the ballroom. Also, some women take off their veils and reveal their hair and arms during the wedding; yet they are criticised by men and society as being "indecent" once the wedding is over. This behaviour reveals double standards. For instance, women design such dresses to be modern and fashionable rather than being indecent. Contrarily, men support modernity and social standards by paying high prices for such garments.

The abandoning of religious traditions, in the name of modernity and progress, as defined by social trends, indicates another way in which UAE nationals have internalised inferiority. In other words, religious practices are viewed as backward; therefore, secular behaviour is associated with progress and modernity. By their abandonment of *malad*, UAE nationals believe they are expressing their progress and keeping up with the Western world.

Al-miksar, which accompanied *al-ma^c^aliyyah* during traditional wedding ceremonies, is vanishing and is replaced by "modern" elements. The absence of this musical form and performance had an impact on the presence of traditional African musicians in weddings. Traditionally, gifts from the groom were displayed for public admiration during *al-miksar*, which was a "show and tell" performance carried out by slaves and *al-ma^c^aliyyah* people to exhibit to the community the financial support and solidarity the groom had received from his fellow tribesmen and relatives. Through *al-miksar,* slave men and women were an integral part of the tribesmen's community during the celebration of a wedding.

Al-ma^c^aliyyah had been part of weddings for decades but has disappeared for two reasons. Since the 1970s, this music has been banned from being broadcast on UAE television and radio.[12] There were rumours of an enforced penalty that involved having one's head shaved and a month's imprisonment for men who participated in hotel weddings in *al-ma^c^aliyyah* traditional sense and this deterred many men from participating. Although this law is unofficial and without foundation, many musicians and dancers find it is not worth jeopardising their reputation or establishing a police record simply for celebrating a wedding.

The second explanation for the gradual disappearance of music of African origin from wedding ceremonies is that, it being expensive, it is not popular.[13] The reality is perhaps different, since each of these groups asks for $1,000 to $1,500 a night, which is rather less than what is demanded by the electronic bands that often perform at weddings for no less than $2,000 a night. During the 1970s, hotels discontinued *al-ma^c^aliyyah,* which remained only in private home ceremonies to avoid public visibility.

However, according to Khamis Bakhit, a musical leader, his group would, if requested, perform *al-ma^caliyyah* in hotels, in private homes or for a bride's or a groom's procession. He claimed that, in hotels, there is a designated place for *al-ma^caliyyah* on the platform. The wedding family notifies the hotel that they are bringing *al-ma^caliyyah*, and the hotel arranges the tables accordingly since *al-ma^caliyyah* people have to sit on the ground in the front, to enable the audience to see.[14] Ignoring these art forms in the name of "modernity" is resulting in the loss of talented musicians who are disappering because the music they perform is considered unsuitable for current tastes and social propriety.

Notes

[1] The author attended the wedding and obtained a videotape recording (videotape no. 16) from the bridegroom's family. The house wedding was held in Satwa, Dubai. The hotel reception was held in Latifah Hall, al-Boom Tourist Village, Dubai. The wedding took place during the week of December 18-21, 2002.

[2] According to Dubai Metropolitan Hotel's wedding arrangements price list.

[3] Khadijah Ramdan, former domestic slave, interviewed by the author, March 16,1993, Dubai (tape recording).

[4] What Price a Wedding? *The Middle East*, June 2000.

[5] Information available on the Marriage Fund official web site at: www.mfuae.com

[6] *Al Bayan*, 7 October 1999 and October 25, 1999.

[7] What Price a Wedding ? *The Middle East* June 2000.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] The author attended this wedding and has a videotape copy (videotape no. 4) of the wedding ceremony, which was held on 1st July 1991 at the Hyatt Regency, Dubai.

[10] What Price a Wedding? *The Middle East*, June 2000.

[11] A brief description can be found in the following web site: www.Zawaj.com.

[12] ^cId al-Faraj, Director of Traditional Music, Ministry of Information, Abu-Dhabi. Al-Faraj was interviewed by telephone on 22 September 2002.

[13] Khamis Bakhit, interviewed by the author, 16 June 2000, Dubai (tape recording).

[14] *Ibid.*

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21

Becoming Black Dutchmen: West African Soldiers in the Dutch East Indies[1]

Ineke van Kessel

Dutch Motives for African Recruitment

Various considerations inspired the Dutch government to start an experiment with the recruitment of African soldiers for its colonial army in the East Indies. High mortality of European troops in the tropics, lack of volunteers in the Netherlands itself and shrinking numbers of mercenary soldiers from other European countries combined with a distrust in native soldiers from the archipelago itself. The Java War (1825-1830) had reminded the colonial rulers that native soldiers might make common cause with the rebels. This was, of course, the nightmare of every colonial army: native soldiers might be tempted to turn their training and weapons against their European overlords. It was always deemed advisable to use indigenous troops in lands foreign to them, far away from their land of birth, where they would not be tempted to fraternize with the local population. Therefore, the favourite native soldiers in the East Indies were Christian men from the Moluccan islands, who held a privileged status in the Dutch colonial army or KNIL (Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger).[2] As Christians, they were unlikely to make common cause with the Moslem, Hindu or "pagan" population of the other islands.

In order to maintain a rough balance of European troops and native troops by 50 per cent which remained the general rule throughout most of the 19th century, the government in The Hague decided on a recruitment effort in West Africa, where the Dutch still possessed some tiny footholds. Africans, it was believed, would be less vulnerable to tropical diseases. They would supplement the European part of the KNIL. In spite of their grand name, the Dutch Possessions on the Coast of Guinea amounted to not more than a string of derelict forts and castles. These small settlements had been largely abandoned after the Dutch, under some pressure from London, proclaimed the abolition of the slave trade in 1814. Not more than a dozen Dutch officials remained in the headquarters at St. George d'Elmina and in the forts at Accra and Axim. The Dutch government reckoned that the longstanding cordial relations with the inland kingdom of Ashanti would serve to obtain fresh supplies of manpower for the colonial army in the East Indies.

Responding to the proposal from The Hague to recruit Africans for the KNIL, the commander-in-chief of the Dutch East Indies army reacted favourably. Major General

De Stuers had had personal experience with African policemen, slaves from Mozambique or Angola who had long been used as police auxiliaries.[3] He was convinced that Africans would be able to withstand the climate and the strenuous army campaigns and that they would serve loyally, provided that they were well treated and that proper discipline was maintained.

> *"It is beyond doubt that the Negro instills great fear in the natives, and that he is unlikely to fraternize with the natives. As an example, the undersigned can state that he personally experienced during his stay as military commander and civil administrator on Sumatra's West Coast how the Africans among the police auxiliaries caused great alarm. Therefore Africans were favoured for policing duties."*[4]

Not all Africans came to the archipelago because of the European connection. During the 19th century, it became increasingly common for Moslem pilgrims traveling from Sumatra to Mecca to return from the hadj with a few African slaves, purchased at the slave market in Mecca. In a prosperous Sumatran household, an exotic touch of African domestics was considered a status symbol. In addition, the Sultans of Aceh used Africans as bodyguards, a common practice in other parts of Asia as well. It was probably because of this longstanding familiarity with black men that the arrival of the first contingents of African soldiers caused little consternation. The peoples of Java and Sumatra had long been part of a cosmopolitan world with extensive trading networks over the Indian Ocean. During the British inter-regnum (1811-1816), the British army also made use of foreign troops, including dark-skinned Bengal soldiers.

Dutch rule was restored in 1816, but it would take two decades before the Dutch had secured their previous positions. In the 19th century, the East Indies were the only profitable part of the Dutch overseas empire. At the beginning of this century, Dutch rule was limited to Java, some coastal regions of southern Sumatra, the Moluccan islands and some footholds on the other islands. By 1900, colonial rule had been consolidated throughout the vast Indonesian archipelago. African soldiers played a part in this process of imperial expansion. African companies fought in Dutch army campaigns in southwest Sumatra, Borneo (Kalimantan), Celebes (Sulawesi), Bali, Timor and, not least, the protracted Atjeh (Aceh) war.

The Beginning of African Recruitment

Recruitment in St. George d'Elmina began in 1831. Governor F. Last received orders from The Hague to assemble a detachment of 150 "Negro soldiers" for Java.[5] If the experiment proved successful, African recruitment would be expanded to some 2,000 men. Last was under strict instructions to enlist volunteers only, without resorting to coercion. In the East Indies, the African soldiers would be paid and treated on par with the European troops. After the expiry of their 6-year contract, they had a choice between re-enlistment, repatriation to Elmina or settling on Java. During 1831 and 1832, three ships were sent from the Netherlands to Elmina to transport 150 African troops to Batavia. But, in spite of sustained efforts, Last managed to recruit only 44 men. Some had previously served with the Dutch in the small Elmina garrison, but most were debtors or pawns in debt arrangements. They used their army-pay to pay off the debts. Some were slaves, who transferred part of their army-pay to their masters in Elmina or other coastal towns. Some were free men, who had been attracted by the possibility to delegate part of their army pay to their parents or other relatives. Although The Hague had expressed a preference for "pure" and unspoilt Africans, this first detachment of 44 men included a number of mulattos. In some cases, the mulattos were handpicked as interpreters, because of their command of some basic Dutch.

Because of these small numbers of men, the costs of this experiment proved excessive. However, reports about their military qualities were quite favourable. The first campaigns to include African soldiers were the expedition to the Lampong districts (Southern Sumatra), Jambi (central Sumatra) and the protracted Padri War on the West Coast of Sumatra, a revolt by Islamic leaders whose religious fervour had been aroused by a pilgrimage to Mecca. In December 1836, KNIL troops, including a detachment of Africans, mounted an assault on the fortified Padri stronghold of Bondjol. The Africans were in the forefront of the invading party. Toewankoe Imam, the Padri leader, later wrote a detailed report, after being captured by the Dutch and exiled to the island of Ambon. Toewankoe Imam stressed the barbarous acts perpetrated against his followers. When the army invaded Bondjol, "some African or Buginese soldiers entered without warning the room where the wives of Toewankoe Imam were sleeping, and wanted to drag some women with them." Much turmoil ensued, in which a son of the Imam and two of his wives were stabbed in the stomach and buttocks. One woman died of these injuries. From the account by lieutenant colonel H.M Lange, it is clear that the intruders were indeed African soldiers, while Buginese troops formed part of the same invasion force. Lange later judged it a mistake to use the inexperienced Africans in this attack. Though they had already demonstrated the necessary courage, they lacked caution and discipline.

Communication problems and unfulfilled promises caused serious trouble and misunderstanding, but, in the long term, the Africans proved most useful as soldiers. Lange noted that after initial problems, "the African companies excelled in discipline, cleanliness, modesty and order. Dutch officers considered posting with the African companies as a favour."[6]

Mission to Kumasi

Meanwhile, African recruitment on the Guinea Coast had resumed on a much more ambitious scale. In 1836, Major General Jan Verveer embarked on a mission as envoy of the Dutch King Willem I to the court of Ashanti. Recruitment along the Coast had yielded only a trickle of volunteers. For lack of volunteers, the new Governor Lans had resorted to the practice of buying slaves and enlisting them for long periods of service of up to 20 years. Since these slaves had not been manumitted, this type of recruitment amounted to a violation of the international treaties banning the slave trade. After his arrival in Elmina, Verveer immediately ended this practice and Lans, now living in retirement in the Netherlands, was severely censored. His recruits were retroactively manumitted. The British, who policed the ban on the transatlantic slave trade, had strongly objected to Lans' recruitment methods, but initially they raised no objections against Verveer's scheme, after he had ensured that only free men or manumitted slaves were enrolled.[7]

In the new, expanded recruitment scheme the focus was on the Kingdom of Ashanti, an old ally of Elmina and the Dutch. In the past, Ashanti had been a major supplier of slaves. The Dutch believed that Ashanti still commanded a surplus of manpower, some of which surely could be made available to the Dutch colonial army. After long delays and the exchange of lavish gifts, the contract between King Willem I of the Netherlands and Kwaku Dua I of Ashanti was duly signed in the Ashanti capital Kumasi on 18 March 1837. The contract stipulated that the Ashanti king would deliver 1,000 able-bodied men within a year, in exchange for 6,000 guns with powder. In addition, Verveer obtained permission to open a recruitment bureau in Kumasi, where individuals could enlist. The African soldiers would be entitled to equal pay and equal treatment, in every respect, with the European troops.[8] One exception to this rule, however, was their term of service. While Europeans generally enlisted for six years, the Africans who entered Dutch army service after 1837 were contracted for a period of 15 years or an indeterminate period. The latter applied to slaves from the distant lands beyond Ashanti: the Dutch undertook to provide free passage home for retired soldiers to Elmina, but it was inconceivable that the home-bound trip could be extended into the area of present-day Burkina Faso or Northern Nigeria. Although this was never clearly spelt out, these men were considered lifetime soldiers. However, in 1844, the indeterminate period of service was converted to 15 years.

After the expiry of their contracts, the soldiers could opt for re-enlistment, repatriation to Elmina or permanent residence on Java. In the first phase of African recruitment, most chose to return to their native lands. Men from the coastal areas mostly returned to their former place of residence, while those from northern regions generally opted to settle in Elmina. Veterans were allocated plots of land on a hill just behind the Castle of St. George. From the 1840s, the hill became known as Java Hill. Although the name is still in use today, very few present-day inhabitants are familiar with the historical background of Java Hill. With one exception, I have not been able to locate descendents of returned KNIL veterans on Java Hill.[9]

As the numbers of Africans in the East Indies increased, veterans increasingly decided to settle with their Indo-African families in one of the garrison towns on Java, often maintaining close contact with fellow Africans. Particularly for ex-slaves, settlement on Java could be the more attractive option. On the Gold Coast, they would be regarded as former slaves, while on Java they were entitled to European status. Soldiers had a very lowly position in colonial society, but, on the other hand, Europeans were considered superior to the native population. Most African soldiers, however, were never faced with this choice: they died during their long periods of army service. Few actually died on the battlefield. As with the Europeans, most Africans succumbed to diseases.

On the invitation of King Willem I, the Ashanti king entrusted his young son and his nephew to Verveer, to be taken to the Netherlands for an European education. The nephew, Kwamena Poku, later returned to Elmina as an army corporal. His intention had been to return to Kumasi, but he had become alienated from the land of his birth. No longer able to speak his native Twi, he wasted away in Elmina and ultimately committed suicide on 22 February 1850. The son, Kwasi Boakye, studied to become a mining engineer and eventually died of old age on Java.[10]

Verveer initially had hoped to enlist Ashanti men for the Dutch army. The Ashanti had a great reputation as a warrior nation, but it rapidly transpired that enlisting Ashanti men in foreign armies was out of the question. In practice, the troops recruited in Kumasi were the slaves of the Ashanti, captured in war, rendered as tribute or bought at slave markets such as Salaga. Their regions of origin were North of Ashanti, perhaps even as far as the bend of the Niger river. They were generically known as Donkos. Enlisting free Africans as volunteers proved a pipe dream. In order to reconcile the recruitment effort with the obligations of the treaties banning the slave trade, the recruits were issued with an Act of Manumission. They purchased their freedom with an advance on their army pay of about 100 guilders, to be repaid over the years by deducing 8,5 cents a day from their pay. Verveer reckoned that the soldiers would be able to pay off their debts in two years, after which they would enjoy equal status in every respect with the European soldiers.[11]

The first batch of African soldiers was registered with their own names, in Dutch transcription. However, with the increasing numbers, this became a source of confusion: men were often named after their day of birth, and thus many of the names were the same. Moreover, Dutch officers were struggling to pronounce and remember African names. Verveer had, therefore, decided that the recruits from the interior should be given Dutch names, preferably short monosyllabic names.[12] Sometimes the men were named after Dutch officers, soldiers or officials. In daily roll-calls on the troop ships, the Africans had to memorize their new Dutch names: Klink, Baas, Land, Prins, Nelk, Beelt, Hoed, Herbig, Pop, Cordus, Stap, IJs, etc.

The Asantehene Kwaku Dua proved negligent in fulfilling the obligations in the treaty. When recruitment ended in 1842, he had delivered only 235 men.[13] Numerous recruits sent by the King were returned to Kumasi because they were too young, too old or not in good health. Instead, most African recruits were obtained from the recruitment agency in Kumasi, which was staffed by a Eurafrican official in Dutch service, Jacob Huydecooper.

Meanwhile, recruitment also continued along the Coast. By 1842, some 2,200 men had been sent from Elmina to Batavia. The procedure prescribed by Verveer required that all recruits ought to be asked explicitly and individually whether they voluntarily accepted to enlist. In quite a few cases, the Dutch governor concluded that the men had been brought against their own will. They were sent away or returned to their owner.[14] As long as the proper procedures were adhered to, the recruits did have a certain choice in the matter. Some governors undoubtedly were more lax than others, but judging from the Elmina journals after 1837, it was fairly routine procedure to inquire whether the recruits consented, although this probably could not have applied to the recruits sent from Kumasi.

Military Merits

Since African recruitment had been launched as an experiment, the KNIL had issued instructions that detailed reports be made on both positive and negative experiences with this new source of manpower. Initial army reports on the performance of the Africans were largely favourable, in spite of the numerous communication problems that made their training both difficult and time-consuming. The Africans spoke a variety of African languages which often were not mutually intelligible. They understood neither Dutch nor Malay, the languages of instruction in the army. A few Eurafricans and Africans could act as interpreters between Dutch and Fanti or Twi (the languages spoken on the Gold Coast and in Ashanti), but there were never sufficient interpreters to serve in all the African companies. Because of the language problem, the Africans were not yet fully subjected to the army's code of discipline. The KNIL command had issued instructions for lenient treatment, and therefore, their misdemeanors were rarely punished.

According to their commanding officers, the main vice of the Africans was laziness, resulting in uncleanliness. They took better care of their weapons than of their uniforms. The Africans kept their distance from both Europeans and native Indonesians. It was emphasized that they looked down on the native population. The officers remarked that they were very distrustful, always worrying about being cheated. The nature of the Africans was described as "hot-tempered, irascible and often very insolent". Another officer remarked that they were "of a rough nature, jealous, distrustful and greedy". On the other hand, they were honest men. No instances of thievery had been reported. The Africans were strong, muscled, indefatigable and very well adapted to the tropical climate. In battle, they demonstrated bravery and fearlessness, even more so than the Europeans. In combat, their ardour needed to be tempered, otherwise they ignored the orders of their officers. Some reports complain about substantial drinking, but alcoholic excesses were less serious than among the European soldiers.[15] On balance, the judgment was largely positive, certainly in comparison to the bitter complaints that were regularly voiced about drunken, lazy and undisciplined European troops.

The Department of Colonies had proposed to form a separate African corps in the KNIL, to protect the Africans from European vices. Army command in Batavia was, however, strongly opposed to this idea, because the Africans manifested a strong *esprit de corps*. Too many Negroes in one corps could cause great mischief: they seemed already inclined to mutinies. When banding together in large numbers, the Africans could become ungovernable. It was, therefore, decided to distribute the African companies over ten battalions. A battalion consisted of six companies, each counting about 100 men. To maintain a balance, the other companies would consist of Europeans, natives or perhaps Ambonese. The Ambonese, being Christians, enjoyed a privileged status in the colonial army, occupying an intermediate position between Europeans and native Indonesians. Exceptionally, two battalions were to have three African companies each, but here the other half would consist of Europeans only. By 1840, the KNIL counted 16 European, 9 African, 17 Ambonese and 40 native companies.[16]

A few reports indicate that some of the Africans suffered from homesickness or had otherwise problems to adapt to their new lives. A number of those cases were repatriated to Elmina, considered unsuitable for army service. In July 1838, ten Africans armed with bayonets had left the barracks in Surabaya "under the pretext of wanting to return to their native lands". They became involved in a fight with the local population, who were usually eager to apprehend deserters as they were given a premium for every soldier delivered at the army barracks. Five of the deserters had been injured when they were returned to the garrison.[17]

Mutinies[18]

By and large, however, the Africans seem to have adjusted well to their new role, jealously guarding their status as European soldiers. Most causes of discontent were related to infringements on the promise of equal treatment. Nothing would cause more resentment than the belief that they were being treated as natives, not as Europeans.

Widespread discontent began erupting from 1838, when the Africans were ordered to exchange their (European) straw mattresses for (native) sleeping mats. A similar measure had previously been ordered for the Ambonese. Unlike the native soldiers, the Ambonese were entitled to wear shoes, an important attribute of European status. Up till 1908, the KNIL issued shoes only to European, African, Ambonese and

Menadonese soldiers (Heshusius 1986: 21). Because of this symbolic significance, Ambonese soldiers would never leave the garrison without shoes. But the shoes were very uncomfortable: inside the military quarters the Ambonese often walked barefoot, thus muddying their mattresses. The Africans behaved similarly. For this reason, the Ambonese were not entitled to socks. From 1838, the KNIL stopped issuing socks to the Africans, a measure that apparently did not inspire protest. The sleeping mat proved to be a different matter. The Ambonese had accepted the sleeping mats without protest.

Subsequently, the measure was extended to the African soldiers, as "they were known to be of an uncleanly nature, to have a greasy skin, greasy hair and a peculiarly strong and unpleasant smell."[19] Coming on top of accumulating grievances about unequal treatment, the issue of mattresses became the final straw. Other grievances were related to their longer term of service and lower pay, as a result of the deduction of 8,5 cents to repay the costs of manumission. These deductions had become a permanent feature, continuing long after the due amount of about 100 guilders had been repaid. This meant that the Africans were no longer paying off a debt, but that they received a structurally lower pay than the Europeans. In mid-1838, a mutiny erupted among the Africans of the 1st infantry battalion in Padang Riboe, on Sumatra. Brought before a military tribunal on Sumatra, the case remained inconclusive because of language problem. Africans who could have served as interpreters were suspect as accomplices to the mutiny. As acting governor Merkus later related, it "had therefore, been impossible to impose an exemplary punishment, which he deemed necessary" to reign in the spirit of insubordination that prevailed among these savage people, who seem immune to civilisation.[20]

The spirit of rebellion became more widespread in 1840 and 1841. Several instances of armed revolt were reported from Sumatra and Central Java. The two African companies in the 4th battalion in the garrison town Kedong Kebo (Purworejo) on Central Java apparently gained confidence when their numbers were augmented by the formation of a third African company. The commander of the 4th battalion had received reports that the Africans had held a nocturnal gathering where they had sworn an oath that on 16 April 1840 they would demand equal pay with the Europeans. If their demand was not met, they would go on strike. On the agreed day, the Africans of the 3rd and 5th companies disobeyed their officers and returned to their barracks to seize the fire arms. Meanwhile, the 4th company had already armed itself. But as the commander had been warned of the nocturnal oath, he had taken precautions. European troops had already occupied the barracks to prevent the Africans from taking the guns. The three European companies dispersed the mutineers, after which armed patrols were sent out in pursuit. They apprehended 85 fugitives, while three men managed to escape.[21]

For the first time, the Africans were court-martialed. The sentences passed by the Supreme Military Tribunal in Semarang on 18 December 1840 were fairly lenient. An investigation ordered by the public prosecutor had established that there was no uniform procedure to acquaint the Africans with the army's code of discipline. Mutiny could carry the death penalty, but it was not certain that the Africans had been aware that their actions amounted to mutiny. In the 4th battalion, the articles of the disciplinary code had been read to the troops monthly in the Malay language. As a result of their contacts with native women, the Africans were more familiar with Malay than with Dutch. But the officers had never checked whether the African troops indeed understood what constituted a criminal offence and what would be the related punishments. The court, therefore, judged that the Africans could not be punished with the full severity of military law. The five ringleaders in the Kedong Kebo mutiny were sentenced to two years in prison and 25 strokes. Ten men received 25 strokes and prison sentences ranging from 6 months to one year. The remaining 68 mutineers got off lightly with a prison sentence ranging from two weeks to one month. One African was acquitted.[22]

Army command expected that the court martial would set an example. Rebellious behaviour would no longer be tolerated. It is not certain whether the news of the court martial spread around to garrisons on other islands. If it did, it did not deter other discontented Africans from staging armed protests.

In June 1841, 37 fully armed African soldiers of the 10th infantry battalion walked out of the Dutch fortress Van der Capellen on the West Coast of Sumatra, after repeated refusals to obey orders. A detachment sent out in pursuit could not persuade the Africans to return to their duties. A fight ensued, leaving two Africans dead and four badly wounded. The remainder was taken prisoner.[23] The Sumatra revolt had been sparked off by the replacement of straw mattresses by native sleeping mats.

The mutineers were tried by a military tribunal in Padang. Subsequently, the sentences were confirmed by the Supreme Military Court on 8 April 1842. Two men, Coffie Prins and Kudjo Serroe, were identified as the instigators and sentenced to death. However, the Governor-General exercised his prerogative to commute the verdict to ten years in prison. After serving their prison sentences, Prins and Serroe were dishonourably discharged from the army and shipped back to Elmina. Most others got off lightly, with short prison sentences and/or 25 strokes.

After the Kedong Kebo mutiny, commander-in-chief General Cochius concluded that the experiment with African recruitment had miscarried. Experience proved that the "Negro race" was not as suitable for the military as had initially been thought. In his opinion, the promise of equal treatment had been a serious psychological error. The Negro soldiers would never be a substitute for the European troops.

> *"Wherever the Negro soldiers served together in a company, they have banded together in mutiny, under the pretext that infringements had been made on the promise of equal treatment with the European soldier."*[24]

In response to Cochius' proposal to halt African recruitment, The Hague instructed Elmina to reduce the numbers to 200 soldiers per year, as replacement for Africans who had died or left the army. When news of the Sumatra mutiny reached The Hague, African recruitment was abandoned altogether.[25]

At this point in time (December 1841), the army counted 1,318 Africans. After the initial panic had calmed down, the KNIL command believed that the problem of the "haughty" Africans would solve itself, as they would gradually be phased out from the army.[26] Throughout the 19th century, the position of the Africans remained ambiguous. In most respects, they were indeed treated as Europeans. But, in other respects, regarding terms of service, re-enlistment premiums, pensions, and –perhaps most importantly- the continuing deductions which no longer could be justified as restitution of the manumission payment, the KNIL treated the African soldiers as a special category, hovering between Europeans and Ambonese. Full equal treatment was only achieved by the second generation, the Indo-African sons who were born free in the East Indies. Growing up in army barracks, most sons followed their fathers' footsteps in becoming professional soldiers.

Army opinion about the qualities of the African soldiers saw another unexpected twist after the Third Expedition to Bali in 1849. Unlike the two previous expeditions, this third campaign was a military success that was celebrated with much pomp and circumstance on the main square of Batavia. The 7th Infantry Battalion, in which African companies served, had been awarded the highest military honours, de *Militaire Willemsorde*, the Dutch equivalent of the Victoria Cross. The African troops earned the admiration of several military observers, including the newly arrived Commander- in-chief of the KNIL, Duke Bernhard van Saxen-Weimar Eisenach, a German aristocrat who had made his career in the Dutch army. He reported to The Hague that the Africans compared favourably with the European part of the army below the rank of officer, which mostly consisted of "soldiers with a criminal record, deserters from the Dutch national army, drunkards, deserters from the Belgian and French armies and Germans, most of whom are rascals and tramps, and for whom the service in this colony is a last refuge".[27]

The new Commander-in-chief, supported by the new governor in Batavia, urged a resumption of African recruitment. The Dutch government initially declined, but in 1855 recruitment in Elmina was reopened, although on a much more modest scale than before. The new effort had a very slow start. The first detachment left Elmina only in 1860. Recruitment ended with the transfer of the Dutch possessions on the Guinea

Coast to Britain in 1872. When the ship Robertus Hendrikus left Elmina on 12 April 1872 with the last batch of 78 soldiers, a little over 800 African recruits had sailed to the East Indies in this second phase of African recruitment. The total number of soldiers from the Coast of Guinea in the KNIL added up to about 3,080. Most of these 800 new troops served in the Aceh war, the longest and deadliest war in Dutch colonial history.

The Aceh War 1873-1913

Two African companies (230 men in total) took part in the 2nd expedition to Aceh in 1874, after the first expedition of the previous year had ended in dismal failure. Mortality during the first phase of the 2nd expedition was very high, largely due to cholera, dysentery and other diseases. The Africans had not been spared. During the first five months, 700 Europeans and 78 Africans succumbed to diseases. None of the Africans fell on the battlefield (Verstege 1886: 124; Kielstra 1883 v. II: 194, 377).

During the 40 years of the Aceh war, over 2,000 soldiers–Europeans, Africans and native Indonesians- fell on the Dutch side of the battlefield. But over 10,000 men succumbed to contagious diseases such as cholera, not counting the unknown but high casualties among Indonesians sent to Aceh as forced labour to perform porter, cooking and various other duties. The death toll on the Aceh side was estimated at around 70,000 (Zwitser and Heshusius 1977: 25). With the total number of casualties estimated at around 100,000, the Aceh war was in a class of its own, incomparable to any other military campaign in the Dutch East Indies.

The surviving Africans, however, served with distinction. Captain A.P. Palmer of the British army in India, who accompanied the Dutch troops in Aceh as an observer, reported that the African troops proved superior. He did not think very highly of the ill-trained European troops, or of the Javanese soldiers, but noted that the African troops instilled a great fear into the Aceh warriors (Van‘t Veer 1980: 94). Numerous African soldiers earned bronze and silver medals, while some were also awarded the highest honour of the Dutch army: de *Militaire Willemsorde*.

By 1915, there were no more African soldiers serving in the Dutch East Indies army (Encyclopaedie 1917-1921 v(I): 13-14). Army periodicals reflected on the African troops with considerable nostalgia. Surely, they were impetuous when not treated properly, but who would hold that against them? The Africans were generally praised for their courage, loyalty and stamina (*Indische Gids* 1886: 611-17).

However, the Indo-African offspring of the African soldiers remained a permanent feature of the KNIL, until the end of colonial rule in 1949. The veterans settled in garrison towns on Java - notably Batavia, Semarang, Purworejo, Salatiga, Solo - where their pensions were paid out. Known in Malay as *Belanda Hitam* (Black Dutchmen), they largely assimilated with the Indo-European population. The *Belanda Hitam* were indeed legally considered Europeans. They were baptised, mostly in the

Catholic Church, spoke Dutch as their mother tongue, attended European schools and qualified for a Dutch passport. Descendants living outside these garrison towns tended to lose touch with the Indo-African communities. It was only in Purworejo that the Africans and their descendants lived together in one part of town, known as Kampung Afrikan (the African village). Purworejo thus became the heart of the Indo-African communities on Java, the place where Indo-Africans from others parts of Java would often spend their holidays with relatives.

Kampung Afrikan

Retired army Captain Doris Land, who served as the informal head of Kampung Afrikan, recorded in a document compiled in 1939 that the Africans and their families initially lived among the native Javanese population of Purworejo. When their numbers increased, however, the Dutch administrator thought it advisable to give the veterans a settlement of their own, to avoid frictions with the native inhabitants. Every veteran in Kampung Afrikan was allocated a plot of 80 "Rijnlandse roeden" to build a house for his family and to supplement his army pension with some gardening or agriculture.[28] A profitable source of income was the raising of pigs, a popular ingredient in Dutch and Chinese cuisine, but anathema to the Muslim Javanese. This practice was, however, later outlawed, as the neighbouring Javanese kampong objected to the presence of pigs in their vicinity. The veterans were also frequently employed to accompany transports of coffee and salt.

The African village was headed by a kind of informal mayor, known as the *wijkmeester*. The first to serve in this position was Sergeant J. Klink, who had entered army service in 1837. He had settled in Purworejo after a successful career, in which he distinguished himself in army campaigns on Bali and at Palembang (on Sumatra). Because of his advanced age he was replaced in 1890 by Sergeant Hendrik Beelt (rtd), who was reputed to be fairly fluent in Dutch, Malay and Javanese. Beelt, who died in 1923, had eight sons, all of whom entered military service, as was customary for all the African boys. Beelt's common-law wife was Mariam Klink, the daughter of J. Klink and his Javanese common-law wife Sinam.[29] Hendrik Beelt owned the largest house with a big yard in Kampung Afrikan, as well as rice and cassava fields, that were worked by Javanese labourers.[30] De *wijkmeester* was responsible for maintaining law and order. He registered births and deaths at the office of the Dutch administrator and settled internal disputes. Once every three months, a Catholic missionary visited Kampung Afrikan to baptise any new-born babies.

The Indo-Africans on Java were widely known as *Londo Ireng* in Javanese or *Belanda Hitam* in Malay, meaning Black Dutchmen, or Black White Men. While these terms implied a recognition of their European status, the people of Purworejo also used a derogatory word for Kampung Afrikan: Gudang Areng, or charcoal yard (Van

Harreveld 2004). However, Indo-African interviewees, now living in the Netherlands, stress that relations between the Africans and the Indonesian host society were generally good: "After all, we all had a Javanese grandmother".[31]

Indo-African boys entered army life at the age of 16, sometimes even at 14. To qualify for a pension, recruits had to sign up for 12 to 15 years. By the early 20th century, Dutch rule over the archipelago had been largely consolidated. Army life settled into a routine in which the soldiers rotated between garrisons and islands, with little chance of ever experiencing a hazardous army campaign. For the first generation of African soldiers, the army had taken a heavy toll: few actually fell on the battlefield but many succumbed to diseases. By the 20th century, wars of conquest had ended and health care and hygiene in the army had much improved. The 2nd and 3rd generation of people of African descent now were able to reap their modest share of the prosperity generated by the commercial exploitation of Indonesia's rich natural resources. The army was no longer perceived as a hazardous career, but instead as secure employment with the prized bonus of a pension. The job security offered by the army was particularly valued during the depression of the 1930s.

When leaving the army, most men were in their early thirties. Some signed on for a further term, but many Indo-Africans easily found employment with the police, the railways, the prison service, national intelligence, de Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij (precursor to Shell) or as an overseer on sugar estates. They had acquired a reputation as disciplined and loyal workers. Initially many men did not return to Purworejo on leaving the army, as they could be employed anywhere in the archipelago. Land recalls that in those years, the first quarter of the 20th century, only a few dozen people lived in Kampung Afrikan.

A Close-Knit Community

But when more veterans returned to Purworejo, resources were pooled to improve the living conditions. By 1930, Kampung Afrikan had undergone a major renovation. When Doris Land put his memoirs on paper in 1939, Kampung Afrikan numbered 25 families, with a total of 88 inhabitants. The office of *wijkmeester* had ceased to exist but Doris Land functioned as the community's informal head. His daughter Mary (born 1928) remembers how the family house in Purworejo, where Doris Land lived with his Indonesian common law wife Nji Poniah, seven children and several relatives, was always full of visitors and guests.[32] For the first and second generation Africans, civil marriage was a rare event, even more so when the wife was Indonesian rather than Indo-African or Indo-European. Doris Land and Nji Poniah married only in 1951, when it was becoming clear that they might have to leave Indonesia for the Netherlands. Since Doris Land had retired with an officers' pension, the family was fairly well-off. The household made use of the services of several Javanese domestic workers, such as a cook, a gardener and a house boy. Thus, the well-off Indo-African families shared the comfortable lifestyle of colonial society, although there were also families who had to make ends meet with only a meagre soldiers' pension.

Sometimes the children in the Land family household would ask grandmother, Louise Baas, widow of Govert Land and daughter of African soldier Baas, to teach them some African words, only to be told that they had no need for that, as they ought to speak Dutch. If the children were too insistent, grandmother would become a bit annoyed and say something incomprehensible, probably in her own kind of fake "African language". Very occasionally, grandmother prepared an African dish for the children, with okra and fufu (pounded cassava) but "we did not like it, the okra was very slimy stuff". Many people came to ask for her father's advice. Indo-African schoolchildren came to the house to do their homework. Doris Land had no formal schooling beyond primary school, but he was a self-educated man who ultimately achieved officers' rank in the army. He insisted that his own children, as well as the other Indo-African children of Kampung Afrikan, took their school work seriously and use every opportunity to improve themselves: not only the boys, but the girls as well.

Most of the descendants now living in the Netherlands speak fondly of a carefree childhood in Kampung Afrikan, where all adults were known as grandmother or grandfather, or uncle and auntie. They all kept an eye on the youth, either to hand out treats or to administer a stern warning or a beating in case of misdemeanour. Daan Cordus, born in 1922 into a family with eight children, cherished his childhood in Purworejo where he lived in a wooden house with a large garden full of delicious fruit trees.[33] Daan Cordus, now the driving force behind the activities of the Indo-Africans in the Netherlands, is the grandson of African recruit Cordus, a slave from the Ashanti region, who joined the Dutch colonial army in 1837 after having bought his freedom for 96.50 guilders. He left the army in 1858 with a pension of 108 guilders a year and settled in Purworejo with his Indonesian wife Siam. Daan's father, Johannes Cordus, retired from the army in 1906 and went to work for the railways, and later as writ-server. Although the large family with eight children was not well off, Daan Cordus does not recall any material shortages. Everyone had to lend a hand in the household. Kitchen duties were most popular, as his mother, Emilia Land, daughter of Govert Land, was widely known as an excellent cook. She was also in charge when communal feasts were being prepared for marriages, funerals etc. Kampung Afrikan in the 1920s and 1930s was a boys' paradise: plenty of space for games, fishing, hunting for birds and locusts, and adventures in the rice fields and orange plantations. His father also owned a rice paddy, which has been leased to a Javanese peasant in exchange for a part of the harvest.[34]

Along with all Indo-African children, Daan Cordus attended the European primary school, which catered for Europeans, Indo-Europeans and children from aristocratic Javanese families. His school friends were Dutch, Chinese, Indo-European and other Indo-African boys; there was not much intimate contact with local Javanese youth. Cordus continued his education in the Catholic junior secondary school in Purworejo, where most of his class mates were native Indonesians and Chinese. Sponsored by his uncles, notably Doris Land, he then moved to Djokjakarta to attend the senior secondary school. For a boy from Kampung Afrikan, this was an unusual choice: most became professional soldiers, the natural career for the male descendants of the African soldiers. Young Daan Cordus, however, had no inclination for army life, but ended up being conscripted when World War II broke out.

Life in Kampung Afrikan was characterised by a strong sense of community. In the case of death, the elders joined the wake in the house of the deceased. The whole Indo-African community would follow the procession to the final resting place in the European cemetery. But in death, husband and wife were often separated. The European cemetery was the preserve of Christians, that is, all African and Indo-African men and Indo-African women. But the Javanese grandmothers, being Muslim, were laid to rest in the Muslim cemetery. On old family pictures from Purworejo or Semarang, the frail Javanese grandmothers have pride of place, sitting in the midst of large families, surrounded by muscled men with martial moustaches. The relationship between the Indo-Africans and their Javanese surroundings remained somewhat ambivalent. For a Javanese girl, marriage to an Indo-African signified a rise in social status: she now entered European society. But at the same time, she cut her links with her own family. The families in Kampung Afrikan did not maintain much contact with Javanese uncles, aunts or cousins. Javanese relatives hardly ever came to visit. At most, when a cook or garden boy was hired, Indo-African families would favour someone from their Javanese family. There was a wide social gap between the Indo-Africans, legally and socially part of the world of Europeans and Indo-Europeans, and the Javanese who in the hierarchy of colonial society belonged to the world of the "natives".

Later generations often married within the Indo-African community, although liaisons with Indo-European, Indonesian and European partners were also common. In the colonial hierarchy, the Indo-Africans had most in common with the Indo-Europeans: they were entitled to European status, but as they were of a darker hue they found themselves not always fully accepted in European society in the East Indies.

"Africa Is Long Ago"

In terms of oral tradition, a few songs were about the only African heritage that was passed on to the young generation. When discussing family matters, the adults hastened to send the children outdoors. Looking back, Indo-African interviewees now suspect that this reticence may have been caused by a sense of embarrassment over the complicated nature of family relations. Extramarital relations were common, resulting in many "illegitimate" children, who were frequently adopted by other Indo-African families. Adoption was widely practised if parents were too poor to care for their offspring, but also as a favour to a childless couple or those at least without a son. Like the Dutch soldiers, the Africans shared their army barracks with an Indonesian wife and her children, sometimes as a lasting partnership, sometimes changing partners as their battalion moved to a new station. What had been common practice in the 19th century army barracks, became a source of embarrassment as the Indo-African families settled into bourgeois respectability.

If the children ever asked about their family origins, they were silenced with replies such as "Africa is long ago". Nor was being "African" a source of much curiosity. Although the inhabitants of Kampung Afrikan were naturally aware of their African origins, memories of Africa had become remote. Doris Land recorded correctly that the forefathers had sailed from Elmina on the Coast of Guinea, but this fact was not widely known among the majority of Indo-African descendants. "Africa" was sometimes understood as South Africa, or as Ethiopia. In Dutch popular history, Africa is often equated with South Africa because of Jan van Riebeeck's settlement at the Cape of Good Hope and - much later - the Anglo-Boer War that aroused popular sentiment in support of the kindred Afrikaner nation. Ethiopia was the biblical Africa, the land of King Solomon, and moreover, it was the only African country to make headlines in newspapers in the Dutch East Indies during the 1930s.

It was only after their arrival in the Netherlands in the 1950s, when some Indo-Africans started to search in earnest for details of their history, that the Indo-Africans became aware of their West-African roots and of the Dutch recruitment effort on the Gold Coast, which after independence was renamed Ghana.[35]

Indonesian Independence: Exit *Belanda Hitam*

On 6 March 1942, the Japanese army marched into Purworejo. Japanese occupation was to be the prelude to Indonesian independence, which, in turn, spelled an end to the existence of organised Indo-African communities on Java. While the Dutch and the Indo-Europeans were confined in internment camps, the "Blacks" were sent home to Kampung Afrikan. For the Japanese invaders, it was difficult to make sense of their place in society. To the good fortune of the Indo-Africans, the Japanese did not recognise their European status, at least not in Purworejo. Elsewhere in the Indonesian archipelago, some Indo-African women and children did have to spend the war years in the overcrowded, unsanitary camps where the Japanese confined the civilian population of European and Indo-European ancestry. The Indo-African soldiers shared the much harsher fate of their fellow soldiers as prisoners of war in Japanese labour camps, including the notorious camps on the Burma railway.

After the Japanese surrender in August 1945, the war in the Dutch East Indies was not yet over. The Netherlands refused to recognize the declaration of independence by the Republik Indonesia and attempted to re-establish control while refusing to negotiate with Soekarno. Dutch soldiers - including the Indo-Africans - who had survived the war years as prisoners of war, were now re-enlisted to fight the insurgents. After years of isolation, they had no sense that the world had changed irrevocably and that the colonial order was on the way out. Questions about the legitimacy of the war against Indonesian nationalists hardly arose as liberated prisoners of war volunteered to "liberate" their home areas on Java. After four years of guerrilla warfare, the Dutch government finally, in December 1949, consented to handing over sovereignty.

Most Indo-Africans, having loyally served the colonial government, saw no future for themselves in the Republik Indonesia. The label *Belanda Hitam*, which denoted a privileged status in colonial society, now became a term of abuse: Indonesian nationalists considered the Indo-Africans as collaborators with the Dutch colonialists. They joined the exodus of Dutch and Indo-Europeans to the Netherlands. Dozens of Indo-Africans, who initially opted to stay in the land of their birth, were eventually forced to leave when relations between the Netherlands and Indonesia deteriorated in the mid-1950s. It is not known how many Indo-Africans made the voyage to the Netherlands, as they were not registered as such. The few hundred Indo-Africans were a negligible number among the roughly 300,000 people flocking to the Netherlands.

The young generation of Indo-Africans gradually found their way in Dutch society without major hurdles. There were the initial complaints about the climate, the food ("every day potatoes and bread"), inadequate and overcrowded housing facilities and of course.., the lack of domestic servants. A small army of welfare workers taught the newcomers how to manage a household without servants, providing lessons in laundry, cooking, mending clothes, budgeting and of course, the Dutch national obsession: cleaning windows. Life was more difficult for many of the elderly Indo-Africans. Some individuals remained in Indonesia. Not much is known about them, as contacts became very irregular. By the 21st century, they must have blended fully with the Indonesian society.

The Indo-Africans in the Netherlands, although scattered all over the country, maintained informal social contacts. Some continued their army careers, others found various civilian jobs. When the generation that grew up in the East Indies, reached the retirement age, they found time for more social gatherings, some genealogical research and a careful inventory of the old photographs that survived World War II, the Indonesian War of Independence and the long voyage to the Netherlands. Since 1981, some 200-300 people gathered every two year for an Indo-African reunion, a festive occasion with a colourful mix of Ghanaian and Indonesian music, dress and food.

Conclusions

In the context of the African diaspora in Asia, the phenomenon of the *Belanda Hitam* is rather exceptional. From the outset, the African soldiers in the Dutch army were entitled to equal treatment with the European soldiers. Although many infringements were made on their rights, the Africans fully identified with their status of "European soldiers". Their Indo-African descendants largely assimilated with Indo-European and European colonial society: not only were they legally entitled to Dutch nationality, they also internalised their identity as Dutch citizens. One caveat, however, must be made. This article is concerned with those Indo-Africans who were legally recognised by their fathers and registered with the Dutch administration as "European births". In case of children deserted by their fathers, they would have stayed with their Indonesian mothers, in due time assimilating with Indonesian society. The story thus serves to underline the importance of legal provisions in the construction of social identities.

Notes

[1] This paper is largely based on my book on the West African soldiers in the Netherlands East Indies (van Kessel 2005).

[2] In 1830, the East Indies army obtained an autonomous status. It was no longer organised as part of the Dutch national army. In 1833, King Willem I gave the East Indies army its own name, Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger or KNIL (Royal Dutch Indies Army). However, this name only became common usage after 1933. For the sake of brevity, I will refer to the East Indies army as KNIL. The soldiers from the Moluccan islands were generally known as Ambonese, after the island of Ambon in the Moluccans.

[3] The use of African slaves for policing duties in Batavia has been mentioned in de Haan 1922, I: 292, II: 305-06. See, also, Armstrong and Worden 1988: 128. I am grateful to Jean-Jacques Vrij for these references. See also: Vrij 1986.

[4] National Archives, The Hague (Nationaal Archief, hereafter NA), Algemene Staatssecretarie en Kabinet des Konings 1813-1814, inv. no. 5743, Nota van De Stuers, exh. 1 Juni 1831, no. 75

[5] His official rank was "Commandeur". The title of the highest Dutch official on the Gold Coast changed back and forth from *Gouverneur* to *Commandeur.* For convenience sake, I have used "Governor" throughout this paper.

[6] "Memorie van Toewankoe Imam aangaande de komst der Hollanders in Sumatra's binnenlanden en de aldaar door hen gevoerden oorlog. Vertaald uit het Maleisch." In: de Stuers 1849: 221-42. Also, Lange 1852: 161, 172-74.

[7] NA, Ministerie van Koloniën voor 1850 (Department of Colonies before 1850, hereafter MK I), Geheime Verbalen, inv. no. 4,243, exh. 6 Dec. 1836 no. 292, correspondence by the British envoy in The Hague, Disbrowe, to the Netherlands Department of Foreign Affairs; MK I, Openbare Verbalen, inv. no. 1076, exh. 11 Feb. 1837 no 24, ibid.;

MK I, Geheime Verbalen, inv. no. 4257, no. 410, 28 Dec. 1839, Department of Colonies to the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies.

[8] NA, MK I, Openbare Verbalen, inv. no 1223, exh. 16 April 1839 no. 20, report by Verveer to the Dept. of Colonies; MK I, Geheime Verbalen, inv. no 4246, Treaty between Jan Verveer on behalf of the Dutch King and Kwaku Dua, 18 March 1837.

[9] The one exception is the Witts family, descendents of soldier Jan Wit, who returned to Elmina in 1880 after 12 years of army service. He left his son Melchior behind on Java. Jan Wit began a new family life in Elmina, while young Melchior joined the Dutch army. The descendants of Melchior Wit now live in the Netherlands. I did meet other Ghanaian descendants of KNIL soldiers, notably the descendants of corporal Manus Ulzen, who was among the first volunteers to enlist in 1832. The Ulzen family, however, was no longer living in Elmina, although they maintained strong bonds with their place of origin.

[10] For the story of the two Ashanti princes, see, Yarak 1987. The story has acquired international fame after the publication of a historical novel by Dutch author, Arthur Japin, that has also been published in English translation (Japin 1997; 2000).

[11] NA, MK I, Openbare Verbalen, inv. no 1,223, exh. 16 April 1839 no 20, report by Verveer to the Dept. of Colonies.

[12] NA, MK I, Geheime Verbalen, inv. no 1,393, exh. 22 Sept. 1841, no. 39/479, Verveer to the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies.

[13] NA, MK I, Ingekomen stukken van de Kust van Guinea inv. no. 4,012, Governor Van der Eb to Dept. of Colonies, 31 Oct. 1842.

[14] These cases are mentioned in the journals kept by the Governor in Elmina: NA, MK I, Journalen van de Kust van Guinea, inv. no 3,964-3,975. For a detailed discussion on the issue of voluntary or forced enlistment, see Yarak 1996. For the places of origins of the men recruited in Kumasi, see LaTorre 1976: 31-42.

[15] NA, Ministerie van Koloniën na 1850 (hereafter MK II), Generaal Overzigt van hetgeen betrekking heeft tot de werving van Afrikanen en van de verkregen resultaten, inv. no 49, exh. 4 Nov. 1850, no. 24, Verslag over bij het leger dienende Afrikanen, 3 Sept. 1838 no. 3 geheim.

[16] NA, MK I, Openbare Verbalen, inv. no 1219, exh. 25 March 1839, no. 16, the Commander-in-chief of the KNIL, General Cochius, to the Governor-General. Also: MK II, Generaal Overzigt, Verslag over bij het leger dienende Afrikanen, 3 sept. 1838 no. 3 geheim; *Gedenkschrift Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indisch Leger* 1990: 65.

[17] NA, MK I, inv. no. 4,551, exh. 10 Dec. 1841 no. 527 geheim, Acting Governor Merkus to Dept. of Colonies.

[18] For a more detailed account of the mutinies, see, van Kessel 2003.

[19] NA, MK II, Generaal Overzigt, Missive van den kommandant van het observatiekorps dd. 6 Feb. 1838 no. 186.

[20] NA, MK II, inv. no. 4,551, exh. 10 Dec 1841 no. 527 geheim, Acting Governor Merkus to the Dept of Colonies.

[21] NA, MK II, Generaal Overzigt, Missive van den militairen kommandant te Kedong Kebo, 17 April 1840.

[22] NA, MK II, Generaal Overzigt, Missive van den kommandant van het leger dd. 21 april 1840, no. 12 spoed; Generaal Overzigt, Missive van den Advocaat Fiscaal voor de Land- en Zeemagt dd. 22 April 1840, no. 171, spoed. Data on the sentences have been taken from the individual army records: Stamboeken onderofficieren en minderen van het Nederlandsch Oostindisch Leger. The records are incomplete, and therefore, this account of the sentences might be incomplete as well. The corporal punishment consisted of "*klingslagen*", strokes with a sword blade.

[23] NA, MK II, Generaal Overzigt, Missive van den militairen kommandant ter Sumatra's Westkust dd. 9 July 1841 no. 1143/84.

[24] NA, MK II, Generaal Overzigt, Missive van de kommandant van het leger dd. 8 Aug. 1840, no. 1 geheim.

[25] Recruitment was ended by Royal Decree, KB 17 Dec. 1841.

[26] NA, MK I, Geheime Verbalen, inv. no. 4294, Cochius to Governor-General 11 Nov. 1842.

[27] NA, MK II, Generaal Overzigt, Missive van Zijne Hoogheid den kommandant van het leger dd 21 August 1849 no. 4, zeer geheim.

[28] 80 "Rijnlandse roeden" was about 1,150 m^2.

[29] Genealogy of the Beelt family, compiled by Gusta van der Meul-Beelt.

[30] Interview with Gusta van der Meul-Beelt, 28 June 2000.

[31] Interview with Daan Cordus, 1985.

[32] Interview with Mary Land, 6 Feb. 2001.

[33] Interviews with Daan Cordus, 1985, 1998, 1999, 2000.

[34] Notes written by Daan Cordus in 2000, "'De mens wikt, God beschikt': mijn levensverhaal."

[35] Daan Cordus, spurred by the questions of his daughter Sylvia, became particularly active in the search to uncover the forgotten history. He found help from a historian at the University of Amsterdam, Dr. Sylvia de Groot, who, in the early 1980s, led a group of students to do archival research on the history of the African soldiers.

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22

From Slaves of African Descent to Creoles in Mauritius

Daniella Police-Michel

Mauritians of African origin today represent 30 per cent of a population of nearly 1.2 million inhabitants. These Mauritians are descendants of slaves brought mostly from the eastern coast of Africa, particularly from Mozambique, and from Madagascar in the 18th and 19th centuries, that is, during the formative period of the island's population under the French colonization, from 1723 to 1810, and part of the British rule which ended with the accession of the country to Independence on the 12th of March 1968.

Historical studies on slave trade and slavery testify that the descendants of slaves began to be mixed since the first generation because of rapes perpetrated on female slaves by their masters. Since then, the process of "métissage" has been continuing in the inter-ethnic context that characterizes the slave population and later, their descendants. Slaves were brought mostly from different ethnic groups of Africa and Madagascar; there were also slaves from India; after the abolition of slavery in 1835, there has been a massive immigration of indentured labourers from India who replaced the liberated slaves on the sugarcane fields but shared the same harsh conditions of living.

Today, a French based Creole has eradicated the African languages and most of the descendants of slaves form part of the Catholic Church and share the European ideals of the descendants of former slave-owners. Furthermore, in spite of Independence achieved from the United Kingdom, the descendants of slave community are not officially recognized as such while the Hindus, Muslims and Chinese are identified as distinct communities by the Constitution, the supreme law of the country.

Besides, most of the descendants of slaves still find themselves at the bottom of the ladder in the Mauritian society trying to reconstruct their cultural heritage in order to free themselves from the dominant groups.

This paper aims, in its first part, at underlining the continuing situation of dependence of the descendants of slaves in contemporary Mauritius, in contrast to the descendants of indentured labourers of Asian origin. This situation can be explained by the destruction of the original cultural background that characterized slave trade and slavery.

The second part is an analysis of the three main cultural icons of slaves and their descendants: the Sega music, the Creole language and the Le Morne maroon mountain. It aims at making an assessment of those cultural aspects as results of the slaves' and their descendants' quest for their original lands, but also more fundamentally, the quest for the re-construction of their humanity.

Such analysis dealing with the cultural aspects of slavery and its consequences raises the issue of continuity/discontinuity concerning the links of the people of the African diaspora, who have gone through the process of slave trade and slavery, to their original continent. The case of what is called "Creole" islands, like Mauritius, opens the door for discussion on the relationship between the concepts of "African Diaspora" and "Creolity".

1. The Situation of Dependence of Slaves and Their Descendants Inherited from Slavery and Colonization

Though they constitute the second largest ethnical group in the Mauritian pluri-ethnic society, the descendants of slaves, traditionally called as "Creoles" in the Mauritian context, have been politically and constitutionally "assimilated" to the descendants of former slave-owners and the Coloured people, to form the **General Population Community** representing 33 per cent of the population. The "Hindus", with approximately 48 per cent of the population, are the first and largest ethnic community in Mauritius. The "Muslims" of Indian origin, with 15 per cent of the population constitute a third community and the "Chinese" with 3 per cent, is the smallest and fourth community (Eriksen 2002).

These figures show that the Creoles are potentially a political force in the Mauritian society which has been and is still being used, however, by a minority constituted by the descendants of former slave-owners who are today the dominant economic force, against the strong political and growing economic power of the Hindus and Muslims.

The main explanation to this continuing situation of dependence of the Creoles is the cultural influence of French colonizers and their descendants on them because of slavery and the socio-political policies during the British rule. For this purpose, one has to recall that in all French possessions and colonies, during the period of slavery, the status and conditions of living were governed by the "Code Noir" promulgated in 1685 by Louis X1V (Sala-Molins 1987). This was the case of the Mauritian society during its first historical period of French colonization from 1723 to 1810. A translation of the article 2 of the "Code Noir" reads as follows:

> *"All slaves who will be living in our colonies will be baptized in the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Religion."*

Besides, the system of slavery was construed in such a way that no family or community life was authorized under the "Code Noir" with the result that it brought the destruction of cultural practices of the slaves, more fundamentally, the symbolic ones, like their original languages and religions. In fact, a French Creole language in

Mauritius took over the original languages, within one or two generations at best and, today, more than 90 per cent of the Catholics in Mauritius are descendants of slaves bearing Christian surnames.

The conquest of the island by Great Britain in 1810 empowered, quite ironically, the French culture and religion. The Treaty of Paris signed then by France and the United Kingdom, in fact, allowed freedom of religion and culture to former French colonizers. Mauritius is an exception among former British colonies to have kept French influence both in culture and in religion. In fact, the cultural values of the French elite have been used particularly through the Catholic Church to keep the descendants of slaves under its dominance. One example of the use of religion by the French elite to maintain its influence on former slaves, was the arrival of the missionary priest, Jacques Désiré Laval, from France to take over evangelization of emancipated slaves. This action succeeded in keeping within the Catholic religion a great majority of them providing them with family, social and community structures. However, research work of the historian Selva Appaswamy (2003) has shown that in fact the French elite of the Catholic Church asked for and obtained the arrival of Jacques Désiré Laval to take the place of another Catholic priest called Edward Charles Gifford, a British national, who was successful among emancipated slaves immediately after the abolition of slavery. But the latter's talks on freedom and equality were seen as a threat to the Whites. So, the French elite soon found the means to discredit him and to have him replaced by a more docile priest.

At the economic level, the arrival of thousands of Indian workers, known as indentured labourers, after the abolition of slavery in 1835, was meant to replace the slave-workforce on sugarcane plantations, as the emancipated slaves were accused of refusing to work or of being lazy while, in fact, the former slave-owners did not want to employ them (Quenette 1976). Consequently, the emancipated slaves were deprived not only of a meagre livelihood but also of their poor lodging.

In short, the British rule, the abolition of slavery and the arrival of Indian indentured labourers brought profound changes in the former colonial society, strengthening the ethnic boundaries between the different groups in competition: between the Whites and the Coloured people at the top of the social ladder; between the Coloured and the newly emancipated slaves; between the emancipated slaves and the new labour force coming from India (Benoît 1985).

The historical background explains why the struggle of the 60s preceding independence, opposed on one side, mostly by the Hindus who rallied to the Independence Party of Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam and, on the other side, mostly by the descendants of the slaves who rallied behind the Parti Mauricien Social Démocrate of Sir Gaetan Duval, set up to stand for the economic and political interest of the Franco-Mauritian elite.

The conditions of slavery have made the cultural ties, particularly through the Catholic religion, stronger between the descendants of slaves and the descendants of former slave-owners. Their political leaders played highly on racialist arguments against indentured labourers to rally the mass of descendants of the slaves. On the other side, the indentured labourers, who had not been subjected to slavery, in particular, to the "Code Noir", have been able to keep their religions, their languages, their family and community lives. Thus, independence movements of the 50s and sixties found an easy way of access among them as they were embedded with community consciousness and with possibilities for organized actions independently of the French oligarchy. Besides, the independence movement in India acted as a model, particularly with the visit of Mahatma Gandhi in 1901 to Mauritius.

The cultural dependence is thus the main cause of the difficulty of the descendants of the slaves in Mauritius to free themselves politically and economically from the dominant groups. This is also true for the descendants of slaves of other Creole islands such as l'île de La Réunion, Seychelles in the Indian Ocean, and those in the Caribbean, and it is particularly obvious in the Mauritian case where comparison to the emancipated descendants of indentured labourers, who experienced the same harsh conditions of work, is possible.

2. From the Quest of African Origins to the Setting Up of the Origins of a New Humanity

Research on slavery shows nowadays that besides the situation of dependence, the system of slavery has generated also logics of resistance among slaves and their descendants that appear as logics of survival.

An analysis of the main icons that characterize the culture of the slaves and their descendants in the Mauritian context, Sega music, Creole language, the Le Morne Maroon Mountain, shows that the logics of resistance were motivated by two main factors: the quest for the original African and Malagasy lands and, more fundamentally, the quest for meaningful practices that sustain human spirit in the hell of slavery.

Though they were brought to Mauritius, like other plantation societies, deprived of any single material property, the slaves rapidly recovered the musical practices of their original lands. The importance of the musical practices, during their rare free time, signifies the acute desire of the slaves to go back at least through music and dance, to Africa and Madagascar. However, among the many different varieties of their musical performances, one has survived up to now as a traditional Mauritian music: the traditional Sega. Recent studies of this musical form (Police 2000, 2001; Police-Michel 2006) show that it appears more as the result of a fundamental human quest for existential meanings than as the remembrance of the original lands.

In contemporary period, where the cultural policies of the 1980s invited

Mauritians to look back on their origins, one can observe a revival of the traditional Mauritian Sega among the descendants of slaves, besides the effort at re-appropriation of musical traditional practices newly imported from African countries.

The traditional Sega is presented by descendants of slaves, seeking their origins, as a musical practice intimately linked in their oral memory to slavery. It is praised as the "great heritage" left by their enslaved ancestors and as a memorial site of slavery and its abolition. When explicitly verbalized, the experience, lived by the participants of a traditional Sega party, appears as an organized process of reconstruction of a person's psychology and a communitarian unity. Placed in the context of slavery, this musical form reveals itself as a global discourse of a new-born humanity.

The term "global" is used here to refer to the coherent use of musical rhythm, language and gesture as a symbolic expression of human destiny in the universal movement. At the beginning of the Sega is the basic rhythm of a drum called *ravane*, then come the improvised speech and dance of the singer followed progressively by other persons participating in the dance.

The Sega party makes people evolve from disparity to coherence, from isolation to community, from revolt and sadness to shared joy. For these reasons, Sega music has become a national music appreciated by all Mauritians.

Concerning the linguistic practices developed by the slaves and their descendants, they constitute surely an answer to basic human needs rather than an answer to the quest of original cultural practices.

Research is more advanced nowadays on Creole languages that have emerged from the plantation societies than on the musical practices. Linguistics research shows that Creole languages are to be considered more as newly born human languages than as varieties of African languages imported by the slaves. The latter would have rapidly extinguished within two or three generations with the urgency to build up means of verbal communications between European slave-owners and slaves on one side, and among the slaves themselves, on the other side, who were from different linguistic backgrounds and needed a common linguistic system. However, one has to acknowledge that few specialists of African languages have done researches on Creole languages.

On the South West coast of Mauritius, the Le Morne mountain has become a symbol of resistance that relates the descendants of slaves to their Maroon ancestors. Movements of resistance against the slave system have been present right from the beginning of the Mauritian history.

Maroon slaves, left by the Dutch after their short colonization period (Vérin 1983), constituted a threat to the French colonizers settling in the island from 1721 to

1735 (Lagesse 1973). Since then, until the abolition of slavery in 1835, flight and capture of slaves continued in the colony.

One can say that, concerning maroonage, the fundamental human quest for freedom was intimately linked in the slave's mind with the quest for original African or Malagasy lands.

The history of maroonage testifies that the ability of the slaves inherited from their original lands to move and live in difficult natural sites was an advantage against their prosecutors (Nagapen 1999). Deep forests or mountains constituted for the maroons ramparts against the pitiless system of slavery, their quest for freedom found, in their inherited knowledge of Nature, an asset that enabled them to defeat the established rules of the plantation society.

Historical research is still insufficient on the period going from the apprenticeship of emancipated slaves to the end of the British colonization. However, one can imagine that movements of resistance slowed down during this period since abolition of slavery was followed by a wandering period of the former slave population who had to look for food and shelter and build up new community structures out of the plantations. As mentioned above, under the British rule, the abolition of slavery and the arrival of indentured labourers strengthened paradoxically the cultural dependence of the former slaves and their descendants to the culture of the former slaves-owners. It seems that the Catholic Church has acted through evengalisation as a powerful arm against the fighting spirit of the former slaves and even against the memory of slavery.

The awakening of the consciousness of the descendants of slaves appears in Mauritian contemporary history as a side-effect of the accession of Mauritius into Independence. The outrageous racist aspect of the electoral campaign, preceding general elections on the issue of Independence in August 1967, led to violent communal riots in the popular suburbs of Port-Louis between the Muslims and the Creoles late in January 1968. The two months of violence and bloodshed were a severe setback to the newborn nation. As for the Creoles, who were abandoned by the Whites as well as Coloured people and by the new government, they had to learn to organise themselves to find their way out of the social havoc caused by the riots.

It is in this context that the "Organization Fraternelle" ("Brotherhood Organisation"), a NGO, was created, rallying thousands of Creoles of the working class to lead independent and non-violent fights for their social, economic and cultural empowerment.

The movement, which is now a green political party, has had to face simultaneously and continually the boycott of the local Mauritian press, which is financed by the Whites, and the policy of marginalization of the Hindu community. However, the social and political actions of the "Verts-Fraternels" ("Green Brotherhood") led to some significant achievements, mostly cultural and social, which can be summarized thus: a public holiday to commemorate the anniversary of the abolition of slavery; daily radio and TV news bulletins in the Creole language; sale of housing estates and construction of very low cost houses; compensation paid by the United Kingdom to up-rooted inhabitants of Diego Garcia, now a US naval base, and more recently, annual rallies at the Le Morne Mountain, a former Maroon-slave site, for its protection from tourist development and its inscription by UNESCO on the World Heritage list.

The social exclusion of the descendants of slaves has become a national issue as from the 90s, in the context of a social discourse which was called “malaise créole”, an expression which is unfortunately difficult to translate but which strongly brings out the meaning that the Creoles in their paradise island feel marginalised. This discourse rallied all stakeholders: namely, NGOs, the Catholic elite with a growing number of Creole Catholic priests, academics, politicians, etc…

In fact, the Creoles were experiencing, after the period of national economic prosperity of the 80s, the first severe effects of the economic restructuring as advocated by international financial organisations like IFM and World Bank and implemented by the government in the face of globalisation.

The terms “malaise creole” also referred to the discomfort of the Creoles to reconstruct their identity from the policy of cultures of origins, as advocated by the “Mouvement Militant Mauricien” (MMM) and by the Mouvement Socialiste Mauricien (MSM) which were in power from 1982 to 1995 and from 2000 to 2005 respectively.

Besides, the dominant nationalist discourse of the 80s and the 90s was of a repressive nature against the Creoles’ contribution to the national Creole language and the national music, the Sega, as well as the Creole history of slavery. For the nationalist discourse, all these cultural traits were traits of the Mauritian national culture and the Creoles had only to look for their cultural heritage in the countries of Africa and Madagascar.

The ethno-cultural policy was a success to the Asian communities which have been able to maintain cultural practices and links with their lands of origins. They could easily find support from the governments of India and China to develop their cultures in Mauritius. The way back to cultures of origins was not so obvious and easy for the descendants of slaves who had lost their basic cultural structures, integrated the scale of values of the colonial society and been kept away from the history of slavery that has been a taboo subject up to the 80s in Mauritius.

To go back to their lands of origin, the descendants of slaves had first to break the heavy taboo of slave trade and slavery experienced by their ancestors and to face a painful but necessary re-appropriation of their history. Moreover, they became aware of the difficulties to situate their lands and ethnic communities of origin and the fundamental questions raised by those difficulties; among others, the one concerning their hybrid identity (Police-Michel 2005).

3. Conclusions

The analysis of the Mauritian case underlines the impact of cultural damages of slavery on the people of African diaspora who have gone through the long process of destruction. The loss of their basic symbolic systems of language, religion and other cultural practices has kept them in a situation of dependence, whereas the Asian groups which have been able to preserve their cultural backgrounds, have experienced rapid political and economic emancipation.

Some cultural forms that the slaves and their descendants have succeeded to build up, show that cultural re-construction among them has a double orientation: the one, to the African/Malagasy backgrounds, the other, to the development of a new culture, of a new human community from the local situation. This double orientation is not the particularity of the Mauritian situation; it is observed among the descendants of African slaves of other countries as well.

However, it seems that the African diaspora discourse underlying the first orientation, has been developed mostly by the descendants of slaves living in big countries such as those of the Americas, whereas the discourse on Creolity focusing on the second orientation has been privileged by those of small islands, particularly during the last few decades.

The separation of the two discourses should be revisited since both of them refer, at least essentially, to the same realities of the descendants of African slaves, raising the issues of the consequences of slavery, the difficulties and the necessity for cultural re-construction, hybrid identities, social discrimination etc.... The two discourses have opposite directions but are complementary and refer to the same site.

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23

The Saga of Sangoaru[1]

Edward L. Powe

Introduction

My first lead to the African presence in the Maldives centred around: 1) the fact that the man credited with the introduction of Islam into the islands was a North African; 2) the statement in two publications that there was a great deal of contact and intermarriage with Maldivian, Arabian and African populations; 3) the existence of the Baburu Kujaa legend which deals with a Negroid boy; and 4) an account about Feridhoo Island where Muslim Ali (better known as Sangoaru), Marujaanu, Bilaalu and Mas'ud were sent to rule.

These four men were Black Africans who had served their Sultan well and had become unpopular with some influential elements of the population. To classify them as "slaves" in the "European" sense of the term would be ludicrous; for, these Africans were so powerful and influential that they were granted "immunity from punishment" by the Sultan and were feared even by the nobility. Indeed, Dr. Saleem Ahmed informed me that mothers in Malé, until quite recently, used to frighten their children into obedience by telling them that Sangoaru would come and get them unless they went to sleep on time. Saleem also told me that some of Sangoaru's descendants still live on Malé island.

In an effort to locate some of these descendants in Malé, I asked around and soon discovered Mohammed Shaheen standing in front of *Fehige* house. After a brief chat which quickly revealed that he knew very little about Sangoaru, he agreed to permit me to photograph him and use his photograph in my Lore of the African Indian Ocean publication so that other members of the African diaspora could see what an Afro-Maldivian looked like. His father's memory, concerning events surrounding Sangoaru's life, was equally negligible and, after serving me a soft-drink, he advised me to go to Feridhoo to seek detailed information from individuals more familiar with the subject.

Getting There

I was told that a trip to Ari Atoll in the Republic of the Maldives should take between 4½ to 6 hours in *dhoni* and that there are scheduled trips there two times a week. In order to go to any "inhabited" Atoll, however, one must first have an "Inter-Atoll Travel Permit For Foreigners" from the Ministry of Atolls' Administration. In order to even get the form, however, one must (for my purposes) have letters of recommendation from the Ministry of Information and Culture (near Television Maldives) as well as the Linguistic and Research Centre (near Majidi school).

With my letter of introduction from Curriculum Concepts of New York City, explaining its interest in publishing the fruit of my research, and a favourable reception by the Maldivian authorities involved, I was authorized an 18 day visit to Feridhoo and Malhos islands on Ari Atoll beginning April 12, 1994.

After having obtained permission, I now had to find transportation to the island and I discovered that, apparently, there was no regular public transport to Feridhoo from Malé, and, on my meagre budget, I could not afford to charter a boat. When I explained my difficulty to some friends I had made, they told me that there was a family from Feridhoo that lives near the Guest House I was staying at and perhaps they would know when private *dhonis* go to and from the island. I went to that house and, after explaining my mission, the head of the household was very helpful and put me in contact with someone to help me secure passage on a boat that would be leaving in a day or two.

I was indeed excited about this my first trip to Ari Atoll (situated some 64 kms from Malé) for I would be, in effect, following in the footsteps of the Sultan who visited Feridhoo in 1804. On April 14, 1994, I boarded the Goldfish at 1:45 A.M. As I traveled, I was reminded of verse 69 of the *Arumaadhu.*

> *"Feridhoo was the next stop where the royal fleet delayed; The*
> *island of those subjects who their Sultan never failed"*

and of Hassan Ahmed Maniku's commentary concerning the passage to Feridhoo (Maniku 1989: (III) 27).

> *"On a journey from Mahibadhoo to Feridhoo there are a number of islands that one comes across, all of which are uninhabited. We must also remember that being sailing vessels, with the number of islands and shoals here, this stretch could not be run in a straight line. Feridhoo in Ari Atoll had a population of 403 in 1985. For the king to make such a detour, omitting some of the important islands further South, there must be a reason. We see this if we go back a little in history.* ***Sultan Muhammed Mu'eenudhdheen's father, Sultan Hassan Nooradhdheen I, brought many "slaves" when he returned from Arabia. These slaves were freed by him and allowed to settle in Feridhoo. Among them the names of four are still known and they are: a) Muslim Ali (also called Sangoaru), b) Marujaanu, c) Bilaalu, and d) Mas'ud.*** *Feridhoo has good anchorage in the West."*

As we approached Feridhoo, I saw first hand the wonder and beauty of the *atholhu*, which can be described scientifically as "an island of madreporic origin, circular in shape and which circumscribes a central lagoon".

Feridhoo Island

The island of Feridhoo is 1,640 feet wide and 3,680 feet long. There are 104 homes on the island housing 566 individuals. The primary sources of livelihood for island residents are: 1) fishing, often with long line; 2) making rope from coconut husks; 3) making thatching from coconut leaves; and 4) employment in the tourist resorts (from 25 to 30 young men from Feridhoo work at nearby Madoogali and other resorts).

Other occupations on the island include government employment (teachers and administrators), shop-keeping, carpentry, masonry, construction work and gardening. The crops grown in the gardens of Feridhoo include bananas, sweet potatoes, chili peppers, passion fruit, coconuts, brinjal and cabbages. Some chickens are also raised. Nevertheless, most food stuffs are imported from Malé, the capital of the Maldives. Only about 5 per cent of the adult population, mostly old people, are unemployed.

There is a strong sense of community and residents participate in communal activities such as sweeping and other joint projects. Some lands are even communally owned. There is plenty of water on the island, a beautiful large school and an absence of pressing problems. The island has thus far received a great deal of help from the government. At one time the descendants of Sangoaru made up over 90 per cent of the population of the island, but, as on 1994, the House of Tahan constituted fully a third of the population.

My Arrival

Upon our arrival in Feridhoo Island at 8:00 a.m., I was greatly impressed by the cleanliness and beauty of the beach and town and learned that the word Feridhoo is believed to mean "large island", from the Tamil / Malayalam *peri* (big) and *doo* (island). After disembarking, the boat captain immediately took me to a small tea shop where I was told to wait until my presence in the island had been announced to the *kateeb,* i.e., the island chief. As I waited, I recalled reading that the two most important officials on the island were the *kateeb* and the *mudeem*. According to Maniku (1989 III: 18), these titles have the following origin:

> *"Kateeb comes from the Arabic khatiib, meaning (public) speaker; orator; lecturer; preacher. In the Maldives of old, the post of kateeb was that of the leader of Friday Congregational Prayers who delivered the sermon from the pulpit, hence, the name. But as time went by to this function was added various administrative work. As a result, today he is more the administrative head of the island-village than the preacher. In former times he was paid a portion of the catch of fish of the island and was entitled to certain other benefits such as a share from the cultivation.*

> *"The mudeem, on the other hand, comes from the Arabic Mu'azzin meaning "muezzin", announcer of the hour of prayer; public crier. In the Maldives of old and even today, the mudeem is the announcer of the hour of prayer, generally in the main mosque. Like the kateeb, he too was paid shares of fish and other produce of the island."*

While seated there in the "hotel", I met Amjad, a twenty-five year old primary school teacher who spoke English very well and, since many of the islanders were accustomed to speaking only in *Dhivehi*, apparently assumed the role of interpreter. He was a native of Feridhoo and had been working as a teacher there for the past two years. I told him that I had come to his island to conduct research for a book I planned to write about the descendants of the House of Sangoaru and though he, himself, did not fall in that category, he told me that I would certainly find what I was looking for because a large portion of the population of the town traced its origins to him. He offered to put me up in a spare room in his home if we have not made other plans; but added that I should take my meals on a regular basis at the tea house.

As I awaited the summons from the *kateeb*, I drank tea and ate some tasty pastries as curious onlookers peered from time to time into the establishment. About thirty minutes later Amjad and I walked to the *kateeb*'s office where I presented my documents to Ibraheem Maneeko, the *ghazi* (magistrate). After the *kateeb* and the *ghazi* discussed the documents together in private, I was summoned into the office where the *kateeb* asked me certain questions relating to my visit like, "Why did I come to his island? How long would I be staying and with whom? What would I be doing?" etc.

After these formalities were over, I settled in Amjad's house and took a bucket shower before returning to the tea house for lunch. Shortly thereafter, I was introduced to Ahmed Haneef and Hussein Nimal (another teacher at the Feridhoo elementary school). After chatting further, I learned that there were some sixty to seventy-five coral-rock dwellings on the island, housing a total population of 560, and that islanders were not permitted to have dogs. This was a concern of mine because I had been bitten by a dog in Rodrigues and didn't want to repeat that kind of experience. I also learned at that time that the three major families on Feridhoo were the House of Sangoaru, accounting for 60 per cent of the islanders, the House of Tahan (28%) and Lamanjege Havaa. Both the present *kateeb* and my host, Amjad, belonged to the House of Tahan; whereas Haneef was a member of the House of Sangoaru.

My first lunch at the tea house consisted of grilled tuna and rice which I found quite palatable. When I asked if the tuna came from Malé or from Feridhoo I was told an interesting legend that goes something like this:

> *"An inhabitant of Feridhoo went to Mecca to perform the Hajj and while there drew a picture of a tuna fish. He placed the picture in a*

> *basket and brought it back with him to the Maldives. When he neared the reef of Mafaru, on his return to Feridhoo, tuna fish began to leap into his dhoni. He was so frightened that he threw the picture of the tuna into the water and now one always finds tuna in abundance where the picture was dropped."*

There are many stories associated with magic and sorcery in Feridhoo and I was told one about the island's most famous sorcerer, Karandalibe, an evil practitioner of black magic. Although the legend is quite relevant to Feridhoo, it has little to do with Sangoaru and I mention it, like the one above only to prepare you to deal with some of the amazing things Sangoaru had to deal with during his rule of the island.

The House of Sangoaru[2]

Since Amjad had teaching responsibilities, he entrusted me to the care of Haneef who was at the time otherwise unemployed. The first thing I learned about Sangoaru was when Ali Rashid told me that during Sangoaru's rule in Feridhoo island, Feridhoo was attacked by some people called *Bilhari* and that the attack was beaten back due to Sangoaru's courage and abnormal strength. When asked to tell me about the early history of the island Haneef replied thus:

> *"The island of Feridhoo was unpopulated. When the Sultan went to Mecca he brought Sangoaru and Issu (two strong black men) back to Malé as bodyguards. They became uncontrollable and the Sultan sent them to Feridhoo. They married village women from neighbouring Madoogali [where the tourist resort now stands] and Malhos islands, and populated the island of Feridhoo. Sixty per cent of the villagers of Feridhoo today are descendants of these two, but many have now left for Malé to study."*

This explanation does not conform exactly to what was written in *Vanavaru,* as quoted above, it does not contradict it.

In this paper, I have presented the information I received from local sources and put everything together in verse after all the information had been sifted through. Indeed, each informant contributed only bits and pieces of information which sometimes directly contradicted previously collected testimonies.

For example, the magistrate, who had studied Maldivian History in detail, said that the Sultan who brought Sangoaru to Malé was Suheli Bandarain, known as Imadu Deen, in the latter part of the 19th century or early part of the 20th. Though the magistrate is a responsible source, we must question the reliability of his recall since we know from Maniku that the Sultan who brought Sangoaru to Malé was Sultan Hassan Nooradhdheen I, who reigned from 1779 to 1799, and that the fleet visited Feridhoo in the year 1804. Sangoaru, therefore, was either already in Feridhoo at the time or possibly, arrived with the fleet. In either event, either Maniku or the learned magistrate was nearly 100 years off target.

According to Adam Muhammed of the House of Sangoaru:

> *"Certain blacks, perhaps twenty in number, were brought to the Maldives by Sultan Hajji to serve him as soldiers and policemen. These blacks were decreed (by the Sultan who brought them) to be exempt from punishment no matter what they did. When the Sultan died, the supporters of the new Sultan urged him to rid himself of the Africans who by then had become not only feared but very unpopular.*
>
> *"The new Sultan acquiesced and sent them to various islands in Ari Atoll as chiefs. Sangoaru, the most powerful among them, was named chief of Feridhoo. He had an African wife named Bilada and later married a number of other women from neighbouring islands. The black people of Malhos were related by blood to Sangoaru.*
>
> *"Prior to Sangoaru's arrival, Feridhoo had once been a prosperous island with a population of 2,000. However, upon his arrival there, the island had already been largely abandoned, due to lack of food, and was only inhabited by a certain Ramzan Musal Kalefan and his family. Prior to Ramzan Musal Kalefan, there was a strong Tamil presence. In fact, the island's great sorcerer, Karandalibe, was a Tamil. Sangoaru, too, had difficulties with "sea jinns" called vigani by some and bermati by others.*
>
> *"Once Sangoaru caught a whale and brought it to the Southwest part of the island where he placed it in a hut. Three days later, the dead whale was found standing erect on a sand dune. Sangoaru took it back to its place and sent two dhoni out that evening to do night fishing. That very night, the demon removed the whale and four of the people in one of the boats died from fright.*
>
> *"The survivor returned to shore with the bodies of his four comrades and they were buried on the island. After that day, one or two people died every day. After half the people had died, the remaining villagers moved to Malhos at night and only returned to Feridhoo in the daylight hours. They then engaged a powerful fandita man to restore the island to health. Then the population increased, but, at night, eerie noises were still heard and many strange things continued to happen. Then the vigani left the island.*
>
> *"Even today, people say that the vigani appears in the form of a reef (where there is no reef) or a large boat. If the sailors ignore its presence nothing happens; but if they stop or otherwise react so as to avoid hitting it, they are killed. I personally know people who have seen this phenomenon. At the end of World War II, another demon was expelled from the island. I myself do fandita, but only to bring good things.*

> *"Sangoaru was short as compared to the other blacks, but strong and very well-built. He was jet black with thick lips and kinky hair. His son was so tall that he had to stoop to pass through the door of a house. Three out of every four villagers in Feridhoo today, trace their origins to the House of Sangoaru."*

According to Hassan Mahiru, the owner of the tea house where I took my meals, Mas'ud, Sangoaru, Marjanu and Bilalu (not Bilada) were sent to Ari atoll around 1885 and Sangoaru married local women from Feridhoo and Malhos. Again, according to Mahiru, there was no "Bilada". Furthermore, he affirmed that while both Issu (also known as Mas'ud) and Sangoaru remained in Feridhoo, Marjanu was sent to Ukulas and Bilalu, to Himandhoo.

Nafissa, a grand-daughter of Sangoaru, stated, however, that only three Africans, Sangoaru, Marjanu and Bilalu, came and that all of them lived together in Feridhoo. Marjanu, also known as Mas'ud, later moved to Malhos.

Adam, the *mudeem,* also of the House of Sangoaru, then told me a long story which, though supposedly a true account, smacks of folklore and legend. He said:

> *"I am not certain, but I believe that it was during the reign of Sultan Hajji Hassan Raskafan, that the following events occurred. The Sultan went to Mecca for the Hajj and brought back some black Africans with him to Malé. They then became too strong in Malé and could not be controlled properly. One day, one of them killed a person and, though the people complained to the Sultan, he did nothing about the crime. Though the people kept complaining, the King said he didn't care. With that, the behaviour of the Africans became increasingly worse.*
>
> *"Then one of the judges, called Siraage Fandiaru, complained to the Sultan. The Sultan poured oil on Siraage and set it on fire. As a result, the judge died of the burns he suffered. Others complained and warned him that if he continued to behave in that manner he would burn in Hell. The Sultan upon hearing this statement, ordered that a glowing red-hot iron be brought into his presence. When the rod was brought, he ordered that it be touched to his body. A 'chee chee' sound was heard as the king's flesh burned and shriveled. The Sultan then addressed those gathered with these words: "If this is the amount of heat I'll get in Hell, I can bear it.*
>
> *"Not long after having uttered these words, the Sultan became ill and got hotter and hotter with fever. He then told his subjects to dig an underground bed for him in a river bed so that he could remain cool. It was on that very bed that he died. The people made him a wooden casket and tied the cover on it with a cord. The cord, however, snapped and they were obliged to bury him in a stone casket. And so even today, there is a stone casket in Malé at Henveyru Ward, which was his tomb."*[3]

The *mudeem* then continued his narration saying:

> *"After his death, the next Sultan sent the Blacks to the atolls. He also sent a letter of authority with each of them. Sangoaru was sent to Feridhoo with a letter appointing him as the island chief. At that time, the residents of Feridhoo were people from Fanfushee, of the family of Ramzankalefan, whose grave is near the Island office. I actually saw the stones around the grave of this man with his name clearly written.*
>
> *"I do not know the details about Sangoaru's life and marriages, but it is evident that he lived and married here as evidenced by the racial features of the people of the island. The majority of the people of this island are descendants of Sangoaru and Bilada who had five or six children. I do not recall the names of the children other than Ahmed (who was very tall), Mariyama and Asiat.*
>
> *"In the nearby island of Folhudoo is another Negro family that traces its origins to Sangoaru. He also has descendants in Malhos (where some of his grand-sons and grand-daughters settled) as well as Fenfushi. When Ahmad (Sangoaru's son) was chief, he had three daughters, Donmanje, Donkanbulo, and Mariyam Fulhu. Mariyam Fulhu was my grandmother from one side and Asyat was my grandmother from the other. Because of racial mixing, these were the last true Negroes on the island. There are people still here on this island who know Ahmad, the son of Sangoaru, as their great-grandfather.*
>
> *"I can't supply further details about this matter. They lived in peace and were the chiefs of the island. That ends my story of how Sangoaru came to this island and how his descendants dispersed. He arrived here because he came with a letter from the Sultan giving him authority over the island."*

I also gained some valuable piece-meal information from an interview with Abdu Razag (Baburu), and his sister Zainal Ubadi. At age 66, Abdu Razag, the son of the daughter of Ahmad, the son of Sangoaru, is old enough to clearly remember some interesting facts concerning his grandfather. He says:

> *"My father lived to be one hundred years old, but he never saw Sangoaru. Sultan Dombandaren (Hassan Nooriddeen) who ruled Malé long ago, went to Babur Karaa (Africa) and brought Bilalu, Sangoaru, and Marjanu with him to Malé. These Black men were so tall that they could look over the out-house screens and observe people performing their daily toilet. People complained about this and other acts committed by the three and eventually all three of them were sent here to Feridhoo.*

> *"Whereas Sangoaru married a woman from Feridhoo, Marjanu went to Ukulas to marry. I don't know what happened there, but his wife died. Sangoaru and Bilalu went to bring him back to Feridhoo, but on their return home Bilalu began to sing and drum. Sangoaru asked him to stop, but he refused. As a result Sangoaru joined in the drumming and dancing and because of their distraction, the boat wrecked on a sand bar. After this episode, Sangoaru and Mas'ud lived in Feridhoo and Bilalu returned to Africa.*
>
> *"Sangoaru's son, Ahmad, was my grandfather. He was over six feet tall, but looked short in appearance because he was so wide (i.e., corpulent). He was very black with red eyes, kinky hair, and inverted lips. Ahmad used to punish the children with a stick for going out to sea without his permission.*
>
> *"During the rule of Sangoaru, some people called Laat, came and planted their flag on the island. Sangoaru took the flag and broke its pole into two pieces. He then took the broken stick and struck the man who planted the flag on the head so hard that the man fell unconscious. He told those who came with the fallen man that the island belonged to him and no one else. The men who came were so frightened of Sangoaru that they picked up their unconscious comrade and fled in fright. These people had been sent by the government. After Sangoaru's death, Ahmad (my grandfather) was appointed chief of the island by order of the government from Malé.*
>
> *"I do not know how Sangoaru died; but Ahmad became ill with a back pain when he was very old. He was taken to Rasdu and died there. Sangoaru, Mas'ud, and Ramzan were all buried near the Island Council House, but there is now no tombstone because a house has been built there. There is now no trace of Sangoaru, but he was the first chief of the island; Ahmad (his son) was the second. After Ahmad died, the chieftainship was given to one of his brothers (Big Chief) and to Tahan (Little Chief)."*

African Cultural Survivals

When asked about African cultural survivals, we were told by Haneef that the board game ***oagondi*** [described in my *Lore of the African Indian Ocean*, page 857], which is very popular in Feridhoo, is most probably of African origin and that the drum dance (***bodu beru***) most definitely is. The words *bodu* (meaning big) and *beru* (meaning drum) however, are said to be of Indian origin.

Adam Muhammed also told me how the drums caused Sangoaru's *dhoni* to wreck on the reef (see page 903). His version of the story supplies more details and is as follows:

> *"Sangoaru visited a neighbouring island and was returning to Feridhoo with I'su and his wife when I'su took a box in the dhoni and started to drum on it. Sangoaru asked him to stop, for, if he didn't, he'd be obliged to join in. Since I'su continued to drum, Sangoaru, who had been piloting the ship, joined in and as they were both drumming, the boat hit a sand reef and became grounded. The women and children fearing for their lives began to cry. The people on the island came to the shore to see who was crying and found the two still drumming on the reef."*

I asked Haneef to tell me more about the musical instruments used and he took me to see one of the drummers of the village and I provide below a description of the said drum:

The drum, about 2.5 feet long, is made from coconut palm or breadfruit wood and has a very thin shell. The bottom end of the drum is covered with rubber from the polibanyo, whereas the upper end is covered with either goat skin or the belly skin of large rays or skates (that is, *marjhan* or *taramadi*). The covers are secured on both ends with either nylon or cord made from the coconut tree. The circular binding on the head and bottom of the drum is made from roots of the banyan tree that have been wrapped in rubber for greater protection. The longitudinal cords hold the membranes in place and help keep the drum rings from slipping. Though both membranes have variable pitch, they are not tuned for particular songs.

In a performance, there are always three drums. The drum is beaten with two hands, the left hand strikes the larger head producing a resonant sound whereas the right hand strikes the smaller membrane on its edge making a taut-sounding rhythm. The drumming is typically accompanied by coconut shell rattles (*boleerawaa*) and hand-clapping.

After expressing interest in hearing some of the African rhythms, I was honoured by being invited to a special *bodu beru* presentation that evening featuring both drumming and dancing. At that presentation, I heard two very interesting songs which I present below. The first deals with *Babura* (black) *Kujja* (small); the second with Sangoaru. The first one is translated into English as follows:

> *"Negroid, Negroid,*
> *Negroid boy!*
> *Those two brothers*
> *Are telling you to crouch*
> *When you dance.*
> *If you dance,*
> *Dance crouching*
> *Low to the ground!"*

According to Maloney (1980: 250), Baburu Kujja (also known as Baburukuding) was:

> *"A Negro ("Baburu") child which was not a jinni, but rather a boy or a dwarf. This spirit can either cure or make a person sick. It is capable of making wounds all over a person's body and may be seen hiding behind bushes at the beach. If a thin stick is planted it may vanish."*

On page 253 he adds:

> *"Baburukuding (Negro Child) is not very malevolent. Some say babarukudings are not jinns or ghosts, but boys who are dark, and dart here and there in dark places, under trees and bushes and who disappear when you see them. Baburukudings often appear on the beach at night when people go to defecate."*

The song dealing with Sangoaru (written in *Dhivehi* by Hassan Mahiru) is longer and divided (like the Sega and Maloya) into three parts: a slow beginning; an average speed middle; and a fast end. The transcription (perhaps inaccurate, since it is mine) in roman script is as follows:

ka dhu dhu kaa yaa ee
aloo ya ***tanboo*** *ka tan dee, o pa ni kee ke*
ni ***Angola Bunbaasa***
ahee laa laa ka mu ka ti ve
ahee laa laa ka mai bo te
ahe laa laa ka ***Murunja***
****
baburee, baburee, baburu kujekee dhe ben, e ki ya nii
thi ri ve na shaa shee, na shan ya naa shaa shee
thi ri ve na shaa shee
****
alaahumaa sa ri yaa la vee goi tu baa ni ma saan gaa
ala halaa hee ala vee, go i tu baa ni ma saan gaa.

I joined the dancers in the routine and had quite a good time. When I asked the singers to translate the second song, however, I was told that they did not know the meaning of many of the words. In looking at the transcription, however, and associating it with the boat incident mentioned previously, I concluded that Sangoaru was originally from Angola and that Bunbaasa and Murunja were Maldivian corruptions of Mombassa (in Kenya) and Unguja (the Swahili name for Zanzibar).

That is, the song (supposedly sung by Sangoaru and Issu in a boat voyage) tells of his travels from Angola to Mombasa and then to Unguja. From there, he finds his way to Arabia where he is taken to the Maldives by the Sultan. Furthermore, I shall hazard a guess that "*tanboo*" may mean "drum" (cf. "tambour"). It would, however, be interesting to recite the text to someone familiar with Angolan languages to see if any other speculative conclusions can be drawn. The middle text is the intercalated song of "little Negroid boy" discussed earlier. The two brothers in the song are said to be Sangoaru and Mas'ud (also known as Issu).

I learned later in the library (Maloney 1980: 165) that there is a dance called *baburu nishun* ("Negro Dance"), done to the beat of the *bodu beru* and singing of the *lava* (song). The basic movements of the dance "are side to side swaying and as the Dhivehin aver, it must have come from Africa". Many Negroes were brought to the Maldives by the Arabs and have since blended into the population. Maloney adds that dancers would blacken themselves with charcoal to perform this dance.[3] Could the dance I witnessed have been an example of *baburu nishun*?

Haneef then took me out in a small canoe to see the stunning coral reef off the southern part of the island. The reef was beautiful and I saw a small shark, ray fish and many multi-coloured reef fish clustering about brain coral, antler coral and other diverse forms. The ray fish I saw did not look like any I had ever seen before because it resembled a bird in shape. It had a long neck with a beak and a curved elongated tail that resembled that of the bird of paradise. Its central body also appeared to have pointed elongated wings and it was able to move very rapidly. I felt that this was truly a missing link between the bird and the fish kingdom and was Feridhoo's answer to the "double coconut" of the Seychelles (linking trees and humans).

I wanted to explore the reef wall where the coral was thicker, the fish more plentiful and the waves a bit more turbulent; but Haneef asserted that the area near the *hura* (the coral wall) was dangerous, and it was there that Kudakalhube drowned some years ago (at the end of World War II) and heralded the death of many others before the evil spirit was chased from the village with *fandita.*

Fascinated by this bit of history, I asked the *mudeem* if there was anyone on the island that still practised *fandita* and he replied that he knew twenty or so people who did *fandita* but that he, himself, was considered to be the best "*fandita* man" on the island. I asked him to tell me how he learned the art and also to explain how an "Islamic holy man" and a "*fandita* man" could live in harmony under the same skin. He responded with another fascinating narrative which is included in my *Lore of the African Indian Ocean.*

Maalhos Island

After taking pictures of some of Haneef's family members and talking to those descendants of Sangoaru in Feridhoo who were in a position to provide reliable information, my attention turned to Maalhos where more descendants of Sangoaru resided.

Malhos has been an inhabited island from very ancient times and, in 1985, had a population of 318. The island of Malhos, if you recall, is also addressed in the *Arumaadhu* in verse 99, where it is stated:

"Orderly Arumaadhu put into Maalhos adored;
So went word around as folks throng and avowed."

Haneef's father had a *dhoni,* and offered to take me on a quick trip to Malhos so that I could speak with the descendants of Sangoaru living there. I readily accepted the offer and the three of us (Haneef's father, Haneef and I) departed for Malhos on Monday morning (April 17th 1994).

After presenting my credentials to the *kateeb* of that island, I learned that there were some 68 families in Malhos with only about 4 per cent of the residents belonging to the House of Sangoaru. With 103 habitations and a population of 511, Malhos was, with respect to population and buildings, only slightly smaller than Feridhoo. The area of the island is 372,000 square feet.

My arrival on Malhos coincided with a *keyn* feast (pronounced like the English word cane), a traditional celebration honouring a deceased person, 40 days after death and at later times. I was invited to partake of the copious amount of food which had been prepared for the event and, being very hungry, I readily obliged.

The ceremony that day was being held one year after the death of the individual for which it was being celebrated and the whole village had been invited. The comestibles included huge quantities of rice, roasted fish curry, dry fish curry, *satany* (a composite of a kind of leaf, onion, lime, and chili), *fuppi* (unleavened bread), *rihaakuru* (a dish resulting from the reboiling of fish broth with fish heads) and many other island delicacies including some very tasty desserts like *bondibe* (made from rice, sugar, and *rambafay* leaves). After filling my belly to overflowing, I met Musa Be, a grandson of Sangoaru, who gave me the following details:

> *"My grandfather was Sangoaru and my father is Ibrahim, a descendant of Sangoaru. Sangoaru was brought to Malé after being captured in a net used for catching goats. Sangoaru and Bilalu were caught together in the same net. Because of the trouble they caused in Malé, they were sent to Feridhoo. Sangoaru then married various women from different places and thus had grandsons in many islands.*
>
> *"Ibrahim (my father) left Feridhoo at marrying age, and married here in Malhos. The last surviving sons of Ibrahim are myself and my older brother who lives in Meedu, the island where my mother was born. After his marriage with my mother, Ibrahim married another woman from Meedu and had three children. All these three children, however, had already died. I am now 73 years old. The man standing with me in the green shirt is Adam Abdul Karim, age 63, who is also a grandson of Sangoaru from a different mother.*
>
> *"As far as I know, no one called Bilada came to Ari Atoll. The person who came with Sangoaru was Bilalu. These two later asked that Mas'ud (also known as Marjanu) be brought from Mecca to*

> *Feridhoo. We people of the House of Sangoaru are few in number here in Malhos. Sangoaru's descendants in Feridhoo are much more numerous. Sangoaru's descendants are also found on the islands of Maamigili, Dhugethi, and others in this atoll and in other atolls. That boy there is my grandson. There is a woman called Donkambolodhaata on Feridhoo. She and I are the only ones alive today who can call Sangoaru their grandfather. As for the song you have transcribed, I do not know the meaning of the words."*

I then showed Musa Be two photos taken by Abdulla Shaviyani on a previous trip to Malhos and asked him if he recognized anyone. He replied that they were relatives. I thanked Musa Be for his help and, before leaving the island, photographed a magnificent *dhoni,* which was being constructed by local boat-builders.

Back in Feridhoo, I took a final tour of the island before departing for Malé and saw the huge screw-pine tree fruit (*kashikeyo*) which could be eaten raw or in a special salad. As the last part of the tour, I was shown some bread fruit, papaya and banyan trees as well as the spot where Sangoaru was believed to have been buried.[5]

Annexe

Evidence of early African contact with India and the Maldives is supplied in Edrisi's "Geography", translated by Amédée Jaubert:

> *"The Zendjes have no large boats in which they can travel but they board ships (batiments) from Oman and other countries for the islands of Zaledj that depend upon India; these foreigners sell (to Zenghebar) their merchandise and buy products of the country. The inhabitants of the islands of Raledy [= Zaledy] go to Zenghebar in large and small ships, and make use of them to trade their goods, speaking a mutually comprehensible language.*
>
> *"(I, 58) There exists a great number of iron mines in the mountains of Sofala (Africa). The inhabitants of the islands of Zanedj and neighbouring islands come here to search for this metal and then transport it to the (Asian) continent and the* ***islands of India****."*

That is, though the Zenjs did not have large boats, they nevertheless participated in direct trade between the East Coast of Africa, continental India, and the large Indonesian islands of Sumatra and Java in the 12th century (long before the first European explorations). Though the Africans did not navigate their own boats far from their coasts, they occasionally boarded the large boats which Asiatics used to navigate the high seas. Proof of Comorian involvement is supplied by Eric Axelson (1940: 48).

> *"Opposite Zanj were the numerous and large islands of Zaledj... Idrisi then continues to give the names of many of these islands, with notes on their peculiarities and production. One, for instance, was crowned*

> *by a large volcano; another was inhabited by pirates... The mainly common factor was that the islands were rich in commerce... There can be little doubt that these islands described by Idrisi range from those immediately off the East African Coast including the Comoros and Madagascar, to the Mauritian and Seychelles groups."*

One need only take a look at the Siddi population of India or the Makaran population of Pakistan for convincing proof of pre-European African arrivals in Asia. These descendants of Africa though subordinate to the Arab Sultans they served, were by no means "slaves" (in the conventional sense of the term), as they exercised tremendous power and accumulated much wealth. Siddi, in fact, means "lords" in Arabic, and it is not inappropriate that they should have received this name as a group.

Furthermore, it is believed that ancient Egyptians, Mesopotamians, Romans and Indus Valley Traders frequented the islands in ancient times. In fact, there was a considerable Nubian population (from Egypt) in Sri-Lanka long before the first Europeans ever arrived [All these groups (and others) are discussed along with aboriginal Black Asian populations in my *Lore of Greater Melanesia*].

Evidence of later Arab and European transportation of Africans to Asia (as slaves rather than as merchants, policemen or administrators) is cited *in Slavery in South-West of Indian Ocean (p. 321):*

> *"The Indian Ocean was part of the age-long slave trade that existed between East Africa and Asia. The earliest documentation of this is found in the Periplus which indicates that the intercourse had begun early in the Christian era. Slave exports were restricted to the northern parts of the East African Coast, that is, the region north of Zanzibar. Mogadishu was often mentioned as an important export port. The destinations of the slaves were initially Arabia and the Persian Gulf; by 1000 A.D., African slaves were already found in parts of India and even beyond. Indeed, the total export figure of slaves from Eastern Sudan through Egypt across the Red Sea* and from East Africa up to the Red Sea and across the Indian Ocean to the Muslim world in Asia [of which the **Maldives** was a part] has been estimated at 2,100,000 for the period 800 A.D. to 1500 A.D."

The transport of Africans to Asia did not end when Europeans replaced the Arabs as the dominant power in the Indian Ocean. Indeed, many Africans were taken to the island of Timor in Indonesia by the Portuguese, and there is an account (*Slavery in South West of Indian Ocean*, p.179) supporting the fact that the Portuguese carried many blacks from its colonies in Africa to other places in Asia as well:

> *"La Saint-Antoine d'Almas sailed from Mozambique with 237 slaves. There was a failed slave revolt aboard ship led by Bororo (a reputed sorcerer) who had gained the confidence of the other slaves. Bororo*

> *was unrepentant and was hoisted up the mast, shot, and thrown into sea. Five slaves were killed during that uprising. The ship continued on its route and on June 28th found itself* ***east of the Maldives****. It anchored at Tranquebar on July 4th, where the Captain disembarked the remaining slaves because 49 had died of illness in passage."*

In summation, though there is evidence that many Africans were brought to Asia as "slaves", it would be a terrible mistake to conclude that all those Africans who arrived in Asia were slaves, for some of them were merchants and others exercised great power over the inhabitants of the land as soldiers, policemen, statesmen and administrators. There is an Indian village (once ruled by Ethiopians) near Hyderabad, where even today the inhabitants are said to prostrate themselves before persons dressed in Ethiopian clothing. Furthermore, one of the Sultans of the Maldives married an African woman of Mozambican origin and made her his Queen. **Sangoaru of the Maldives** (originally from Angola) is another example of an African from Angola who became a powerful island chief in the Maldives.

Notes

[1] Prior to writing this paper, the convener of the International Conference on TADIA, Jean Pierre Angenot, asked me if I would be presenting "historical" or an "anthropological" paper, to which I replied it would be neither. Indeed, the "Saga of Sangoaru" is in fact a poem or ballad that I composed based almost entirely on statements made to me by several of his descendants that are still living and, I hope, thriving, in their island home of Feridhoo, located on Ari Atoll in the Republic of the Maldives. Those people, who provided substantial information, included Ahmed Haneef (a 22 year old descendant of Sangoaruin Feridhoo), Ali Rashid, Adam Muhammed (descendant of Songorin Feridhoo), Hassan Mahiru, Nafissa (a granddaughter of Sangoaru in Feridhoo), Musa Be (a great grandson of Sangoaru in Malhos), Abdu Razag (Baburu), the son of the daughter of Ahmad, the son of Sangoaru, and Razag's sister Zainal Ubadi. Other helpers were Aboobakaru Abdul Kareem (Male), Ahmaad Salim (Malhos), Amjad (Feridhoo), Hassan Mohammed (Feridhoo), Ibrahim Maniko (Feridhoo), Zuhuraa (Feridhoo).

[2] For those interested in knowing more about Sangoaru and his descendants, Feridhoo, or Ari Atoll, see my *Lore of the African Indian Ocean*, page 646. Although Sangoaru was captured in Africa and put to work, one cannot really call him a slave any more than one can call the Roman and Greek (Yavana) soldiers who served South Indian kings as mercenaries.

[3] I rendered this incident in verse as follows:

Then one of the Black men
Slew somebody's son;
And the nobles demanded
That something be done.
To Sultan Alhajji,
The bereaved father went;
But the Blacks were exempted
From all punishment.
Then Siraage Fandiaru,
The court's magistrate,
Dared challenge Alhajji
The Head of the State:
"In hell you shall burn
Lest you punish the Black!"
The Sultan responded
To this verbal attack
By dousing with oil
The judge in his ire;
And then with a candle,
Did set him afire.
The judge was slain thusly
That his subjects might see
That no one should question
A Sultan's decree.
Then up spoke a cleric,
I know not his name:
"The fate of the wicked
Is to burn in hell's flame."
To this provocation
The Sultan did say:
"Go heat a hot iron
And bring it, I pray!
When the iron was glowing
And the blacksmith came in.
He ordered the iron
Be pressed to his skin.
The flesh of that Sultan
Turned black without doubt;
But no tear wet his cheeks
Nor did he cry out.
Then calmy Alhaji
To that cleric's dismay
Turned to the nobles
And to them did say:
"If hell is no hotter
Than that fiery brand,
There's no need to worry,
The pain I can stand."
But not long thereafter,
It can't be denied
The Sultan with fever
First suffered, then died.
His son and successor,
King Mu'eenudheen
Was then asked to banish
The Blacks from the scene.

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[4] Compare this with the Philippine custom of blackening themselves during the Philippine Negrito festival (Ati-Atihan?) (see, my *Lore of Greater Melanesia*).

[5] My versification of this information is: (An account of Sangoaru, Chief of Feridhoo Island, in my *Lore of the African Indian Ocean:* pp. 890 – 921.) Feridhoo was once ruled given by African chiefs.

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Slavery in South-west of Indian Ocean.

24

The Trade in Enslaved Africans in Nineteenth Century Iran[1]

Behnaz A. Mirzai

By the turn of the nineteenth century, as the Atlantic slave trade was beginning to decline, the slave trade in the Indian Ocean region was expanding rapidly. The decline in slave prices, in addition to other political and economic changes, increased the trade in enslaved Africans on the Swahili coast and in North Africa and the Middle East. Enslaved Africans were dispersed along the coastal regions of the western Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the coast of Makrân. Northeastern and eastern Africa also supplied the slave markets of the Arabian Peninsula, whereby enslaved Africans were dispersed in Arabia, the Ottoman Empire and Iran via land routes.

General descriptions of the trade in enslaved Africans in Iran give rise to several questions: What was the status of enslaved Africans in the new society? Did all enslaved Africans encounter the same situation? What factors determined the use of enslaved Africans as domestics, agricultural slaves or labourers? Did ethnicity play a major role in categorizing enslaved Africans in Iran? Some literature draws attention to "absorption" of slaves in different economic or social sectors based on their origin. Few sources, however, have made references to particular ethnic backgrounds of slaves; and this has contributed to the impression that slaves had been classified in Iran according to ethnic backgrounds. The present paper addresses the issues of the nature of slavery in Iran and also assesses the assumption of ethnic preference, which originated in socio-economic factors, religious observations and racial/ethnic stereotypes. It begins by surveying the organization of the African slave trade and then moves on to an examination of the status of enslaved Africans in Iran in the nineteenth century.

Enslaved Africans were imported to Iran from two different directions: from the South by sea and from the West by land. The Indian Ocean greatly facilitated the transportation of large numbers of enslaved Africans from the Swahili coast to the Persian Gulf. The dispersal of Afro-Iranians along the shores and islands of the Persian Gulf indicates that enslaved Africans largely arrived by sea. The slave traders were mainly inhabitants of the coastal areas and came from various social classes, ethnic backgrounds and nationalities. Apparently, the majority consisted of Swahili and Sur traders as well as Arabs from the smaller ports on the Arabian coast. Arabia was another important centre for slaves en route to Iran, where most of them were brought from Sudan (Bassett 1887: 287). Iranian pilgrims also imported slaves from Baghdad, Karbalâ, Mecca and Medina, but these slaves were mainly for their own use (Wilson, FO. 84/426).

Enslaved Africans were disembarked at various southern ports of Iran: Kangân, Bûshihr, Khârg, Lingah, Bandar Abbâs, Muammara, the Qishm island and the Makrân coast (Kemball, FO 84/919). After the arrival and landing of slaves at Iranian ports, they were taken to the customs house and, then, sent for sale. Neither in Bûshihr nor in any other place in Iran was there any particular location established as a slave market. No particular day was fixed for the sale of slaves either. Rather, the owner of a slave vessel would take his cargo to a hired dwelling, where slaves would then be sold privately. There were also several *cârâvânsarâs* (stations for caravans) and *bâzârs* (markets) where slaves were taken and publicly put up for sale (Bassett 1887: 288). When the supply of slaves became too great, owners would reship slaves to other locations, such as Basra, Muhammara, or Baghdad, where they could profit better from selling them.

A small number of African slaves were conveyed from the southern ports to the interior. Individuals or merchants who purchased slaves at ports to convey them to the interior took them by mules, each slave seated in a creel (Kemball, FO 84/426). The Bûshihr-Shîrâz-Ihfihân-Tihrân route was the main trade route of Iran (Sykes 1902: 625). In 1850, the mule path from Bûshihr to Shîrâz was about five hundred miles, and the cost of travel, including that of mules and food, on the road was about 1.5 *Toman* (Binning 1857: 152; Arnold 1877: 283). A loaded mule took between 30 and 35 days to travel from Bûshihr to Ihfihân and between 12 and 16 days to get from Ihfihân to Tihrân (Bishop 1891: 1-3).

A majority of the enslaved Africans were settled on islands and in coastal areas of the Persian Gulf. Many were dispersed throughout the Garmsîr,[2] going to places such as Dashtî, Tangistân,[3] Dalâkî, Burâzjân, Bandar Daylam and Bandar Rîg. According to Robert Binning, the linguist and traveler, in 1850, many African slaves in Shîrâz had been brought from Zanzibar or had been born of parents from that area. By that time, the African slave trade had been abolished and slave vessels were being confiscated in the Persian Gulf. However, slaves were illegally landed at Bûshihr, where they were dressed as women, closely veiled, and conveyed to the interior for sale (Binning 1857: 272).

Arthur Arnold (1877: 434) states that, in 1875, there were many slaves in Shîrâz and Bûshihr and the number increased as one moved toward the Persian Gulf (Arnold 1877: 431). According to Arnold, Burrowes Kemball, the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, the number of slaves sold in Bandar Abbâs was about one-quarter of those sold in Bûshihr, i.e., about 60. Of the number of slaves sold at Bûshihr, no less than one-third, about 80, were purchased to be used by local inhabitants. No more than 30 were taken further into the interior to Kâzirûn, Shîrâz or Ihfihân (Edwards FO 84/426).

The dispersal of African slaves to various cities is an indication that the slave trade was occurring in the interior. However, this trade was concentrated in the South. One reason for this was the geographical distance, which made the transportation of slaves a risky venture. The higher price for enslaved Africans in the interior reflected this risk (Polak 1865: 254). The trade in African slaves in the interior of Iran was controlled by slave dealers who frequented the principal cities in order to buy and sell slaves. Brokers did not trade in slaves at public auction, but either transferred them from one family, or from one household to another (Arnold 1877: 361, 431).

In theory, only unbelievers captured in Jihâd (holy war) could be held as slaves (Bassett 1887: 287). But, in practice, not all slaves fell into this category; some who were imported from Abyssinia were Christians; and those brought from the Red Sea Coast of Somalia were Muslims and freeborn (Sheil, FO 248/144). It was easier for those African slaves imported to Iran at a young age to adapt to the new society. They were given Persian names and were converted to the religion of their masters (Malcolm 1827: 18). According to Binning, all African slaves in Iran were Muslims (1857: 1: 272). In fact, slaves were converted to whatever religion their masters practised. For example, the uncle of the Bâb,[4] Khâl Akbar, purchased Mas ud from a slave trader who had brought him from Zanzibar. Mas ud was sent at a young age to a *Maktab* (traditional school), and he could speak Persian with an African accent. He became one of the foremost followers of the Bâbî faith through the teachings of his master and he married Gulchihra, an Ethiopian slave who had been kidnapped in Africa and brought to Bûshihr as a child (Afnan 1988: 35–42). Gulchihra gave birth to a daughter, Sa îda, who became a follower of the Bâbî faith. When Sa îda grew up she married Faraj, another African slave in the household of Khâl, and gave birth to a child named Mas ud, who lived in Shîrâz until 1968 (Afnan 1988: 35-42).

Once slaves were purchased, they were put to work in different locations and particular socio-economic sectors. The particular economic and social circumstances of various places determined the ways in which enslaved Africans were employed. For example, in coastal regions, enslaved Africans were mainly used in fishing, while in Baluchistân, in agriculture and, in the interior, as domestics. Enslaved Africans, in particular, domestic slaves, were easily integrated into Iranian families. In Shîrâz houses, "slaves cross and re-cross the quadrangle from room to room in the performance of household duties. The black-eyed children roll and play in the same open space. The father, who is a patriarch, master and ruler of all, rarely appears" (Arnold 1877: 367). Isa Chehabi[5] remembered as a child seeing enslaved Africans in the house of his relatives in Kirmân. He states that the slaves were loyal to their owners. Enslaved Africans were also looked upon as trustees and guardians. In 1869, the total population of Tihrân was 155,736 and the total number of Africans was 3,281 or 2.1 per cent of the total population, of which 756 were black *ghulâms* and eunuchs and 2,525 were black *kanîzės* and concubines (Sa dvandîân and Ettehadieh 1368: 347; Ettehadieh 2002: 82). No descendant of enslaved Africans can be found today in Tihrân, which is largely due to the absorption of a relatively small number of Africans into the large local population. In 1877, Mîrzâ Husayn Khân, the treasurer of Ihfihan, was appointed by the government of Nâhir al-Shâh to write a book about the city of Ihfihân. He states that, at that time, fifty thousand people resided in that city, many of whom were slaves called *Khânizâd* (home born), including African slaves who were brought from Zanzibar and Ethiopia to Ihfihân. According to Mîrzâ Husayn Khân, buying and selling slaves no longer took place because of abolition. Many slaves who were brought to Ihfihân had married, and had borne children, some of whom were mulatto (Khân 1342: 65, 122). Although slavery was abolished in the mid-twentieth century, many slaves remained with their owners.

Today, the presence of Afro-Iranians in rural areas in the southern and southeastern districts indicates that enslaved Africans were not integrated into the local population to the same extent as those living as domestics in large cities. The reason can be explained in the status and roles allocated to slaves in the southern and southeastern districts. There, slaves lived by themselves in *kapar,* a house made of palm branches and mats, separate from their owners. This created a situation of greater autonomy for agricultural slaves. Marriage restrictions also separated enslaved Africans and the free (Mirzai 2002: 236–39). Bampur was an agricultural village where grain and maize were mostly cultivated. Most inhabitants of this village were peasants and all were black *ghulâms* and *kanîzes* (Gasht 1370: 67, 71). In 1880, Fîruz Mîrzâ Farmânfarmâ, the governor of Kirmân, visited Rigân, one of the villages of Bam. He wrote that a majority of the cultivators there were new and old slaves (Farmânfarmâ 1342: 12). Another account from Baluchistân indicates that agricultural slaves were bought to work on lands for cultivation of rice, grain, beans and *hana*. These slaves wore long, white dresses and lived on farms that belonged to their owners (Gasht 1370: 63).

In general, information about the origin of slaves imported into Iran is rare. In Persian literature, various terms were used to refer to slaves, as a whole, and enslaved Africans, in particular. The Persian word for slave is *bardah* [6] (*Encyclopedia Iranica* 1989: Barda and Bardadârî). This is the most common term referring to all slaves, regardless of their colour, nationality or ethnicity. The most common term used to designate African slaves in the nineteenth-century Persian manuscripts was *sîyâh* (black). *Ghulâm* (male slave, pl. *ghulâmân, ghulâmhâ*) and *kanîz* (female slave, pl. *kanîzân, kanîzhâ*) referred to the gender of slaves. According to Abdullâh Mustufî, one of the Qâjâr courtiers, the black *kanîzes* and *ghulâms* were called *hâjjî* [7], since they were brought to Iran by pilgrims during the *Hajj* to Mecca (Mustaufî 1377: 214). *Jârîyah* (female slave) and *dada* (female nurse) were also used to indicate gender, and status. In addition to these general categories, the use of terms such as *Âfrîqâ'î*, *Habashî*, *Zangî*, *Nubî*, *Sîdî* or *Kâfarî* shows that ethnicity, religion and geographical point of origin were used to categorize African slaves (Malcolm 1827: 19). There are a few direct references to the ethnicity of African slaves in Iran whose origin was Galla (Oromo)[8] and who were captured by the British in 1853 (Tronson, FO 84/919; Austen 1979: 462). A British registry of more than 60 African slaves, whose destination was Basra and who were captured near Bûshihr, reveals information on the identity and ethnic background of slaves imported into the Persian Gulf. We know that, in the first half of the nineteenth century, there had been a constant traffic in slaves from Basra to the Iranian ports and vice versa. Since the slaves were shipped for Basra, we can, to some extent, extrapolate the ethnic origin of Africans transported to Iran, based on the information provided by this registry. According to this source, Ethiopia, especially the Gurage area, was an important centre for the supply of slaves to the Iranian market. The continuing practice of *zâr* spirit possession today in Iran is attributable to the enslaved Africans imported from these regions, since *zâr* was widely practised among the Gallas and the people of Gurage and Shoa (Natvig 1987: 669-79, 89).

The classification of slaves was a common feature to all slave systems. However, the specific criteria used in such classifications differed slightly from one country to another. Socio-economic and religious stereotypes were important factors that determined patterns of preference. For example, Galla has not a desirable ethnic group among the nomads of Taima, in Arabia. According to Charles Doughty, writing in the late nineteenth century, "this is because the first cost is more, and their [Galla] strength is less for any rude labour. Doughty's report on ethnic preference emphasizes economic factors. He also notes that the situation was different elsewhere in Arabia, so that "there are many Galla slaves in the Sacred Cities; and not few in the little tyrannies of Upper Arabia, such as Hail and Boraida, servitors and armed men of the Emirs: They are tall and well-grown as Arabs, hardy and gentle at once, obedient as slaves" (Doughty 1923: 553). G.. L. Sullivan (1967: 177-79), in referring to the reputation of the Galla, states that they were an intelligent race which the Arabs did not classify with the Negroes.

The preference for one or another ethnic group was based on the reputation of slaves and their corresponding socio-economic performance. For example, as has been reported, Nubians and Abyssinians were rare in Ras al-Khayma, in the Persian Gulf, where the people did not like them; only Iranians recruited them (Wilson FO 84/426). Another report indicates that Abyssinians and Nubians were particularly prized by the chiefs of Bahrain, as they considered them excellent soldiers. The chiefs of Bahrain had from four to five hundred of them in employment during wars (Wilson FO 84/426). The consequences of the absorption of slaves from particular areas of Africa were reflected in cultural, linguistic, and phenotypical changes in the host society. For example, in describing Meccans as having darker skin than the Medinans, Richard Francis Burton, an explorer, soldier and writer, refers to the number of Galla, Swahili, Zeila, Tajoura and Berbera female slaves who were brought to the market in Jidda and the Holy City and then married to the local people[9] (Burton 1964: 233).

Enslaved Africans were ethnically different and the role they played in the host society could have been accordingly different. However, sources are mute about the connection of the ethnicity of slaves and their status in the new society. Collecting scattered information could throw light on some of the questions raised earlier.

The classification of slaves was to some extent arbitrary. It is not surprising that reports on the classification of enslaved Africans varied slightly from one another. For example, Mary Sheil (1973: 243), who resided in Iran in the 1850s, divided African slaves in Iran into three kinds: "Bambassees, Nubees, and Habeshees. The former come from Zanjibar and the neighboring country in the interior but I do not know the etymology of the name. The others, as their names imply, are natives of Nubia and Abyssinia." Samuel Hennell, the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, states that slaves of "Abosion [Abyssinian] and Caufrion [Kâfirs or pagans]" were imported by vessels from Jidda to Muhammara and the Persian Gulf (Hennell L/PS/5/463). Kemball's reference to two types of African slaves in Iran was based on the geographical origin of the "Sedee (Sowahili) or African from the coast of Zanzibar, principally the territory of the Imam of Muscat; and Hubshee or Abyssinian from the shores of the Red Sea, Judda, Howdeidah, Mocha" (Kemball FO 84/692, 426).

Origin and gender were important factors in the classification of enslaved Africans and in the division of their duties. Sheil demonstrates how different types of African slaves were assigned specific tasks based on stereotypes that existed in the society: "The Bambassees who were genuine Negroes were in great disrepute as being ferocious, treacherous and lazy. The Nubees and Habeshees excepting in being black did not present the usual Negro characteristics. They were highly esteemed as being mild, faithful, brave, and intelligent and were generally confidential servants in Persian households. They were never employed as field labourers, their occupations being confined to the duties of the household" (1973: 243-44).

Kemball describes the classification of slaves and refers to the division of their duties based on their origin and gender. African females were employed as *dâya* (wet nurses) and *dada*. They were regarded as second mothers in the houses of the rich (Wills 1886:326; Polak 1865:236). African men were employed in outdoor work (Kemball FO 84/426). They drew water, went to the market to purchase food, chopped wood and performed other duties assigned to them as servants (Edwards, FO 84/426, 207–211). Kemball states that the children born to these slaves became free (Kemball FO 84/426). Kemball includes Swahilis and Mombasis in the same category of Africans and describes the duty of the females thus: "The Sowahil and Mombassa female slaves cook the food, wash clothes, sweep the house, grind flour, take care of the children and other household work within their province" (Edwards FO 84/426, 207-11). Females were also involved in bringing water but only rarely were taken as concubines (Kemball FO 84/426).

Habashî slaves of both sexes were much cared for, well clothed and well fed. The males were sent to school early to learn how to read and write. They were employed in household duties as *pîshkhidmats* (servants). If they were intelligent, they were placed in more important positions, such as stewards and superintendents. Abyssinian male slaves were often treated as confidential servants respected by the household. In contrast to the Africans, *Habashî* female slaves were most often retained as concubines or employed in the lightest duties as attendants in *andarûns* or *harams*, the women's quarter, bringing the water bowl of the *Qalîân* (hookah) for smoking. The intelligence and honesty of *Habashî* slaves was proverbial. The children of *Habashî* concubines had rights equal to children of freeborn women (Kemball FO 84/426). As Charles James Wills (1886:77), a medical officer, suggests, "The little black boy some day or other will be a great personage, as in all human probability, his master will be Shah of Persia". Abyssinian female slaves, when young, attended their mistresses, but, as they grew up, their masters treated them like wives rather than servants (Edwards FO. 84/426, 207–11). One explanation for the preference of slaves from northern and northeastern Africa can be found in culture and religion, as enslaved Africans imported from these regions were likely to adapt themselves better to the Islamic culture of Iran, since many were either Christians or Muslims.

The gender ratio of slaves imported into Iran varied based on their origin. In this regard Kemball suggests, "of African slaves imported, the number of males bears somewhat a greater proportion to the females, six to five. Of Hubushees, by far the greater number are females, two to one" (Kemball FO 84/426). The price of slaves in Iran was to a great extent determined by age, gender, ethnicity and market forces. Slaves were sold for less in the coastal areas where they were disembarked and their value increased as they were moved into the interior. Abyssinian female slaves were much prized in Iran since they were kept as concubines there. Wills argues that the value of African slaves in Iran varied and that this was based partly on the slaves' ethnicity and the perceived darkness of their skin. The *Habashîs*, or Abyssinians, were the most valued, the Swahilis or Somalis were next in blackness and in price, and the Mombasi, or coal-black Negroes, were regarded as inferior. Being of a much lower price, the Mombasis were usually only used as cooks. Mombasis were chosen merely for their physical strength (Wills 1891: 326–27).

The trade in African slaves was based on a systematic organization from the point of enslavement to the final destination in Iran. The development of the trade in

African slaves was given religious justification on the grounds of the need to convert a large number of Africans to Islam. It was a very well organized trading system with the involvement of various internal and external elements. The slaves imported from Africa had different ethnic backgrounds. There is an assumption that some African ethnic groups were given more opportunities based on the stereotypes, which emphasized differences among the enslaved people. It is based on this premise that we may suggest that the African slaves may have been employed in particular regions based on the need for the particular skills or attributes they were believed to possess. For example, eunuch *Habashîs* were more likely to attain some status in the *harams*, as were female *Habashîs* who were kept as concubines. For *Habashîs* in Iran, it appears, enslavement did not foreclose opportunities to improve their social situation and were more likely to become socially assimilated.

Notes

[1] This paper is based on research undertaken for my doctoral dissertation. See Behnaz A. Mirzai, (2004). Secondary data were taken from Public Record office, Kew, Foreign Office (F.O.), and the Oriental India Office, Enclosures from Bombay (L/P & S/5). British Labrary.

[2] The entire southern region of Fârs, bordering on the Persian Gulf, is called Garmsîr, or "hot region".

[3] The Tangistân (commonly pronounced "Tungistoon") or "narrow land," was a small tract of land East of Bûshihr.

[4] The Bâb (Sayyid Alî Muhâmmad) claimed to be the awaited *mahdî* in 1844.

[5] I am thankful to Professor Houchang Chehabi for graciously sharing the letter on slavery which was written by his father.

[6] From the old Iranian *øarta*; Avestan *varhta*; Parth, *wardâz*; Mid. Pers, *wardag*; Pahlavi, *anšahrîg* meaning captive

[7] *Hâjjî* applied to females and males who returned from the *Hajj* pilgrimage in Mecca.

[8] The ethnic groups consisted of: Gurage, Wulleesa (Wolisso), Goma (Guma), Jimma (Jamma, Jumma, Abajeefar [was the name of the ruler of the state]), Nono, Choomake, Gabara, Galla, Guffa (Gofa), Guidjees (Tindjees), Hoossena (Hasanna), Humiah, Humsarra, Janjero, Jegeera, Kilwa, Mukalla, Mrima, Mucka (Mukha), Qamama, Sur; The Oromo groups constituted a major portion of the slaves exported after 1500.

[9] This situation could also have been applicable to Iran, since a constant trade in Africans existed from these areas to Iran. But more research is required in order to fully understand the genetic impact of various African ethnic groups in Iran.

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25

The Hidden Narrative: Representations of African Slavery in Persian Memoir Literature

Niambi Cacchioli

The purpose of this paper is to examine the depictions of African slaves and slavery in Iranian autobiographical material written during the Qajar era (1795-1925). Though long neglected through much of the first half of the twentieth century, a groundswell of interest amongst Persian heritage enthusiasts prompted the re-circulation. In recent years, Qajar memoir literature has garnered renewed interest from scholars hoping to recover subaltern narratives erased from the country's national historical memory. As a response to this epistemological trend, the paper has examined a sample of literature in terms of its depictions of African slaves and enslavement. My sociological analysis of these works frames them as conscious cultural performance rather than reportage. Hence, I have discussed the authors' use of African slave "actors" to articulate their notions of self, household and society for their readers. Moving beyond their rhetorical function, I also have highlighted how slave portrayals might afford us insights into the power relations between slaves and the owning class.

The re-emergence and perpetuation of a courtly African slave institution within the Qajar estates can be understood as the facilitator of lavish ceremonial practices and a visual emblem of the monarchy's revival of the grandeur and pomp of past kingships. In an effort to replicate the internal organisation of the Safavid courts of the 16th and 17th centuries,[1] African slaves were purchased to work in the palace administration and the private quarters of the royal estates. Slaves' integration into the court's organisation was a vital feature both in the practical and symbolic aspects of the royal estates' administrative and ceremonial requirements. The level of slave-ownership depended upon the inclinations of each ruler. Still, the assignment of labour was specialised to such a degree that patterns of labour division established during the early Qajar period remained intact until the turn of the twentieth century.

In addition to Caucasian female slaves and free-servants recruited from the local immigrant communities, particularly Afghani, Turkish and Zoroastrian, African slaves were purchased to fortify the vast servant staff that assisted the female residents of the *anderun* (or harem) quarters. Their primary responsibilities included menial work in the women's apartments, food and clothes' preparation, child-rearing and, as I shall speak about later in more detail, chaperoning the family women on social visits outside of their personal quarters.

Equally, the burgeoning centralisation of the country ushered in an entrepreneurial air within Iran's urban centres,[2] whereby merchant families enjoyed a surplus in profits. Intending to give "an aristocratic air to the nouveaux riche of the cities" (Ricks 1998), the upper and middle classes perceived slaves as both investments and symbols of their prosperity. In fact, the regularity of slave procurement during the 19th century has prompted the researchers to suggest the designation of Qajar Iran as a *slave society*. In the past 20 years, those researching slavery in the Middle eastern have begun to construct a historical profile of this phenomenon. Previous scholarship gathered that slaves originated primarily from Ethiopia, Somalia and the Lake Nyassa region of interior East Africa. These slaves were sold at trade depots along the East African coast, principally at the Zanzibari market and either sold directly to Persian buyers or, as was more often the case, transported to the Muscat market and redistributed at local marts in southern Iran or purchased while on a pilgrimage in Mecca. The volume of slave exportation is uncertain, particularly as many slaves were smuggled into the country after 1848 to evade anti slavery patrols.[3]

Previous scholarship has also provided sketches of the types of social relations constructed between slaves and owning classes; yet, the challenge of accessing relevant documentation, the language barrier and the persistent sensitivity of slavery as a historical subject have hampered sociological analyses. In the absence of slave narratives, scholars seeking to discover the social conditions of African slaves in Iran have often relied upon the eyewitness descriptions found in British and continental European travel memoirs. Yet, the use of these sources as historical evidence presents the writer with difficulties as they are embedded with both Orientalist fantasies of harem life and racialised notions of the African character. Thus, scholars, who have solely depended upon European travellers' observations as ethno-historical material, have constructed unbalanced sociological assessments of African slaves' experiences and labour conditions during this time period.

The trend within Iranian studies to revisit Qajar era memoir literature has invigorated social historical analysis by supplying researchers with vital subaltern narratives previously omitted from the country's elite and male-centred history. In the same vein, the core motivation of the present treatment of selected material is to provide an example of how we may employ this vital source material to broaden the partial histories of Iranian slavery institutions. Those of us using memoir literature as historical evidence must be cognisant that it is also, and perhaps even more so, a cultural artefact. Just as the Victorian observations are marked by their own biases, so too do we find the normative attitudes of the Persian slave owning classes toward the enslaved populations. However, through a critical reading of these texts, we are better able to understand how social relations were constructed between slaves.

This paper's textual analysis is drawn from the personal accounts of five members of the era's elite social class (al-Sultana 2003). Each of the texts used for the present discussion was printed between 1966 and 1999, and has become an essential resource for the 19th century Iranian social histories. In *Tarikh-i 'A.zudi (*al-Dawlah and Mirza 1976), African slaves are integrated as minor participants in the hubbub of domestic life. The author, Sultan Ahmad Mirza, Zarif ul-Mulk, otherwise known Azad ud-Dawlah, a prince in Fath Ali Shah's court, was born in 1819. Born 10 years after the formation of Fath Ali's court, Ahmad Mirza witnessed the reigns of two subsequent kings: Mohammed Mirza and Nasir al-Din. His text focuses mainly on the lifestyle in Fath Ali's court, though he does include a brief chapter of his observations during Muhammad Shah's reign.

The second book is *Ruznameh-ye Khatirat-e 'Itimad-al Sultanah* (al-Dawlah and Khan 1966), the secret diaries of Muhammad Hasan Khan kept during his post as Press Officer and official censor of the Naseri court. The author's administrative career was plagued by accusations of embezzlement, exile and political intrigue. Muhammad Hasan Khan was educated in the country's first secular polytechnic institution and later in Paris. He returned to Tehran in 1867 and worked as court translator and editor of the official gazette. In 1886, he was given the title It'imad al Sultanah, or personal counsellor to the Shah. The copious[4] journal is largely a record of the author's disillusionment with the Shah's failed attempts to reorganise the government. It'imad-al Sultana was equally critical of the king's extravagance. Overall, the entries are perfunctory and slaves are omnipresent, though peripheral, as was their role in daily life. They served primarily as the channel of communication between the writer, the king and other residents and appeared as messengers or caretakers. Muhammad Hasan Khan did not often mention female slaves, though his entries did make note that they and other servant staff were exposed to periodic beatings. Although slave servants as a group remained within the margins of his journal, he expressed high esteem for prominent African eunuchs, particularly Sarukhan and Agha Javaher (Cole 1996), who had commenced their service in Fath Ali's court.

Though not an autobiography, Amir Mu'ayyir al-Mamalik's biography (1982) of Nasir al-Din Shah remains faithful to the memoir literary structure.[5] Al-Mamalik, known in court circles as Vali, served the throne as governor of Yazd (1875 – 1879) and, later, the head of the court treasury and head of the royal household. After inheriting a sizeable fortune upon his father's death, al-Mamalik resigned from his administrative posts and proceeded to squander his inheritance.

The subject of slavery and slave trade is also briefly mentioned in Mirza Hosayn Farahani's collection of observations (1990) while on pilgrimage to Mecca. Through his mission as a diplomatic envoy for the Naseri court, the author cultivated a love for travel. His travel diary, written in imitation of the king's previously published memoir of his European voyage, was written to offer guidance on etiquette and travel tips for noble Iranians on Haj.

The paper has given particular attention to slave depictions in Taj al-Sultanah's autobiography (2003). It is an account profoundly influenced by the contemporary debates on European ideals of modernity and egalitarianism and, moreover, as the only cited work written from within the women's quarters. Her candid narrative provides us with rich detail of African slaves' participation in the domestic organisation of the royal households.

African Slave *Re*-presentations

The act of writing an autobiography is a calculated attempt to arrange the events of one's life into a coherent and relevant narrative. It is born of the desire to reaffirm, clarify or justify one's personal actions within the greater context of a social phenomenon or era. This form of self-reflection allows the author to transmit his concerns about social issues through a set of carefully selected anecdotes and observations. Milani notes that Iranian writers have almost uniformly "turned their back on the genre," ascribing this reluctance to "a certain sense of humility, a shyness about one's own importance and accomplishments" (Milani 1992: 206). I would add that, particularly for works of a social nature, the textual disclosure of one's private life ran contrary to the culture's equation of privacy with honour. And yet, during the 19th century, several members of the Qajar royal households, including Nasir-al-Din Shah (1831-96) and his daughter, Taj-al-Sultana, experimented with the genre. Their experimentation with memoir form was, no doubt, a consequence of the popularity of translated European travel accounts and letters. Considering the late 19th century pre-occupation with European "modernity", it is understandable why several public figures of the 19th century chose to memorialise their place, within this important period, by emulating a quintessentially western narrative form. However, Persian memorialists did not completely adopt the tendency for self-reflection at the heart of European life narratives. Rather, the emphasis was placed on the "reminiscence of others", and not on an in-depth study of the self. With the exception of Taj al-Sultana's account, Qajar era memoirs largely followed the formalist tradition to withhold content that could tarnish the status and honour of the author's network. A critical reading of the content must then view the work as a deliberate staging of events.

Qajar society viewed the institution of domestic slavery as a standard feature of household organisation that was rooted in custom and sanctioned by Islamic Holy Law. As such, slaves' inclusion in memoirs is a reflection of their significance to the social organisation of the household network rather than an awareness of "slavery's" political or wider sociological meaning. Their presence was noteworthy only to the point that they had relevance to the larger story. Similar to their social function, Black slaves' textual presence signified the wealth and status of the owner. In references to the king, the numerous attendants accentuated the *dignitas* but here it is clear that all those that were present at court were subjects of the king. The palace recruited both Caucasian and African guards, though the eunuch staff during the Naseri court was predominately African. Therefore, the texts routinely make reference to them as eunuchs who acted as the main form of communication between the palace's outer wing (referrred to as the *biruni* quarters) and the harem as well as envoys to other royal estates and the provinces. They also paid respect to those African eunuch administrators who were close to the king and served as high-ranking officials.

Black slave ownership was more commonly associated with the women residents. References to them were a common discursive tool to convey a family woman or a concubine's status among other *anderun* residents. Along with details of her allotted stipend and her lineage, a mention of a woman's Black slave appendages conveyed her social standing. A woman's personal ownership of a eunuch was duly noted, as it was a marker of high nobility and confirmation that the household patriarch officially recognised her status. Likewise, the noteworthy rise of Georgian, Turkish and Armenian concubines was regularly conveyed in terms of the number of attendants she was given or the number of slaves she supervised in household production. Beyond their function as status symbols, slave portrayals paint a more folkloric picture of life in the Qajar courts, particularly in descriptions of social gatherings, life cycle rites and, to a lesser degree, daily household[6] production. (Rahimieh 2001)

Attitudes held by the elite slave owning class toward the enslaved population were both paternal and negative. For them, an African slave's life began at the moment of their entrance into the household. Although several authors mention that Africans spoke a patois version of Farsi or with a distinctive accent (Polak 1982), there was no profound concern for their origins. Rather, the writers viewed the owning family as the guardian of these kinless servants. In his portrayal of the Meccan slave market, commentary written by a wealthy Iranian pilgrim, Hosayn Farahani, illustrates the patronising attitude toward Black slaves.

> *"There are three enclosed areas in the middle of the bazaar specifically for selling male slaves and slave girls. They put wooden benches arranged in three tiers (there). Those on the first tier are well dressed [with] clean, fresh clothes, are very beautiful, with pretty eyes, and full of charm, banter, and coquetry. (Those on) the second tier are of a little lower quality than these. (On) the third tier are the very Black, thick-lipped, and dirty slave girls, most of whom are brought to Iran where people like us are willing to own them (Farahani 1990: 241).*

The concise description expresses both a mild disdain and a patronising sense of altruism toward these girls, as though placing them within their household was an act of charity rather than a form of domestic exploitation. Yet, this was the only reference which I found to the slave markets and it is important to note that his objectification of Black slaves as a commodity is at odds with the far more human depictions found in the personal narratives of the other four texts.

Generally, the memoirs' descriptions portray Black household servants as loyal, necessary and indulged children who neither had nor required any independence from their mistresses. Rather, they were on hand at all times to keep the household running smoothly.

In a departure from the memoirs already discussed, Taj al Sultanah's textual rebellion of unveiling the social order in the Naseri court[7] includes a specific and often critical rendering of elite slaveholding. The princess saw herself as marginalised in her own household, first by her mother, later within her strained marriage to Shaja' al-Sultanah, and by the religious precepts for elite female behaviour. Her affinity with other marginalised figures in the court, the servants and her Armenian playmate, serves to illustrate Taj's own alienation within the network, despite her privileged status. Court life is absurd, outdated, artificial and, for the progressively minded, a state of captivity. "By creating a fellowship with all others who have been deprived of freedom," writes Rahimieh, "she succeeds in forming a community, albeit tenuous and imaginary, for herself" (Rahimieh 2001). Early on in her memoirs, her empathy for Black "bonded" servants established a core textual theme of household isolation and the artificiality of family ties. Rather than a symbol of luxury and festivity, African enslavement is depicted as a source of alienation between mother and child as well as between man and wife. Likewise, the employment of Black eunuch slaves, whom she normatively perceives as intellectually inferior, is indicative of the society's preference for ostentation over pragmatism. As such, the text's periodic focus on the slaves in her household and the country's slave society, generally, acts as a medium to express her disdain for social dysfunction arising from gender-specific codes of behaviour.

She became well-acquainted with the numerous enslaved and freed Africans who served on her father's estate and mentions that at least five Black slaves were assigned to her, each ascribed specific duties for her daily care. As a group, she portrays slaves as an exploited and uneducated lot whose lives unnecessarily revolved around the whims of the family residents.

> *"These unhappy people have always been looked down upon and treated no differently from brutes. Their masters have relegated them to the abyss of ignorance and rendered them incapable of distinguishing 'a' from 'b,' let alone observing rules and protocols of civilised life"* (al-Sultanah 2001: 113).

She sees their circumstances much in the way she views her own, as unnecessarily held captive to the will of men and to the alienating mechanisms of courtly life. She passionately declares, "There are no distinctions among people; all are alike. All can live in natural freedom" (al-Sultanah 2001: 160). We can ascertain from her periodic focus on slave status that the declaration holds for all subordinate household residents, including women, whether free and enslaved servants.

Ammanat ascribes Taj's liberal attitude toward the slave class to her close relationship with her Black nanny, who she refers to as "Matron Nanny". She notes that despite her nanny's "fearsome looks and dreadful physique," she was never far from her and even developed a preference for "tawnier faces" because of the affinity she felt for the maternal figure (al-Sultanah 2003: 81). The nanny, who also raised her mother, had the respect of all the household though she spoke rarely, and when she did, it was in a harsh rudimentary form.

The passage is not only about her feelings toward her nanny, but more so about the alienation that she endured from her own mother. Taj presents the substitution of a mother's care with that of a slave entourage as class-wide phenomenon and evidence of the artificiality of household bonds. The fact that "an unimportant Black woman" (*ibid*) who has all of the physical and linguistic attributes of the slave class, is charged with her upbringing not only highlights her mother's own failure, but also conveys the "wrong-headed thinking" of the upper class.

Equally, her memoirs exemplify the polarity of values and attitudes in the secularised upper class milieu. Rahimieh argues that her desire to debunk myths held by her class about the traits of marginalised residents in the *anderun* are at odds with a chauvinsim wherein one's physique is an indication of one's inner character. Despite her critique of the assumption of women's inferiority, she still conveys women's qualities, particularly her own, in terms of their physical attributes. For example, she esteems the "refined" features of an Armenian companion, as in harmony with the servant's inner beauty and refinement. In contrast, her descriptions of Black slave household members fall back on racialised attitudes of Blackness as an indicator of savagery. Perhaps she was aware of them, for we see that she took great care to show that those Blacks dear to her have overcome their natural comportment. Therefore, while she describe her childhood nanny as "fearsome" and "dreadful" (al-Sultanah 2003:81) she must have reconciled that prejudice with her own loyalty to the woman.

According to Rahimieh, Taj "continues to struggle with her contradictory attitudes" as she reminisces about her brother's Black slave companion, Olfat. At his coronation, her brother bestows titles to his entourage of Azerbaijani tribeswomen and Olfat, who from that point forward was known as *Khazen-e Aqdas* (most blessed confidante). The princess conveys a genuine affection for the slave, explaining that her physical resemblance and patois evoked fond memories of her own childhood nanny. At the same time, she considered Olfat's lavish presentation at the coronation, covered in diamonds and crowned with jewels, and her "considerable influence" over the new king as an omen of his unsuitability for the throne. Despite her "inner-happiness" at the slave's good fortune, her sarcastic description of the scene conveys to her readers the absurdity of the role reversal.

Elsewhere, Taj al-Sultahah's expressions of affinity with Black slaves are at odds with her profound disdain of her husband's Black nanny. This is because she judges that the latter servant, despite being the physical "replica" of her own, was unable to overcome her mischievous and "seditious" nature (2003: 169). She attributes her husband's vile and erratic behaviour to his nanny's influence during his childhood, even claiming that the Black servant's continued sway over her husband had doomed their marriage. She laments that the Black woman "[i]mpart[ed] all her uncivilised manners to this unfortunate child, she had raised him to be stubborn, brutish and ruthless. Everything that one can identify as bad she taught him, leaving behind a permanent token of herself" (2003: 112). These harsh words may have reflected her own suspicions of an illicit affair between the two.[8] However, Taj forgoes any further textual disclosure on the matter. Instead, she simply explains that "it was this nanny's nature to be a trouble-maker and her habit to make mischief" (2003: 169).

Memoir Literature as Historical Evidence

Beyond giving us a greater understanding of the attitudes held by the slave owning class, what kind of information are we able to pull from these texts in terms of the conditions of domestic slave labour? When speaking of the collective household, the writers distinguish African slaves from other household residents by using a range of terms including, *bandeh (*slave*)*, *khajeh (*eunuch*)*, *gholam-e siyah (*black male slave*)*, *keniz-e siyah (*black slave woman*)*, though we find that these are loose groupings and can be interchanged.

Moreover, slaves of African origin were not thought of as a homogenous group. Rather, normative perceptions made considerable distinctions on the basis of slaves' regional origin and/or physical attributes. In her quasi-ethnographic study, *Glimpse of Life and Manners in Persia* Lady Sheil refers to three primary categories:

> *"There are three types of negro slaves in Persia, who are named Bambassees, Nubees, and Habashees. The former come from Zanzibar and the neigbouring country in the interior, but I do not know the derivation of the name. The others, as their names imply, are natives of Nubia and Abbyssina. The Bambassees, who are the genuine Negroes, are in great disrepute as being ferocious, treacherous, and lazy. The Nubees and Habeshees, excepting in being black, do not present the usual characteristics" (Sheil 1856: 243).*

As stated in her description, the origin of the term "Bambassees" is unkown, though it may have been a corruption of the word for Mombassa. This group is referred elsewhere as "Seedees" and "Zanjhees", meaning Zanzibaris. Regarding the second group, the Nube'es, the term suggests that they originated from the Nilotic region and Southern Sudan. Scholars concur that Somalis and Ethiopians were commonly grouped together as "Habashis", though some first-hand observers, such as British physician Dr. C.J. Wills,[9] feel that Somalis were, at times, perceived as a distinct ethnic group. Relatively little mention is made of Southern Sudanese slaves until the last years of the century, perhaps due to strict measures to enforce internal bans on the trade. Yet, as a result of the radiating famine in Eastern and Central Africa, in the 1880's the Persian Gulf experiences a visible increase in the flow of Sudanese slave labour into the ports.[10]

The sub-categorisation of "ethnic" differences amongst the Black slaves was an important factor in the allocation of labour. Ethiopians, Nubians and Somalis were deemed educable. Sources reveal that distinctions were not solely based on origin, but that slaves who phenotypically resembled Ethiopians could rise to quite significant positions within the domestic hierarchy. In contrast, those with more Negroid phenotypic features, referred to as *Bambashis* or *Sidis*, were purchased for menial labour. The perception of this third group of African slaves as naive, yet physically superior, was taken as the basis for their predisposition for the drudgery of the more labour-intensive work. They entered the household at the bottom of the hierarchy. The literature also makes it clear that family nannies were customarily recruited from this third group.

Ethiopian and Somali eunuchs were purchased at a young age to serve in the most elite houses. Due to the fact that men wrote all, save one, of the surveyed texts, they were more commonly mentioned than their female counterparts. They were ubiquitous in court social affairs because of their function as pages. Such references invariably emphasised the general respect given to the highest ranking eunuchs as well as their participation in political manoeuvring between *anderun*[11] residents and the larger royal network. The collection of private documentation of the Qajar royal estates confirms that the eunuchs held influential positions within and, at times, dominated the palace administrations until the end of Nasir al-Din Shah's reign. Ethiopian and Somali slave women were purchased to serve as chaperone companions for family women. According to al-Mamalik, these *kenizan* were trained in socio-religious etiquette to protect their mistresses from any impropriety that may be encountered beyond the licit environment of her personal *anderun* apartment. Their presence was, therefore, required at all occasions of interactions between their mistresses and distant relatives, visitors and attendants of social gatherings arranged by other *anderun* residents.

To a degree, African women's standing within the household organisation was negotiable and alliances and dependability were primary strategies for improving one's circumstances. For some Black women, this translated into supervisory positions for the care of valuable items and a greater role in guest hospitality. For others, access to social mobility was achieved through their participation in rearing the family children. Returning to Taj al-Sultanah's text, we witness the centrality of Black nannies in the child rearing process. According to her autobiography, her nanny served as a substitute mother and her constant presence contrasted with her mother's absence. This system worked to fortify the relationship of mutual dependence and loyalty between the owning family and their servant class.

> *"About forty or forty-five years of age, of average height, this woman had a very dark face with large eyes. She was generally reticent, but-on the few occasions that she did speak her speech was crude and harsh. This dear nanny of mine, having also brought up my mother, had risen to the rank of 'Matron Nanny' (dadeh-bashi). Wielding a good deal of authority, she had complete control over the food and drink supplies and the cellar and enjoyed numerous privileges. She was very affectionate to me and very formal and serious with others. I had grown so accustomed to her presence that, despite her fearsome looks and dreadful physique, if she parted from me for a day, I cried the entire time and nothing could console me. I never left her side, and there was no remedy for being apart from her.... Even today, after all these years, when I come across some relation of my beloved nanny's, I am overcome with joy and can talk to him very clearly and fluently in his dialect. This affection for my Black nanny has forged an enduring spiritual and emotional bond between me and her relations" (al-Sultanah 2003: 81).*

Although Taj's description is there to convey the strength of the bond between her and her nanny, for our purposes it also serves as an example of how Black domestics attained greater status through relationships of reciprocity.

Importantly, Qajar era memoir literature complicates our reading of African slaves' assimilation into the owning family's network. The pronounced visibility of Black slaves and the apparent ease between them and the families they served prompted European observers to assume that they were considered as family members.Though middle eastern slavery was regularly framed as a mode in which elite society expanded its patrilineal networks, a closer view of the outcome for Africans refutes this widely held assumption. The texts surveyed for this paper suggest that Black servants were esteemed as members of the household, yet barred from the owning family's kinship network. For Iranians, kinship ties to Black slaves carried with it a profound stigma; consequently, sexual relations and formal contracts of concubinage and/or legal proof of paternity or inheritance rights for the offspring were rare. Rather than absorption within the patrilineal networks, Black slaves became dependants within their owner's patronage networks. For, although the customs may have promoted emancipation, they also functioned to commit African slaves and their progeny to the servant, albeit free, class by formalising the relationship of dependency established during their slave servitude.

Lastly, I would like to point out that the writers singled out African slaveindividuals in their autobiographies because of their significant position within the household organisation. That is, their works offer us a glimpse of how some enslaved Africans were able to improve their status within the domestic sphere. However, we cannot generalise that this was the case for the majority working in elite households, much less those serving middle class families. Still, for those of us historians undertaking comparative slavery studies in the Near and Middle East, such texts offer a rare window for historians to view the specific sociological processes that underpinned African enslavement in Qajar Iran, as well as the diverse ways that enslaved Africans responded to their circumstances.

Notes

[1] R.M. Savory notes that, with the exception of a few positions, such as the royal physician, astrologer and seal keeper, the Safavid palace administrations were overseen by an "extensive" eunuch corps. The eunuchs' prominence in the 16th and 17th century Persian courts was a point of interest for visitors and even prompted the French secular priest and writer and traveller, Père Sanson, to remark upon "the stranglehold over the conduct of affairs which the court eunuchs had established owing to the Shah Sulaiman's lack of interest in such matters." See Savory (n.d.: 351-55) I also refer you to Vanzan (1999).

[2] The majority of documentation focuses on slavery in the cities; however, several reports also record Black slave service in the rural areas, particularly in Sistan, Bakhitari and Baluchistan. See, Salzman (2000) and Spooner (1992).

[3] To evade British patrollers, Omani Arab smugglers also landed small batches of African slaves at other intermediary ports. In his analysis of the British attempts to cope with the shifting trafficking nodes of the Gulf slaving network, Kelly (1968: 449) likened their policy to "damming a stream in one channel so as merely to force its waters into another."

[4] For an overview of the history of slavery and the slave trade in Iran, I refer you to the following: Mirzai, Behnaz A 2005; 2005a; 2005b; Ricks, Thomas. 1988. Slaves and Slave Traders in the Persian Gulf, 18th and 19th Centuries: An Assessment" in *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Slavery and Abolition*, volume 9(3), 1988 and "Slaves and Slave Trading in Shi'I Iran, AD 1500-1900," in *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, vol.36(4) 2001

[5] See, Al-Sultana, Taj 2003; Azud al-Dawlah 1976; Sani' al-Dawlah 1966;Mu'ayyir al-Mamalik 1999; Farahani 1995.

[6] The reprint of I'timad al-Sultanah's Diary includes a photograph of Sarukhan alongside a prince and another eunuch.

[7] Nasrin Rahimieh's insightful treatment of Taj al-Saltanah's *Crowning Anguish* was helpful for the development of this section's analysis. See, Rahimieh 2001.

[8] Ammanat also notes that Shaja' al-Sultanah's "sexual awareness came through flirting with black slaves in the household." p. 36.

[9] C.J. Wills. *Persia as It Is: Being Sketches of Modern Persian Life and Character.* London, 1886, as quoted in J. B. Kelly 1968: 414-18.

[10] Within secondary historical sources, relatively little mention is made of Southern Sudanese slaves until the last years of the century, perhaps due to strict measures to enforce internal bans on the trade. Yet, as a result of the radiating famine in Eastern and Central Africa, in the 1880s the Persian Gulf experiences a visible increase in the flow of Sudanese slave labour into the ports.

[11] The private living quarters of family women, young sons and the women's attendants.

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26

African Presence in Korea

Bok-Rae Kim

1. Introduction

In the 37th year of King Sonjo (1552-1608) in 1604, a 34 year old Portuguese man named João Mendes, accompanied by his Black servant, boarded a Japanese merchant ship for Nagasaki. The ship was blown off course by a typhoon to the Korean coast of Tong-yong, and was captured by Korean Admiral Yi Kyong-jun. According to *Border Defense Diary* (Dengrok yucho), this ship departed from Phnom Penh, the Kingdom of Cambodia on April 17, and was sailing for Nagasaki, Japan (Dengrok yucho). It had been sent by the Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) in order to conclude Japan's first official commercial treaty with Cambodia. Being a heavily armed ship merchant vessel, the Japanese ship was able to resist the attack of the Korean navy for a few hours. The ferocity of the battle resulted in the deaths of nearly all the crew, with only 50 survivors (32 Japanese men, 16 Chinese men, and 2 Westerners) hidden in the hold. *Collected Essays of Chibong* (Chibong yusol) written by Yi Su-gwang (1563-1628)[1] also describes this unusual event. "A barbarian from the South (Westerner) on a Japanese ship drifted ashore in the 40th year (of the contemporary Korean calendar). His eyebrow is one with his eyelashes. His moustache looks like a goat's beard. His servant with a black-lacquered face is extremely ugly and grotesque" (Yi SG 1634 and HW Yi 1924). This Black man who attended his master on a journey to Japan is probably the first African on record to reach the "Hermit Kingdom."(Mendes)

Biologically, Koreans originate from North Mongolians: like them, Koreans have "yellow" skin, dark brown or black hair and brachycephalic head shapes, and are medium to high in physical stature. The Korean language is part of the Altaic language family.[2] Koreans are often said to be racially homogeneous but there are many "imported" family names. In the history of a country, it is very rare that this "naturalization of names" is entirely absent, and its aspect or evolution process largely depends on the openness and national power of a particular country. According to statistics compiled in 1985, there were 275 Korean family names. Among them, we could find 136 naturalized names, the vast majority of them Chinese. By dynastic periods, there were approximately 40 naturalized family names dating to Silla (57 B.C.-935 A.D.), 60 to Koryo (935-1392), and 30 to Chosun (1392-1910). A British painter and traveler, Arnold H. Savage-Landor (1895-1924) in his book *Corea: Land of Morning Calm* (1895) surprisingly portrays Chosun society as racially mixed (Choeng 2005 b; Savage-Landor 1895).

We cannot comment on inter-civilization exchanges without reference to the

Silk Road. Some scholars believe that this link between eastern and western civilizations was not necessarily limited to China, but extended to the Korean peninsula through the northern steppe where nomads like Scythians or Xiongnu[3] were thriving. Korea had interchanges with the latter nomadic group. In the late Koryo dynasty (during its time under the Mongolian rule), western Muslims called "Semuren (special people)" immigrated to Korea *en masse*. The Semuren were able to do this based on their close ties to the Chinese Yuan dynasty (1206/79-1368), which was also a Mongol-run dynasty. Thus, a small Islamic community formed on the Korean peninsula. The vestiges of this community remain (Choeng 2005). In general, Korean Christian history is considered to be only 200 years old, but a stone cross and a statue of the Virgin Mary were unearthed by excavations in Kyongju, an ancient capital of Unified Silla (668-935). Some scholars consider it a sign of the Eastern Orthodox Church's first presence in Silla (Choeng 2004b). Thus, Korea was historically not as isolated as has been generally regarded.

This paper has briefly elucidated on the African presence in Korea from antiquity to the Korean War in 1950-53 (where about 200,000 Blacks, mainly African-American soldiers, came to the peninsula). For lack of historical materials, we will refer to archeological excavations, documents, narrative literatures and the like. In *African Presence in Early China*, James Brunson cited the first Emperor, Fu-Hsi/Fu-hi and the Shang Dynasty as providing the first evidence of Negroid elements in Early China (Rashidi 1987). The legendary Emperor Fu-Hsi and the "Shang people" were considered to be of the "Eastern Barbarians (Dongyi)", not Chinese. Koreans were also called "Eastern Barbarians" by the Chinese people, but there is no irrefutable evidence that the Shangs were Koreans. The only evidence that the Shangs may have also been Koreans has been the excavation of Korean oracle bone (*jiagu*) inscriptions.[4] Through an analysis on available historical and mythological material on the Eastern Barbarians (Dongyi), some inferences are made regarding the presence of Negroid elements in historical Korea.

2. Eastern Barbarians (Dongyi)

Did the ancestors of the Chinese people originate in Eastern Africa? Researchers currently agree that all Chinese are derived from Peking Man. However, the Chinese newspaper *Xinjing Bao* (May 12, 2005) reported that their forefathers derived from East Africans, entered China via Southeast Asia about 100,000 years ago. These East Africans gradually evolved into the dominant Han and various ethnic minority peoples of China. This was based on a mitochondrial population genetic analysis of early human migrations.[5] The content of this *Xinjing* report on "Single Exodus from Africa" had already been introduced to the public through a TV documentary called "The Real Eve (2000)" The Real Eve research team did not consider skin colour as an important genetic element in the long term view. The evolution of skin colour is only a human survival and adaptation mechanism based on the quantity of regional sunshine. According to them, 20,000 years are enough to change a Black into a White person.

The African ancestry of the human race seems now generally accepted as a fact. Apart from the authenticity of a "single-origin" hypothesis (or Out-of-Africa model), we can find some ancient Chinese documents on Black men (*heiren*). However, they don't necessarily mean "Africans". Fu Hsi or Fuxi was the first of the mythical Three Sovereigns of ancient China. He was a hero reputed to be the inventor of writing, fishing, and trapping. The First Emperor, known as Fu-Hsi/Fu-hi (2953-2838), has been described as being "a wooly-haired Negro"(Rogers 1967: 266). According to Chinese literary legends, he was considered to be an Eastern Barbarian called "Dongyi" which refers to people who lived in the north-eastern parts of China, Korea and Japan. There is disagreement among scholars about the existence of Dongyi. Sima Qian (145-90 BC), in his universal history, *Records of the Grand Historian* (Shiji), writes that the Shang Dynasty (1600-1046 BC) was "Dongyi's nation", and the Zhou dynasty (1122-256) was "the Han's nation".[6] The former was the first historically confirmed Chinese dynasty and ruled from the northeastern region of China proper. The Shang Dynasty followed the quasi-legendary Xia dynasty and preceded the Zhou dynasty.

As stated above, Koreans were called "Dongyi" by the early Chinese. In conformity with their Sino-centrism, there was no concept of a "foreign country" in the ancient Chinese world; therefore, they recorded the internal affairs of other countries in *A Series of Biographies* (Lie Chuan). They put Koreans in their historical record with *Biography on Eastern Barbarians* (Dongyi Chuan), *Biography on Four Barbarians* (Siyi Chuan), and *Biography on Southeastern Barbarians*(Dongnanyi Chuan). Thus, some scholars insist that the East Barbarians (Dongyi) were in fact not a specific nation or people, but a general noun which refered to barbarians who were relatively adjacent to China's eastern borders. That leaves the question of Dongyi's true ethnicity and relationship with China both internally and in foreign affairs. More particularly, it leaves out the question of the relationship between the Dongyi of the Shang Dynasty and the Dongyi of the old Korean Chosun kingdom (2333-108 B.C.). In the oracle, bone(*jiagu*) inscriptions of the Shang period, the Chinese character (Yi: barbarian) was discovered. Through this character it can be established that the Shang practised divination, and in a manner akin to the Dongyi. It is, therefore, reasonable to assert a link between the two peoples. This is because the Shang oracle bone inscriptions were identical to those originating from Korea: sheets with a brush and ink (as opposed to cattle scapula or turtle shells).[7]

Did Huang He (Yellow River) civilization derive from the barren land? Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975 A.D.) considers the principle of "challenge and response" as the prime mover of history. Specifically, Toynbee cites the natural challenges of temperature extremes, or other challenges of nature such as the need to tame rivers or grow agricultural products on land difficult to till. Yet, at the dawn of Chinese civilization, the Yellow River basin was neither poor nor infertile. The Chinese character "wei" furnishes information on this subject. It means "do". It is a compound word made up of "hand" and "elephant" in the Shang oracle bone inscriptions. This means making an elephant work by grasping it with hands. This suggests that elephants were thus widely used at that time. In fact, a number of elephant fossils were excavated in the area. According to DNA tests, these elephants were the same as those of Southeast Asia which, in turn, originated from Africa. This lends some credence to the assertion that indeed these earliest Chinese of the Huang He basin originated from Africa via Southeast Asia, taking their elephants with them.

If this is so, however, it opens the question as to why there was no "civilization" in the more fertile Yangtze River Valley, which also had heavier precipitation. Of course, Neolithic relics were uncovered such as those of the Hemudu[8] or Liang Zhu.[9] However, this area was very hot, surrounded by swamplands, and so unfavourable to the formation of an advanced culture. In fact, prehistoric relics are found throughout China. Nevertheless, the fact is that only the Yellow River Valley could develop to the level of a "true" civilization. Some scholars assert that the Huang He was a transitional culture between nomadic and agricultural societies. As competition intensified in the area among various tribes and nations, an early state organization developed there to meet this competition.

There were three cultural spheres in Chinese mythology which included Chinese and non-Chinese clans: Dongyi in the East, Huaxia in the West, and Miaoman in the South. First, eastern Dongyi mythology is composed of Dongyi people living in the lower reaches of the Yellow River, the Bohai Bay (where the Shandong and Liaodong peninsulas are located), and the east coast of China. The Dongyi mythology embracing northern mythology is closely bound up with Korean mythology. Secondly, the Huaxia mythology is composed of people who lived in the upper reaches of the Yellow River. These people are the Han Chinese's ancestors. Finally, the Miaoman mythology is composed of people who resided South of the Yangtze River. But, in the Miaoman mythology, there are a significant amount of Dongyi elements as Dongyi people migrated to the South. Thus, the two myths are very similar. In a broad sense, there are two main mythologies: Dongyi and Huaxia. They played a leading role in Huang He civilization.

Shang was mostly composed of Dongyi people who lived in the lower reaches of the Yellow River adjacent to the Shandong peninsula, and worshipped the colour white and birds. There are some grounds for asserting that the Dongyi people invented Chinese characters. According to legends, Fu Hsi (or "Fuxi") who had the shape of human head and snake body was a famous leader of the Dongyi, who probably used the snake (or dragon) as a totem. The last Shang king, Zhou (enticed by his consort

Daji) gathered three thousand guests at one party to enjoy his "pond of wine" and "forest of meat" which comprised of meat strips hanging from a forest of trees. There, he allowed the guests to play hide and seek in the nude among the trees so that Daji could be amused.

While Zhou of the Shang was thus amusing himself with his consort, Zhou Wuwang (first ruling king of Zhou) of the Huaxia people (located at Shang's western edge) took this opportunity to attack the kingdom of Shang. Zhou defeated the Shang army at Muye and founded a new dynasty. With this collapse of Shang, the Dongyi were pushed out of the Chinese Central Plain. As a philosophical cover for his attack on Shang, Zhou Wuwang cited the concept of "heavenly mandate (*tianming*)", which was bestowed upon a just and virtuous ruler. The Zhou Dynasty's later royalty made continued reference to this Heavenly Mandate (*tianming*, which certified a ruler as a "Son of Heaven (*tianzi*)".

King Zhou of Shang was portrayed as a brutal tyrant who lost this mandate; he killed his own son, cruelly murdered his loyal ministers (burning pillar *baoge zhi fa..*) and neglected proper virtue by following the wishes of his beloved concubine Daji. Thus, the Zhou dynasty established the moral superiority of Zhou over Shang, justifying the former's attack on the latter. Confucius confirms this in the *Collection of Treatises on the Rules of Propriety and Ceremonial Usages* (Liji). He wrote, "The Shang people worshipped the gods of heaven and earth; therefore, they neglected the (proper social) rituals. The Zhou kept their distance from gods and spirits by giving priority to the rituals and almsgiving."

The defeat of Shang by Zhou thus also represents a change from shamanism to humanism or social development. Zhou culture, which revered rituals (civility) was further enhanced and transmitted through Confucianism. The philosophy of Confucianism was adopted as a state official ideology by successive Chinese dynasties. However, Shang's culture never disappeared completely. Shang's culture of worshipping the gods of heaven and earth remains a vestige of the Chinese people. The Chinese characters derived from Shang's oracle bone inscriptions are a centralizing force unifying the Chinese people who embrace a vast territory and a long history.

In sum, the Huang He civilization was formed by the Shang and Zhou dynasties: the two cultural/historical axes have maintained China to this day. The Huang He is not only a unique ancient civilization whose cultural elements remain up to modern times, but it is also a symbol of Asian civilization: there are elements (noted above) of Huang He that suggest it is also a Northeast Asian region-wide civilization affected by neighbouring cultures such as the Dongyi from whom came the First Emperor, Fu His/ Fu-hi, a "wooly-haired Negro", as noted above. Nonetheless, the exact relationship between Korea (old Chosun) and the Shang still remains a question to be resolved.[10]

3. Contacts with India, South East Asia, the Middle East and the West - King Kim Suro marrying an Indian Queen

King Kim Suro, the founder of the Kaya Kingdom (A.D. 42-532), married Huh Hwang-ok, a princess who arrived on a boat from the Ahyuta- nation (presumably transliterated from the capital of the ancient Indian kingdom Kosala, "Ayodhya".[11]

Some Koreans have dark skin, probably due to a South Asian hereditary gene originating from ancestors such as Queen Huh. A "double-fish" design pattern was discovered inside the mausoleum of King Kim Suro and is considered the signature pattern of the ancient Korean kingdom of Kaya, but this same pattern is also found in many ornaments in central India. The ancient Chinese called India "tianzhuguo…." They esteemed it highly as the cradle of Buddhism. However, before that time, they transliterated it with Chinese characters as "Shendu…." The term *shendu* means "body's poison" The skin of Indians is dark, so Chinese people wondered if there was poison in Indian bodies. It was typical of the Sino-centrism of that time. The double-fish statue remained as an emblem of the Kaya kingdom in Kyongnam province. In Ayodhya,[12] the double-fish design was often painted on the front gates of temples.

The story in Cheo-yong's song [12]

The "Cheo-yong's song" (Choeng 2004b) in *The Heritage History of the Three Kingdoms* (Samguk yusa 1280) refers to a story during the Unified Silla period (688-935) in the reign of the 49th monarch known as King Heongang. The king was visiting the eastern provinces when the area suddenly became overcast with clouds and fog. Thus, the king asked his aide, "Isn't this caused by the Dragon of the East Sea? We should pay homage to gain some relief from this." The king then ordered his emissary to establish a temple for the dragon. As soon as he made the decree, the clouds and fog immediately lifted. This place is a port called "Gaeunpo" which means "place where the clouds cleared." The East Sea Dragon was pleased and appeared in front of the king with his seven sons who began to dance and give praise to the king for his righteousness. One of the dragon's sons followed the king to Seorabeul (capital of Unified Silla); his name was Cheo-yong. The king wanted him to stay in Seorabeul and so gave him a beautiful wife and a government office. One day, Cheo-yong played outside all night. He came home and saw his wife sleeping with a man (the spirit of smallpox). So he went out and began to sing (the above mentioned) Cheo-yong's Song and to dance in order to ward off the evil spirit. At that moment, the spirit of smallpox revealed himself to Cheo-yong, begged for mercy and said, "I have been lusting after your wife and laid with her, but you did not express anger. I'm moved and impressed by your admirable deed. Henceforth, I swear that I will never enter any door that bears your image or shape." From then on, people fixed Cheo-yong's image on their door to ward off evil spirits. Yet, there is disagreement about the true identity of Cheo-yong.

Was he part of the warrior caste of noble youths of Silla? A shaman? A dragon? Or a Muslim merchant?

The Buk-chung Lion Mask Dance has more than a thousand-year old tradition in Hamkyong province, and is held on the 15th of January (on the lunar calendar). How has this folk dance developed on the Korean peninsula where lions have never existed? The answer to this question can be found in the Korean encounter with a new world called "Xiyu (…)" during the period of unified Silla. Xiyu is a generic term for nations located to the West of China including Tibetans. Cheo-yong is a persona who symbolized the encounter between Unified Silla and Xiyu (Choeng 2004a). The image of Cheo-yong is very different from ordinary Korean images: a man of large build with thick eyebrows, deep-set eyes, double eyelids, high nose, spoon-like chin, dark-red skin and a curling moustache. Some Korean scholars consider him to be an Arab. According to some medieval Arabic literature dating to the 9th century, Muslim Arab merchants who played a leading role in the trade between East and West through southern sea travel exchanged visits with Silla and settled in it. An Arab historian described Silla as an "eastern Utopia with much gold." Whenever they (Arab merchants) went to Silla, they never returned. Two hundred years prior to Cheo-yong, the Tokhara people (of Afghanistan)[13] were cast away on the coast of Japan. In Kyongju (old Seorabeul, capital of Silla), there are some historic relics that bear resemblance to Arabian warrior tombstones, Persian carpets, accessories, glass goblets. The warrior tomb stones (2m 50cm) were erected at the front of royal mausoleums (probably the 38th monarch, King Wonseong (?-798)). Their images are those of hot angry slanting eyes, double eyelids, hawk noses, high cheekbones, curling South Asian or Arab turbans.

Also, glass products from Rome or Persia arrived in Korea along the Silk Road or by sea via India and Southeast Asia. In either event, the terminus of the Silk Road was Silla. There was a route from Chang'an …., capital of Tang dynasty (618-907) to Silla. Korean merchants in Tang went to the Japanese Archipelago by way of Silla. The products Japanese merchants bought from Silla also find mention in Japanese literature. Among them we can find expensive spices produced in India or Southeast Asia. We can thus infer that Silla was engaged in intermediate trade between Japan and Xiyu. If so, what kind of items did Silla export to Xiyu? The most representative items were swords, silk and ceramics made in Silla, sables and marten sables produced in Northern Manchuria: all contemporary luxury goods.

Contact with Christianity and the West

Exchanges among nations are basically economic, but are naturally followed by cultural and religious interchanges. Thus, Christianity entered the Korean peninsula in the later half of the 18th century. However, some scholars insist that (Eastern) Christianity under the name of *Jing jiao* ..., which had already come through the Nestorians to China at the reign of Emperor Taizong of Tang (626-649) in 635, was introduced into Korea in the 8th century.[16] For example, the statue of the Virgin Mary and stone crosses were excavated in Bulguk Temple in Kyongju. An Arab came to Silla, married a Korean woman and held government office. Silla nobles sometimes drank with Roman or Persian glass goblets. This shows that 1, 200 years ago, the Silla kingdom was open to various countries.

In 1582, a White man, whom the Korean royal archive refered to as "Pingni" (or "Mari"), landed with several Chinese sailors on Cheju-do, an island of Korea. He was immediately deported to China via the sea. His nationality is not known. He is the first recorded White man to reach Korea (although on an island and not on the mainland of the peninsula), recorded in the Chosun court archieve (Lee 2000). In 1592, Japan's Shogun Toyotomi Hideyoshi invaded Korea. One of his generals, Konishi Yukinaga (Roman name, Augustin Arimandono), a devout Roman Catholic, was accomplanied by a Portuguese Jesuit priest, Gregorio de Cespedes (1550-1611). Father Gregorio arrived in Korea on December 27, 1593 and left in April 1594. He is believed to be the first White man to set foot on the Korean peninsula.[13]

4. Epilogue

As stated above, a Portuguese merchant with his Black servant drifted ashore in Tong-yong in 1604, 23 years before a Dutch navigator Jan Janse Weltevree landed on the seashore of Kyongju in 1627, and 49 years before Hendrick Hamel arrived in Cheju Island in 1653. Hamel was the first westerner to write about the Chosun Dynasty era in Korea (1666). However, the Chosun Dynasty (1392-1910)'s "closed door" policy prevented Westerners from coming to Korea for one century after Hamel's departure.

Chosun's national isolation and anti-modernization policy has been considered ill-conceived in retrospect, paving the way for national decay and foreign invasion. However, in fact, Chosun continued active exchanges with foreign countries (China, Japan, Southeast Asia) during the whole period, including the 10 years of Daewongun (1820-1898)'s national isolation policy. In fact, Chosun's policy was not dissimilar to Japan's: Before Japan's modernization, the Tokugawa Shogunate maintained a core national isolation policy which included a prohibition on Christianity and a state monopoly on trade.

As is established above, Korean dynasties prior to and up to Chosun were actively engaged in exchanges with foreign countries. For example, the three main silk roads which were presumed to terminate in China in fact extended to Korea. As many "naturalized" names of the families prove, Korea was not isolated from the external world. If we elucidate further, the three main courses of the Silk Road, and the existence of the Dongyi people who seemed to originate from a Negro, we can advance the

African presence in Korea from 1604 to earlier periods. From the first appearance of a black man to the arrival of about 200,000 African-American soldiers, there has been a paucity of statistical data on this, even today. Although most Koreans have straight hair we can find some with curls. Perhaps a vestige of Africa?

Notes

[1] Compilation covering a wide variety of subjects.

[2] The *Altaic Family* is named after the Altai Mountains, in Central Asia. These people were nomadic horsemen living in the plains. One group migrated towards Europe, the other group migrated towards the Korean Peninsula and the islands of Japan.

[3] Fierce Slaves – "Xiong" meaning "Ferocious" and "Nu" meaning "slaves".

[4] Oracle-bone inscriptions are the earliest form of recognizable writing in China.

[5] A team of Chinese and American geneticists obtained blood samples from more than 12, 000 men from across East Asia and examined characteristic DNA sequences called markers on the Y chromosome (the male chromosome).The Y chromosome is considered one of the most powerful molecular tools for tracing human evolutionary history because it remains unchanged over eons when passed from father to son.

[6] Han Chinese is a term which refers to the majority ethnic group within China and the largest single human ethnic group in the world.

[7] Both Korean and Chinese legends state that a disgruntled Shang prince named *Jizi* in Chinese or *Kija* in Korean, who refused to cede power to the Zhou, left China with his garrison and founded Kija Chosun. Though Jizi is mentioned only a few times in *Shiji*, it is thought the story of his going to Chosun is but a myth.

[8] The Hemudu culture was a Neolithic culture that flourished just South of the Hangzhou Bay in Jiangnan in modern Yuyao, Zhejiang, China. The site at Hemudu was discovered in 1973.

[9] The Liang Zhu culture was a late Neolithic culture approximately 3300-2200 BC located in Southeast China. It was well known for its high quality jade artifacts. It later became part of the Shang Dynasty.

[10] The outline of Korean founding mythology greatly resembles Shang's.

[11] Many Hindus believe the birthplace of Rama to be in Ayodhya.

[12] In the capital, under the bright moon, I played till the dawn I returned home to my room and saw, Four legs in a honeymoon tryst, Two I knew. The other two belonged to whom? In one day that was mine, She was swept away by someone else.

[13] Choeng S I.[in Korean] 2004. "The Introduction of Eastern Orthodox Church into Korea." Op.cit.

[14] Another Jesuit Priest, Francesco Carletti, who was in Japan at the time of Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea, stated in a letter home that some 300,000 Koreans were taken to Japan as prisoners of war and sold off as slaves. Father Carleti bought five of the Korean slaves –dirt-cheap. Later, his Korean slaves became Christian converts, and one of them, Antonio Correa (1578?-1626), went to Holland with Father Carletti and became the first Korean to live in Eutope. In about 1610, the Vatican sent Antonio

back to Korea as a missionary, but he was not allowed in and returned to Italy. He later married and Italian girl and some of his descendents still live in Italy. Father Carleti's Korean slaves were probably the first Koreans to be baptized into the Catholic faith outside Korea.

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27

An Emerging African-Chinese Community in Hong Kong: The Case of Tsim Sha Tsui's Chungking Mansions[1]

Adams B. Bodomo

1. Introduction

African-Asian communities belong to some of the least researched among African communities in the African diaspora. Even though there is a growing amount of interest on the historical, cultural, and linguistic linkages between Africa and Asia (Rashidi and van Sertima 1995; Hotz 1998; Cooper 1999; Griffith 2001, Bodomo 2001, 2003) the situation cannot be compared to the vast amount of literature that exists on African-American, African-Caribbean and African-European communities.[2]

This paper seeks to add to this list and provoke a research reorientation by focusing on an emerging group of African communities in the heartland of Hong Kong's commercial centre – The Chungking Mansions Guest House and Market in Tsim Sha Tsui, Kowloon, Hong Kong. The Chungking Mansions houses a number of low cost dilapidated guest rooms and two floors of shops used by immigrants and visitors mainly from African, South Asian, and Middle Eastern countries who come to Hong Kong to conduct business.

This paper has been organized as follows: In section 2, the Chungking Mansions and Hong Kong have been introduced showing how unique this shopping district is in this Asian metropolis. Section 3 outlines some research issues and the methodologies that were pursued to research the Chungking Mansions. In section 4, the core of the paper, we present the demographic, sociolinguistic, and sociocultural profiles of the Chungking Mansions based on detailed statistics established from a small-scale survey. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Hong Kong and the Chungking Mansions

Hong Kong is a small territory on the southern coast of Guangdong Province of the Peoples' Republic of China. This territory, a British colony for 99 years until 1997, when China regained sovereignty, has grown into a world-class business and financial centre, fondly dubbed by the Hong Kong government as "Asia's World City". It is also a popular tourist destination for millions of people all over the globe. Its commercial districts, including Central, Wanchai, Causeway Bay, and Tsim Sha Tsui are highly congested with locals, business travellers, and tourists from all over the world. The Chungking Mansions, the focus of this report, is situated in the Tsim Sha Tsui commercial district in Kowloon.

In the hustle and bustle of this commercial district, the Chungking Mansions may not stand out for the average visitor who is previously unaware of its existence. Situated on Nathan Road, it shares neighbourhood with major businesses and hotels such as the Peninsula, Hyatt, and Holiday Inn – Golden Miles. Many local Hong-Kongers are aware of its existence or, at least, have heard about it in the news, usually in connection with illegal businesses such as immigration irregularities, theft, drugs, prostitution, and other kinds of vice. But then it is also known among locals as a place to get good bargains and see exotic commercial transaction styles. Here is a view by one local Hong Kong resident, along with photographs of the "Mansions":

Chungking Mansions from a Hong-Konger's Perspective:

> *"Chungking Mansions is situated in the heart of Tsim Sha Tsui, one of the busiest districts in Hong Kong. However, an average Hong Kong citizen is not really interested in getting to know more about this building. This place is rather mysterious to many local people. For many Hong Kong people, the very first thing one would associate Chungking Mansions with is the local movie – Chungking Express (1994), directed by Wong Ka Wai.*
>
> *"The general impression of the mansions is rather negative. We are not aware of its function as a "guesthouse". To us, this place is often related to concepts like crime, drugs, prostitution, and other negative values. Chungking gathers people, who are likely to be 'illegal immigrants' from Africa, India, Pakistan, and all those 'black' communities! However, this is not the kind of place that an ordinary local citizen would like to 'visit', even though we do understand that it is a well-known tourist spot with a number of restaurants and souvenir shops."*

Main entrance of Chungking on Nathan Road, Tsim Sha Tsui, Hong Kong

Exterior of Chungking Mansions[3]

Moreover, it is known by many foreigners in Hong Kong as the "United Nations" of Hong Kong and a place to interact with people from all parts of the world, especially in terms of business transactions.

This multinational, multicultural melting pot is a veritable language and culture contact situation and an emerging African-Asian community that should interest scholars of multilingual and multicultural communication, and of Africa-Asia relations.

3. Research Questions and Methodology

Even though I have introduced the environment in which this community is situated and addressed a number of features inherent in such a community, many questions still remain to be answered.

(i) In what sense is it a community? Probably, unlike other African communities within Asia, the African community at Hong Kong's Chungking Mansions is a very transient one. The question any field investigator would have to ask and answer is, in what respects this group of buyers and sellers may be termed a community.

(ii) What is the composition of this community?

(iii) How do people get to know about the Chungking Mansions?

(iv) What networks are available in this community?

(v) What African and Asian countries do people at the Chungking Mansions represent?

(vi) What are their reasons and goals for visiting or staying in Hong Kong?

(vii) How does communication take place in this community? What languages are represented and how do people from different linguistic backgrounds understand each other?

(viii) What are the educational and literacy levels of the participants in this community?

(ix) What cultural exchanges and understandings exist at the Chungking Mansions?

The above is not meant to be an exhaustive list of research questions about this transient African-Asian community of buyers, sellers and settlers, but an investigation of this community with these questions as guiding principles and hypotheses which can lead to substantial answers and results that will inform scholars and the public about the sociolinguistic and sociocultural organisation of this African community in an oriental business and cultural set-up.

3.1. Pilot Survey

To address these questions towards a better understanding of the Chungking Mansions, we undertook a pilot survey. To the best of our knowledge, there is no previous sociolinguistic or urban anthropological survey of the Chungking Mansions. In fact, besides documentaries on the Chungking Mansions, such as the movie, the *Chungking Express* by Wong Ka Wai and Radio Television of Hong Kong (RTHK) (1988)'s documentary titled *Tower of Babel*, there does not seem to be any rigorous academic study on this important and multicultural part of Hong Kong. Such studies are obviously needed to better understand the global and international dimensions of this important city in Asia and the world at large. It is not only at the top-tier level of five-star hotels and glamorous sky-scrapers that lie the internationalness of a city but also it is in the hustle and bustle of places like Chungking Mansions which lie at the cross-roads of many low-budget travellers and nationals from all over the world that belie the world-classness of a city.

This sociolinguistic and urban anthropological pilot study began with preliminary inspections by the author as Principal Investigator (PI) some two to three months before the survey.[4] These inspections were followed up with preliminary visits by two male research assistants (RAs) to ascertain the safety level of the area, reporting their observations to the PI in the form of field diaries or by word of mouth. The two male RAs were later joined by two female RAs. In all, the survey took, at least, one month to complete.

The author with his research assistants in an Indian restaurant

The survey questionnaire comprised 27 questions that aimed at understanding participants in terms of their places and countries of origin, gender and age; their socio-linguistic profiles, like what languages they spoke in various places along with their communication patterns; and their sociocultural profiles, like what activities they did during their pastimes.

The data thus obtained were coded and weaved into a report with detailed statistical patterns by the RAs. Section 4 of the paper attempts to analyse the data in the light of the major themes and hypotheses of the research, seeing the Chungking Mansions as an emerging African-Asian community in the midst of Hong Kong.

4. The Chungking Mansions: Demographic, Socio-linguistic, and Socio-cultural Information

In this section, we attempt to provide answers to the questions posed about the Chungking Mansions, in particular, to the issue of the defining features of Chungking Mansions as a community. We will, first of all, indicate in what respects Chungking Mansions can be said to be a community. We will then delve deeper into a further understanding of this community by constructing three kinds of profiles of the community.

4.1. Features of a Community

A first issue to consider is the notion of community. What are the defining features of a community and in what respects does the area under study qualify as a community?

As a general definition, the Oxford Compact English Dictionary has the following entry for *Community*:

> *Community: 1 all the people living in a specific locality. 2.a body of people having a religion, a profession, etc., in common (the immigrant community). 3. fellowship; similarity (community of intellect). 4. monastic, socialistic etc., commune. 5. joint ownership or liability (community of goods) (Thompson 1996: 196).*

As can be seen from the above, there are many conceptualisations of the term, *community*, but senses 1 and 2 of the entry would be nearer to our use of the term here.

Indeed, from the socio-linguistic and urban anthropological perspectives, the term *community* evokes a more cohesive group than just a group of people living together. Living together in a skyscraper apartment building without knowing of the existence of one another is not a good case of being a community. A community should involve a good amount of *interaction* such as taking part in cultural activities, buying and selling or just simply discussing issues of mutual interest. Our investigation of the Chungking Mansions, as evidenced by our questionnaire data, indicates that, despite its transience, the Chungking Mansions qualifies in many ways as a community.

4.2. Demographic Profile

This pilot survey, as described earlier, ended up with a completed questionnaire having 51 questions. The aim was to work with a sizable number of people in this first survey for a short time before preparing for a more comprehensive survey over a longer period of time, say six months to one year. The following figures and tables show the survey population in terms of nationality distribution (Figures 1-3, with 55 per cent being African and the rest non-African), gender (Table 1, 37 males, 14 females) and age (Table 2, with most being in the age group of 25 and 40). More than half of the population (almost 60 per cent) indicated that they were businessmen (26 per cent), traders (16 per cent) or salesmen (12 per cent), which characterized the Chungking Mansions as an essentially commercial/market community (Figure 4).

Figure 1 : Africans vs Non-Africans in Chungking Mansions

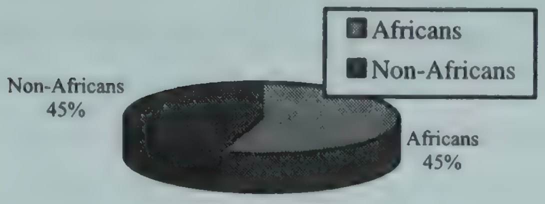


Figure 2: Country of Origin: Africans

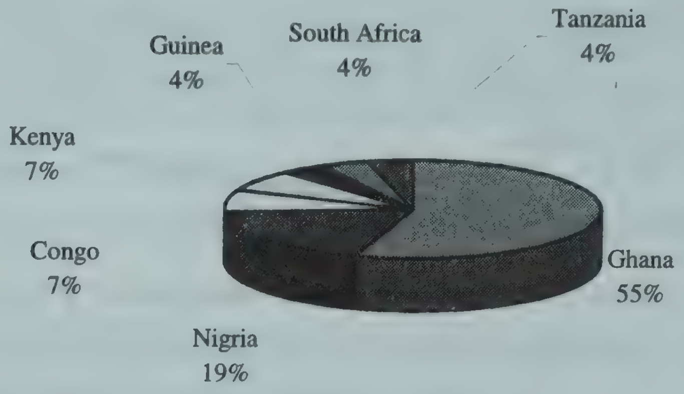


Figure 3: Country of Origin: Non-Africans

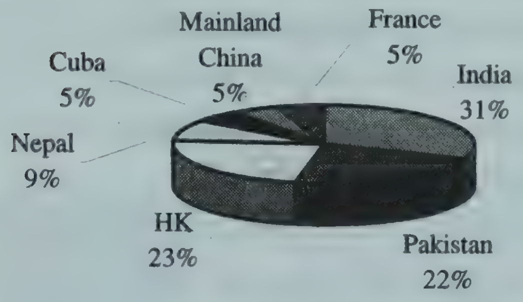


Figure 4: Occupations of Respondents

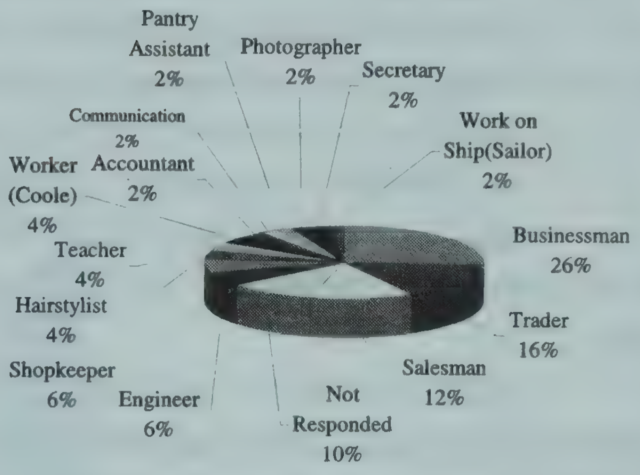


Table 1: Gender Distribution

Gender	Africans vs Non-Africans	
	Africans	Non-Africans
Female	9	5
Male	18	17

Age in Years	Africans vs Non-Africans	Total	
	Africans	Non-Africans	
30 or below	14	8	22
31-40	12	6	18
41 or Above	1	6	7

4.3. Socio-Linguistic Profile

The Chungking Mansions is a veritable Tower of Babel (RTHK 1988) and qualifies in most multilingual perspectives as a "United Nations". Quite a good number of the world's major languages are represented in the survey population (Chinese, English, French, German and Japanese). Obviously, some major African languages (Swahili, Twi, Hausa, Yoruba, etc) and South and Southeast Asian languages (Hindi, Punjabi, Philipino, Indonesian, etc) (Table 3) are also found in the list of languages.

Table 3: Native Language of the Respondents

Language	*Number*	*Percentage*	*Language*	*Number*	*Percentage*
Twi	10	20	Kiswahili	2	4
Urdu	5	10	Nepalese	2	4
Chinese	4	8	Filipino	1	2
Punjabi	4	8	Hausa	1	2
Igbo	4	8	Kikuyu	1	2
Dagbani	2	4	Kinande	1	2
English	2	4	Lingala	1	2
Ewe	2	4	Nigerian	1	2
French	2	4	Spanish	1	2
Ga	2	4	Zulu	1	2
Hindi	2	4			
			Total:	51	

A majority of the people at Chungking is multilingual. Apart from their own native language, 44 respondents also speak English, nine Chinese, and four French. The results have been summarized in Table 4 below:

Table 4: Other Languages Spoken by the People at Chungking Mansions

Language	*Number*
English	44
Chinese	9
French	4
Hindi	3
Twi	3
Ga	2
Hausa	2
Kiswahili	2
Dangme	1
Filipino	1
German	1
Igbo	1
Indonesia	1
Italian	1
Japanese	1
Lingala	1
Punjabi	1
Yoruba	1
Total	79

How, then, does communication take place in such a multilingual environment? English is the dominant *lingua franca* at Chungking Mansions, followed by Chinese, French and Hindi.

Figure 5: Do You Think English Is a Common Language at the Chungking Mansions?

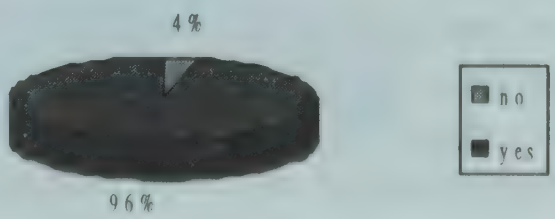
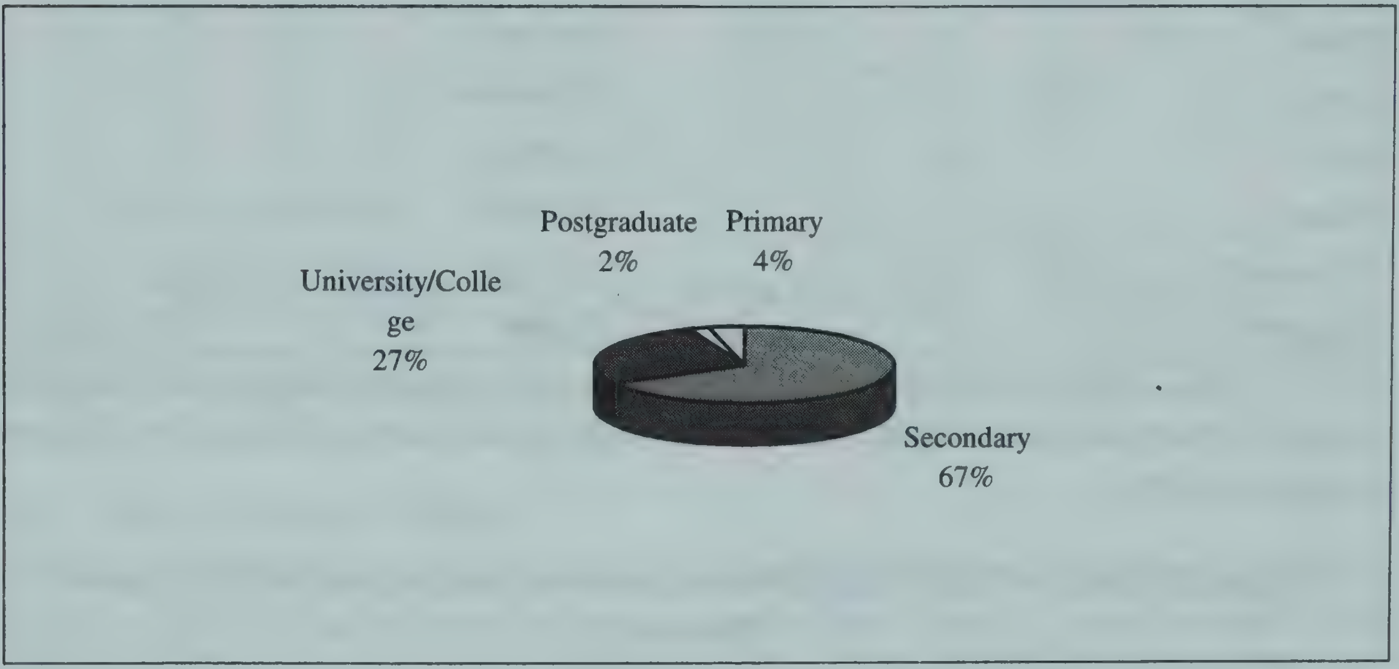


Table 5: The Next Most Common/Useful Language(s) at the Chungking Mansions

Language	*Number*
Chinese	29
French	8
Hindi	6
Other Indian languages	4
Akan / Twi / Asante	5
Urdu	2
Arabic	1
Nigerian	1
Pakistani	1
Punjabi	1
Swahili	1
Total	59

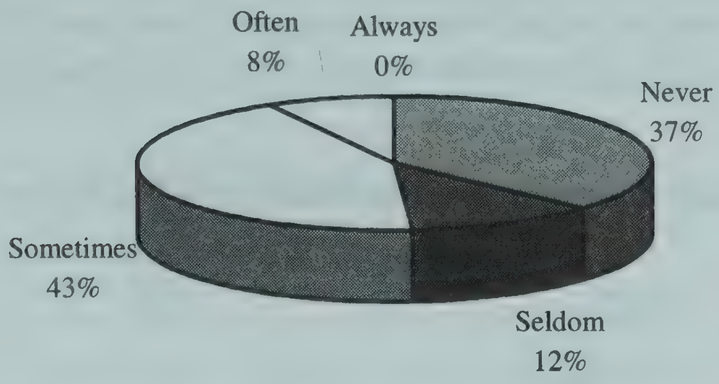
Another aspect of the Chungking Mansions is that contrary to what people perceive as a low-level income group with little or no schooling, educational and literacy levels among the population are quite high. Of it 51 respondents, 34 (67%) had received secondary education, while 15 (27%) had reached tertiary education (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Level of Education



Are there any problems of communication? Even though there is a *lingua franca*, as a "Towel of Babel" and a "United Nations", there are communication problems at the Chungking Mansions. Figure 7 below shows that over half of the respondents do sometimes or often experience communication problems.

Figure 7: How Often Do You Come Across Communication Problems at the Chungking Mansions?



4.4. Sociocultural Profile

The Chungking Mansions is not an established community; it is a rather transient community. This is indicated by its lack of routine cultural activities like the celebration of festivals. The results show that 74 per cent of the respondents seldom or never celebrated the festivals of their home countries, while 10 per cent did so sometimes. Only 16 per cent of the respondents often or always celebrated the festivals of their home countries (Figure 8). In order to understand whether the respondents were in the process of acculturation into the traditional Chinese/Hong Kong community, we asked whether they would celebrate any Chinese festivals at Chungking (Figure 9). The results show that 59 per cent of the respondents did not celebrate the traditional Chinese festivals, whereas 41 per cent did so.

Figure 8: How Often Do You Still Celebrate the Traditional Festivals of Your Country of Origin at the Chungking Mansions?

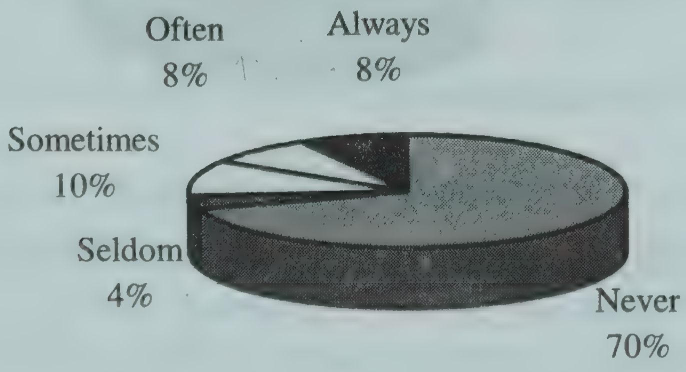
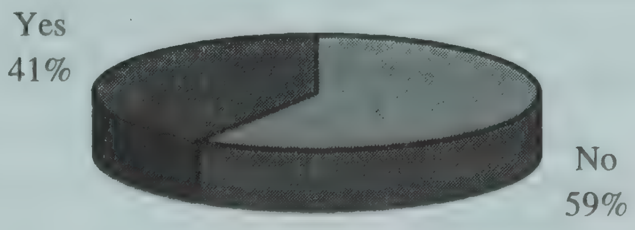


Figure 9: Do You Celebrate Traditional Chinese Festivals?



The major pastime of the inhabitants of the Chungking Mansions, if they have any at all, is "chatting with friends". In terms of venues and avenues for socialization, most Chungking Mansions residents met up with friends either at the Chungking Mansions itself or outside the Chungking Mansions. The results (Figures 10 & 11) indicate that most people met friends who lived or worked inside the Chungking Mansions.

Figure 10: Meeting Place: Meeting Friends Who Live/Work *Inside* Chungking Mansions

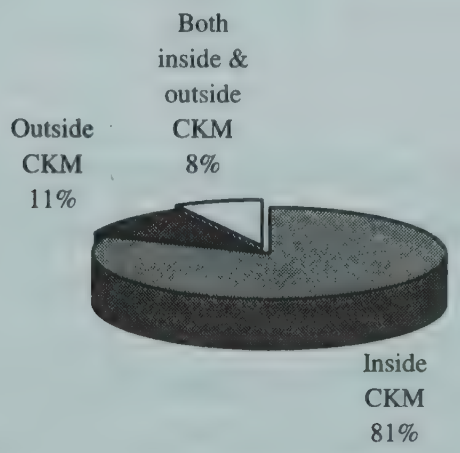
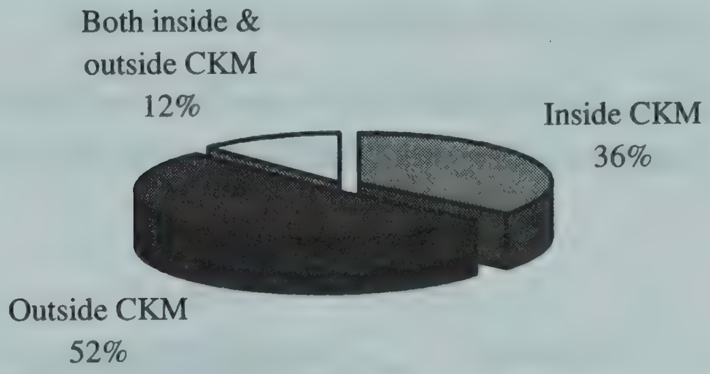


Figure 11: Meeting Place: Meeting Friends Who Live/Work *Outside* Chungking Mansions

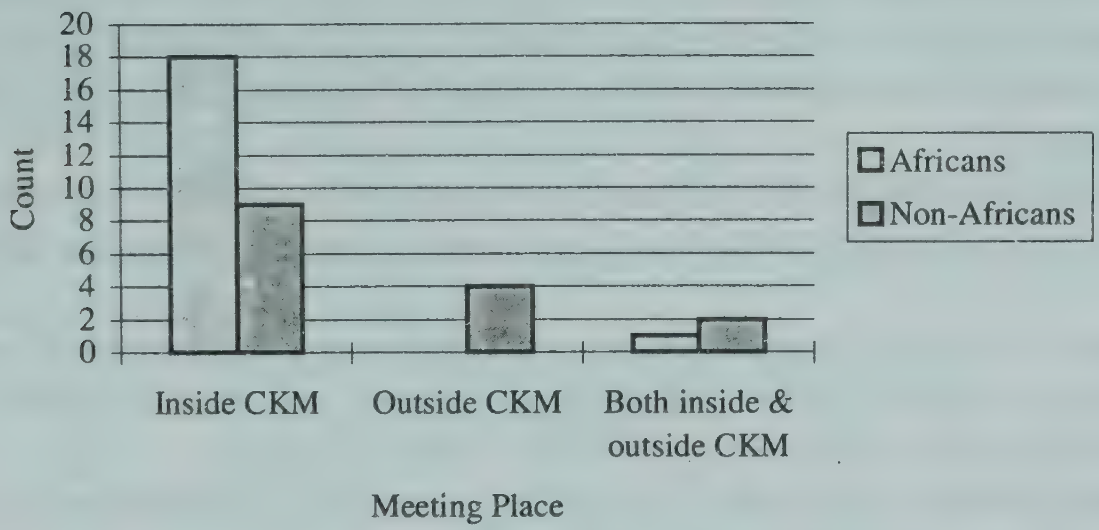


An interesting difference between Africans and non-Africans in the survey population is that Africans met up with their friends mainly in the Chungking Mansions itself while non-Africans met friends mainly outside of the Chungking Mansions.

Table 6: Meeting Place: Africans vs Non-Africans

		Africans vs Non-Africans		Total
		Africans	Non-Africans	
Meeting place (having friends inside CKM)	Inside CKM	18	9	27
	outside CKM		4	4
	both inside & outside CKM	1	2	3
Total		19	15	34

Figure 13: Meeting Place: Africans vs Non-Africans



4.5. From the Horse's Own Mouth: Opinions of Chungking Affiliates about Their Community

The foregoing is an attempt to paint a profile of the Chungking Mansions in demographic, socio-linguistic and socio-cultural perspectives. However, statistics do not always tell the whole perspective, especially from the point of view of people who have first hand experiences of the situation under study. What better way to understand a horse than to listen to the words from the horse's own mouth! In the open-ended comments section of our questionnaire and in our formal and informal interviews with the Chungking Mansions' residents and affiliates, we mined a mixture of views and reactions about this commercial centre, most of which has been recorded below, unedited in most cases:

1. We can meet a lot of people coming from different countries. It is a nice place to do business.
2. It is good for working and living here. The people here are nice and they are from different countries.
3. The living condition here is poor and the people are not self-disciplinary. This is a place just for doing business, but not for settling. Fortunately, there is no crime here.
4. People here are friendly.
5. This is a place good for doing business, but not for living. It is not safe to live here.
6. It is a safe place with good security. And, it is a good place to do business. However, the building is too old and yet, the environment is rather clean.
7. People living at the Chungking Mansions always obey the rules.
8. Life at the Chungking Mansions is always busy.
9. It is a multinational place where you can see or meet people from all over the world.

10. It is a bad place and so, police always stay here or patrol around. But, it is a good place to do business and it provides jobs for people.
11. It is a noisy place. There are too many black people. It is very crowded.
12. Sometimes, it is too dirty and noisy here. Some people especially, the Pakistanis, may look at you in an obscene way. Dishes of some restaurants here are nice and delicious.
13. It is like a trading centre and there are too many Blacks. It is very noisy here.
14. Life at the Chungking Mansions is unbearable because the police always disturb us.
15. I think life at the Chungking Mansions is very exciting because it is a place where I have an unique opportunity to see my friends and gather together. I can also chat with different people of different colours and races.
16. This research is very good. The building is very dirty and the security is not good. People here are dishonest and unfriendly.
17. The place is always congested with many different ethnics seeking or selling goods. Most of them are not friendly.
18. There are many good people living at the Chungking Mansions and the security here is good, although it is not perfect.
19. I love this place.
20. I think life at the Chungking Mansions is normal compared to the life in my country.
21. It is a very noisy place.
22. Sanitation here is very poor and the Chinese are not friendly.
23. Pretty noisy and crowded. It is a nice place though.
24. It is a good place for doing business, but not for living. It is too crowded and unsafe here. But, the people are nice.
25. It is not a good place. People here are unfriendly and always commit crime. It is not safe to live here. Both working and living conditions here are bad.
26. The rent is high. Tourists are rare. It is not a good place to live because it is not safe and we are always disturbed by the police.
27. People here are nice. And, they are usually from different parts of the world. It is not a safe place to live here and yet, it is a good place to do business. The environment is not clean here.
28. It is a dirty place. People will treat you well only if they know you, if not, they will treat you very badly.
29. It is a place for doing business. Life here is good, with good security. However, it is not clean here.
30. It is alright to run business here, but not for living. It is very crowed. It is a clean place.
31. It seems that I came to India. It is not like a place in Hong Kong. It is very dirty. You can only find drugs here, but not music. Not enough Chinese food can be found here.
32. It is a place for doing business. That is all I know about this place.

33. It is a nice place, but the Chinese people here are not friendly.
34. The security guards here are bad because they do not respect us.
35. It is a very dirty place. There are too many Indians and Africans, but no Chinese people inside the Chungking Mansions. The building is too old. Usually, there are some bad foreigners staying inside the building.
36. Business is brisk here. It is fun to be here and it is not a dangerous place at all.

From this list of comments we can discern about 10 succinct characterizations of the Chungking Mansions as follows:

(i) a transient community (people come and go)
(ii) multinational (multilingual)
(iii) multicultural
(iv) a good place to do business
(v) dirty
(vi) dangerous/unsafe
(vii) drugs, crime
(viii) busy / crowded
(ix) noisy
(x) lots of black people

Any future improvements of the Chungking Mansions Community by the government, the property owners, or charitable organizations should take into consideration the views of the community members as expressed in our research.

Indeed, when we started out on this research, whenever we gained the confidence of a respondent, a regular request/wish was that our "research serve as a vehicle that draws awareness about Chungking Mansions and conveys a message of the need for help to the inhabitants of Chungking Mansions from the appropriate authorities". We hope that this cry for help will not be ignored.

5. Conclusions

The Emergence of African Communities in the megacities of asia, while it is true that studies about the African connection to Asia are not as prominent and as numerous as studies about African connections to Europe and the Americas, scholars like Rashidi and van Sertima (1995) have traced past historical connections between the two largest continents. This kind of work focused mainly on autochthonous peoples of Asia such as the Dalits and the Siddis, with rather ancient and thus tenuous links to the African continent.

In this paper, we have proposed and demonstrated a research agenda in terms of a shift beyond the "African Presence in Early Asia" (Rashidi and van Sertima 1995) to the modern phenomenon of African migrations into Asia. Globalization and internationalization have resulted in the presence of Africans from Africa, Europe and the Americas settling in the major cities of Asia. This sets up an interesting stage for an exciting socio-linguistic and urban anthropological research agenda. The main message of this paper is thus to fire scholars of African diasporan studies to extend their search, and, subsequently, their understanding of Africa-in-Asia by moving beyond just studying rustic, ancient and, often, rural societies showing remnants of Africanisms within the heartland of Asia by studying and focusing on the more modern phenomenon of the emergence of African Communities in the megacities of Asia. Scholars of Africa-in-Asia must move beyond archaeological and rustic Malinowskian anthropological studies to a modern and exciting study of a version of Urban Anthropological and Socio- and even Core- Linguistic analyses of the presence of Africans in Asian megacities like Hong Kong, Beijing, Shanghai, Tokyo, Seoul, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, Mumbai and New Delhi. Such a community is the "Afro-Hongkongese" or "Afro-Chinese" of Chungking Mansions.

The theoretical basis for such a push lies firmly in the rise of urban anthropology, the branch of cultural anthropology that emphasizes the study of the urban as against only the study of primitive societies, as succinctly captured by Al-Zubaidi.[5]

Only in the second half of this century, especially in the 1960s, urban societies and cities came into the attention of cultural anthropology, although anthropologists were already conducting research on cities before the term "urban anthropology" began to be used in the 1960s. With this shift in focus, "urban anthropology" counters anthropology's traditional emphasis on "primitive" and peasant people to the exclusion of urban, complex and industrial societies (Basham 1978). This shift accompanied the deconstruction of primitivist anthropology and the acknowledgement that all cultures are part of the modern world and do not form isolated, self-contained entities. A further motivation was the observation that cities in the 20th century were more rapidly growing as ever before. This new emphasis can be also understood as a way of "studying up", a shift from the periphery to an analysis of the centre.

A second aim has been to document the rise of such a modern African-Chinese community, the Chungking Mansions, in the heart of Hong Kong, dubbed "Asia's World City". I have claimed that the worldly-wiseness of Hong Kong (or for that matter any major city) does not just only lie in glamorous skyscrapers and fantastic five-star hotels, but also in the hustle and bustle of the lower rungs of society where we see people from all parts of the world contributing to a veritable multilingual and multicultural mélange of what a world class city is or should be! While we cannot talk of a clearly defined and well-established African-Chinese community in Hong Kong, the Chungking Mansions Community of mainly African and South Asian travelers and settlers mixed with local Chinese, despite its transience, has the best potential to develop into, or contribute to, the establishment of a permanent African-Chinese Community in Hong Kong.

Notes

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[2] The communities that have attracted some attention among scholars of Africa-Asia relations Palestinians as given in Annexure 4.1 p. 803.

[3] Source of image: www.arcade.cz/cesty/cina2002/ fotogalerie_p2.html

[4] Indeed, on my first arrival in Hong Kong in 1997, when the Chungking Mansions was introduced to me as the "United Nations" of Hong Kong, I already earmarked it as a potentially exciting sociolinguistic and urban anthropological fieldwork situation.

[5] Al-Zubaidi, Layla. Urban Anthropology. Available online at: http://www.indiana.edu/~wanthro/URBAN.htm

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28

African Women Labour-Migrants in Israel between the African Rock and the Israeli Hard Place: *"I Wanted Something Else"*

Galia Sabar

Introduction

This study has analysed life stories of several African women who came to Israel in the 1990s as undocumented migrant labourers. Emphasis has been on the ways migration has become a dominant factor in the complex process of their identity structuring. The ways in which migration compelled women to take initiatives and act independently, making autonomous decisions have been highlighted here. At the same time, survival in Israel and the existential need to belong to the African migrant community has led them to adhere to norms in the sphere of gender relations and the division of labour within the family, considered traditional. This complexity and ambiguity form the focus of this paper.

Through the interviews and observations I carried out in the years 1999-2005,[1] I became acquainted with an active and lively African community in the heart of Israel's largest city, Tel Aviv. I spent weekdays and weekends at various social gatherings as well as participated in activities carried out in women guilds, prayer meetings and conferences. I joined labour-migrants on their trips to the Holy Land, came to see them in their workplaces and visited their homes and participated in family festivals and celebrations. Thus, I gradually came to know an ever-growing group of African women and men, who had come to Israel hoping to change their lives for the better.

"We never had these people here before....Where did they come from.... Why did we let them in"? – Introductory notes on labour migration to Israel.

Unlike most western countries, international migrant workers, including thousands of Africans, began to arrive in Israel only in the late 1980s, following a government decision to facilitate a greater influx of international migrant labourers.[2] At the time, no clear policy concerning international labourers existed, since the government considered them as temporary workers and not migrants and prospective citizens. For over a decade since the first international migrant labourers entered Israel, the Israeli public was ignorant, indifferent and mainly unaware of the magnitude of the phenomena and its long term implications. Sitting in a small coffee in the central bus station of Tel Aviv, an elderly Israeli man said to me: "We never had these people here before. I have never seen so many Philippinos in this country…and all the others…Where did they come from?… why did we let all of them in?" Indeed, once the borders were opened, thousands of international migrant labourers entered the country. Some had working visas while others didn't. Amongst them were Africans who came, first in a trickle and then in a flood.

Most of the Africans came from Ghana and Nigeria, entering Israel on a pilgrim or tourist visa. It was easy to enter the country; hourly wages for cleaning work which they did were relatively high; and those who followed had a good support system to help them find employment, housing, and friends. These advantages helped overcome the obstacles, namely, the exclusiveness of the Law of Return (entitling Jews to immigrate to Israel and receive automatic citizenship);[3] the danger of Palestinian terrorist attacks; and, beginning in the late 1990s, the government's policy of deporting undocumented migrant labourers.

Since most Africans came without work permits, there are no official figures as to how many African labour-migrants were in Israel at any given point of time. Yet, by the end of the1990s, it was estimated that 14,000-20,000 African men and women were living in Israel (out of a total of 250,000 international migrant labourers).[4] However, due to massive deportation in 2002-2003, the total number of Africans was reduced to somewhere between 4,000 and 8,000. By the beginning of 2006, it was estimated that only 1,000-2,000 Africans remained, mostly single mothers with children and UNHCR recognized refugees and asylum seekers.

Until recently, research literature about African labour-migrants presumed that men were leading the migration and women usually arrived only in the wake of their fathers, husbands or other male relatives. Recently it has become evident that women were opening up new migration routes and destinations, and playing a central role in building up immigrant communities. The numbers of women migrants, Africans and others, are so significant that certain researchers speak of "feminization of migration". This has substantial implications, both for the societies absorbing them and for their countries of origin: Barbara Ehrenreich maintains that migration of women from Third World countries to the West has caused, among other things, the transformation of women's traditional work patterns on a global scale, thus throwing a new light on globalization as a whole. Researchers dealing with the implications of globalization have recently examined how globalization - which includes women's migration from the Third World to the salaried labour market – provides women with new avenues of struggle against the patriarchal aspect of society. One of the main questions arises - is salaried work within the capitalist labour market a potentially liberating and empowering feature, or is it yet another means of oppression and exploitation?[5]

Even superficial knowledge of Sub-Saharan cultures makes it plain that most societies are patriarchal and women's role in public domains is marginal. Recent research has emphasized various strategies implemented by women desiring to increase their autonomy and expand their influence (Kandiyoti 1988). And yet, most women are still rarely able to make autonomous decisions, even when their relative power within the domestic domain has grown.

The story of Sub-Saharan migration to Israel has recently been dealt with in various studies,[6] however, none has focused on women migrants. Taking into account the differences between the values and norms of behavior that the women migrants brought with them and those they acquired in Israel, I examine their role within the community of African labour-migrants between 1990 and 2006. The analysis of women's' discourses enables us to enter their world and raise important questions about processes related to their empowerment, gender relations within the Israeli context and also within their families, and to ascertain to what extent migration has precipitated changes in their worldview and way of life.[7]

"I wanted something else" – Women migrant labourers in search of change"

> *"I'm just like my sister and my cousin… there are so many women back home that want change… they all want something else. They want to work, save and get away…What kind of future do we have? The best that can happen to us is that we marry a rich man (laughs), have children, and then he will lock us up at home so we stay with them...If you are really lucky, you get your own shop...maybe a fish stand or a hairdressing salon...But then if you get married, you have to take care of the shop, the kids and your husband...I know that many women want a different life, but only a few really do something about it...It is hard as a woman with no man to protect you to get up and go… only a few do it. For me it was clear. What I had at home was not for me…. At least not without changes…. I wanted a different life, I wanted something else for myself" (Charity, Tel Aviv, March 1999).*

Charity, a 35-year-old Ghanaian woman, came to Israel in 1999 on a pilgrim tour and stayed as an undocumented migrant labourer. I got to know her in 1999 during the first stages of my research. Reading into her life story and that of other African women enabled me to give names and faces to transnational migration in the era of globalization. From her words it is clear that she, and others, are not merely uprooted individuals, trying to make good in their new homes, but, as Appadurai has clearly stated, part of a huge and constant flow of people, ideas, and identities crossing national, cultural and economic borders (1998, 2002, 2003). Hence, Charity, as well as all other migrants challenge us to view them not as passive displaced people, but rather social agents, preserving a complex network of relations with their original homes and cultures and developing various new identities and diverse links both with the world they left behind and the one they have entered (Basch *et al* 1994; Schillller et al 1995: 48-63; Comaroff & Comaroff 2007).

"I know they will always be there if I need them" – Strategies of Survival

> *"When I came I stayed with my sister and her husband... I was there for two months...they introduced me to many friends...Then I found a room and moved. It was expensive, but I already had a few houses that I cleaned, so I managed... If you know English, it's easy. The most important thing is that your friends will help you find jobs...Here most of my life is around the church[African Independent-Pentecostal Church] ...women's committees, evening prayers, social gatherings with others who came from my area... If there is a national holiday in Ghana, our union organizes a party and everybody comes, even Nigerians and Congolese...The truth is that almost every week we have special events in our community or in the church...women's meetings, social committees, Bible school...it takes a lot of time and money (laughs)... I learn a lot in the church: how to organize things, raise funds...I have very little time for anything else, but for me being with other Africans is important. I think it is like this for most [African] women I know here...It's like home for me...maybe even like my family. I know they will always be there if I need them" (Charity, March 1999).*

In her clear and direct way, Charity spoke about the fact that she , like other women, confronted not only the obvious difficulties of migration such as finding work and room but also handling the stigmas adhering to women unprotected by men. Hence, migrating alone compelled them to build and use supportive networks other than those they had left behind.

Indeed, African migrants in Israel, similar to labour-migrants in other countries, have set up a lively community of their own.[8] This community is comprised of dozens of organizations based on family ties, ethnic identity, shared occupations, religious identity, and similar problems and objectives. Being part of an organization has helped new migrants cope with loneliness, alienation and confusion, stemming from their lack of knowledge of the new society's culture and norms, and has affected their behaviour within the African arena in Israel. Hence, being part of a community was a basic survival strategy.

Recent research on immigrants, and in particular labour-migrants worldwide, has revealed that women are particularly active in these organizations, investing both time and money in their functions and in the community they create (Sabar ben Yehoshua 2000; Pearson 1998:171-88). They are rewarded not only with friendship and support but also with the acquisition of organizational, fund raising and other skills they consider useful. Such an existential need and subsequent commitment was not reflected equally in the interviews with African men.

It is noteworthy that in the case of African migrants in Israel, the prevalence of associational organizations and their active support has strong African roots. Their membership in various religious, occupational and women's organizations is a widespread phenomenon, the basis for an active civil society.[9] These associational organizations have also created channels towards mobility for marginal sectors in society, such as women, meeting needs not met through any other frameworks. Thus, activity in organizations pertaining to civil society became the main source of empowerment for millions of women in Africa: to name but two - Winnie Mandella, who headed youth and sports organizations (somewhat problematic ones) under the Apartheid regime; and, on a totally different plane, Professor Wangari Maathai, Nobel Prize for Peace awardee in 2004 who established the Green Belt Movement, empowering millions of women in Africa by means of agricultural projects. Similarly, our data show that the African community in Israel, with its various organizations, has served as an anchor for its members, in particular to women, providing concrete assistance on a daily basis, as well as a warm family atmosphere and a source of empowerment and change.

"Here, I can do it" - Vocational Training as an Avenue for Change

Realizing that economic independence is the main means to obtain power, many women mentioned that they wished to acquire a new profession in Israel, potentially better paid. When asked whether she learnt a new profession in Israel, Charity replied:

> *"I've just graduated from a computer course...I know visual basic, windows and more... but just now I started a course in our church... I have a long way.to go, but after I finish many courses I want to be a minister. Many people told me it is not a good job for a woman, that I should do something else...my family is not happy with this, but I hope they will accept my choice when they see I'm happy and making money...even some of my friends and Pastors in our community in Israel said this is not for me, not for a woman... But I decided to do it, so I am learning at the Pentecostal Church in Jerusalem. We are 15 students from Ghana, Philippines and other places. I'm not the only woman...we are three... we meet once a week in the evening...It will take me about one year and then I will get my diploma. After that I want to open my own church. I can do it like all those who open churches here and everywhere around the world. Here [Israel] I can do it like those men who did it. I want to be a leader in our community. I don't want to make people angry... I will do it in my own, pleasant way. No fights. In Israel I saw women do such things. I can also do it." (Charity, Tel Aviv, May 2002)*

Charity's dilemma was not whether to acquire a profession, but what type of profession. Clearly, all over the African continent there are wealthy professional women, so this was actually not a new idea for Charity. And yet almost all women mentioned that in Israel there are more professional women than at home, and their power within the family and society is greater. Thus her choice of computer studies and learning to be a priest came from her awareness of the importance of professional training, enabling her to work and advance wherever she chose to live, whether in Ghana, Israel or any other country.

Her dilemma highlights her personal difficulties when faced with norms and values from home conflicting with those she acquired as a migrant in Israel . The need to choose between a more modern value system which enables women to choose their vocation even if it is considered a masculine one and that which she grew up in is painful. Clearly, her choices were not easy as she did not want to detach herself from her African cultural arena, and she was well aware of the difficulties she might encounter. She believed she was able to serve as a spiritual leader and did not accept the women's apprehension at serving in high priestly positions; she also resisted attempts to silence her voice or downplay her opinions. She said that in Israel she was able to choose to some extent with whom to work, with whom to spend her spare time, with whom to share a room and her life, and above all, to decide about her future.

On the other hand, Juliet, a labour-migrant from Liberia, living in Israel with her husband and two children, said she wanted to learn a profession she could do from home.

> *"This way I can be with my kids... I can look after my land... I want to have a job that will give me money for what I need... my dream is to open a hairdressing salon, like in Israel" (Juliet, Tel Aviv, June 2000).*

Even though Juliet's aspirations were confined to the domestic domain, she also wanted to be economically independent. Moreover, she dreamt of establishing a business on a high level, as in Israel. Both women represent a desire for change, and each in a different way reveals the dialectical aspect of their lives as migrants coming from a rather traditional society to a modern one. Their attitude reflects their desire to become integrated in the modern way of life, while simultaneously preserving certain features of their pervious life. For Charity, her desire to be a woman priest with computer skills reflects a perfect combination, obliterating conventional dichotomies between traditional and modern life, the African as opposed to the western world, between feminine and masculine professions, emotional and rational features, and so on.

Moreover, in Israel women migrants were exposed to the local tendency to perceive long-term planning and saving not only as means of survival but also as important values:

> *Almost all my bosses ask me what I plan to do with all my money. They say, How will you secure your future...what will you do when you have no strength to clean, when you are older?... In the*

> *beginning I did not really understand what they were asking... Quickly I learned... you Israelis always think about the future. You have insurance; you have savings to keep you when you are old. We Africans have our land and our family...we have it now and we will have it in the future (Charity, Ghana 2005).*

Her realization that acquiring a profession to ensure her economic independence in the long term is a precondition for self-empowerment, is also reflected in other studies examining African migrants in Europe on the verge of returning to Africa.[10] The findings show that professional training acquired before returning home is perceived as an important investment to further a smooth re-integration at home.

In *A Room of One's Own*, Virginia Woolf (1981) has estimated the cost of women's independence at $100 and was one of the first to consider economic independence as the basis for a change in women's status in society. Subsequently, many studies followed, stressing that economic independence led to a change in the way women perceived themselves and their relative power in society. African women migrants behaved according to this concept, whether they wished to become hairdressers, nursery school teachers, nurses, priests or computer specialists.

"I decide what to do with my time, with my money." - Gender Roles, Marital Relations and the "Self"

While in the past the assumption was that migration cut women migrants off from their previous ways of life, norms and modes of existence and forged their identity according to that of women in the absorbing society, the current research presents a more complex view: The life stories of the women migrants provide additional insights regarding their self-perception, their status, family relationships and marital relations. In some cases the process of migration reinforces tendencies towards greater individualism, in others it strengthens commitment to the family left behind, and willingness to forego personal aspirations. Sometimes these tendencies appear simultaneously and a new identity develops.

In answer to the questions – How do you live with the fact of not being married? Doesn't the family at home put pressure on you? – Charity replied:

> *"They push and push me...but I'm here and they are there...so in the end I'm the one that decides (laughs). Look at Amy, she has a husband, so she can't do what she wants... even if she is dead after work, she comes home and cooks for both of them... But still I think that Amy and others who are married are different here than at home. Here they have their own money...they don't tell their husbands, so they are free to do some things, like buying clothes or doing their hair or giving offerings in the church...Most of the fights between men and women in Israel are about money... How much to send home? To which side of the family? When you are*

> *living abroad, your family depends on you and they say to you: give me...give me.... all the time...This makes problems, they think we must give them money, especially if they helped you travel or if they look after your kids and your land... I don't have a husband, I don't have kids, so I decide what to do with my time, with my money. I save some, I send some to my mom and sisters. They built me a house. When I go back I will stay there. I have no other home. When I get old and have kids I will go back there"* (Charity, Tel Aviv 2000)

Charity and many other women saw themselves as rather independent, strong women, with fairly good life and work skills, living without male protection. Yet, they also perceived themselves as Ghanaian women, linked to their extended family, with specific obligations and responsibilities. Although many of them were critical of the marriage system back home, they did not object to getting married and having children, even though they did not want to play the customary inferior role. Their relations with their extended family back home were also portrayed in a dual way: on the one hand, they were important and vital, and on the other, as burdensome and vexatious. Every woman mentioned that she would not have been able to leave Africa and improve her lot without her family's support, so she is beholden to them. However, all of them added that their obligations are burdensome to them, making it harder for them to fulfill their dreams; they deepen the cultural gap and bind them to the home they left behind. The conflict between their personal aspirations and those connected to the family and community life is clearly evident.

Conflicting values were also apparent in their attitude to couple relationships, marriage and the woman's place within it. In this respect the findings are particularly interesting, since some of the women arrived in Israel married, others got married in Israel, while some returned home to marry. Gina, a 26 year-old labour-migrant from Nigeria, highlighted the dilemma related to marriage and couple relationships, while explaining how she got to know her husband:

> *"I met Marc about three years ago. He is from Nigeria, but not from my home town. I thought he is a good man. He worked. We got married...not like at home, but he did send gifts to my parents... They preferred I get married, though this was not the man they wanted for me...For them it was less bad than if I stay here alone... They said that a woman with no man in Israel means trouble, that people say bad things about her...Even in our community here people said to me I better get married... They said that a woman alone is no good...I had no choice. My family back home did not want me to go back home to get married, because if I did, then I would not be able to send them money...they needed the money I was sending from here..."(Gina, June 2000).*

Clearly she had no choice in the matter of marriage, even though she did choose her partner. She did not mention love. However, she did say that although they were married in Israel, her husband still behaved in a rather traditional way. In other words, in spite of being both physically and culturally away from home, both partners considered it important to adhere to some of the traditional dictates.

Gina's remarks about marriage enable us to include in our discourse considerations underlying migration not directly connected to the economic situation: While economic reasons undoubtedly figured in the decision to migrate and in the family's support, the family's dilemma reveals that status and prestige were also involved. These findings resemble those of Pessar's study of Dominican women and their extended families, and Wolf's study of Indonesian women (Pessar1999; Wolf 1992). Gina and her family had to confront conflicting considerations, because she migrated on her own, which was a stain on the family's reputation. Gina's family insisted that she should marry, while Gina demanded her right to partial autonomy within their rigid value system. Her physical distance from home and control of her financial resources enabled her to achieve such autonomy. Her marriage shows the solution they found - accepted on all sides - included economic, value-laden as well as personal considerations. Such solutions narrow the gaps between the migrant's aspirations, the new society and the family tradition.

In a Bible class about love and marriage, the Ghanaian priest, Ampadu, explained the situation his community faced:

> *"Back home most of us don't get married because they are in love - as they say... Our families choose for us...they don't force us like in the old days. But here, in Israel, because of how we live and because we can't travel, there are so many changes... Some of the things we do like back home and some we do like we think we should do here. We want to look after you, after your sacred bond of marriage, but in Israel things change so much. It is not easy for us" (Pastor Y. Ampadu, May 1999)*

Here, we can discern the complexity of the lives of transnational migrants, trying to preserve their traditions and yet adapting them to changes, due also to their inability to travel since they arrived undocumented. His comments, as well as the story behind Gina's marriage, reveal the dilemma faced by migrants in their physical and spiritual relocation from one home to another. Their move expands the conceptual boundaries of "home", "dispersion", and "country of immigration", as well as of concepts such as: "couple relationship", "marriage" and "love", and makes them somewhat flexible and fluid. This flexibility and adaptability enables the migrants to avoid complete disengagement from their original home, and at the same time does not compel them to adopt wholeheartedly the values of their new home. Furthermore, our data shows that their perception of the values prevalent in their new home appears to include not only western values and in particular, those of Israeli society, but also those underlying the life of the African community in Israel. Thus, the migrants' world draws upon several sources of values and identities, which they examine carefully and critically.

Most African women labour migrants clearly stated their commitment to their home and family. At the same time, they insisted on their right to make decisions contrary to their parents' and husbands' wishes. In being able to decide to whom and how much money to send, they actually redefined the boundaries of the patriarchal nature of the relationships. Thus creating a new framework of rules for the institution of marriage, combining their own views with those of their extended family.

Control of financial resources was a focal point in the discourse of many African women. In Israel, they were exposed to a system where the responsibility for the family's capital and for the household and the children appeared to them as shared, even though equality in this respect was far from complete in reality. They perceived the African couple relationship as oppressive and discriminatory. In Israel, in trying to change that situation, married African women – as Charity presented them - chose to conceal their real earnings from their husbands to enable them to make some autonomous decisions. However, this procedure did not change the power relations within their married life in any substantial way.

In recent years, in the wake of the feminization of migration, many researchers maintain that women have become social agents, making autonomous choices. While crossing the national borders in the global world, they have redefined the institution of marriage and the gender division of labour. Our data reveal a more complex situation; the crossing of physical borders is **insufficient** for the redefinition of basic institutions and for radical changes in value-laden attitudes. In her article "Maid or Madam", Pei Chia Lan asserts that women labour-migrants who sell their work on the global market acquire economic power within the family structure. However, this power does not effect a substantial change in their status, since they continue to bear the heavy burden in their family, fulfilling traditional female functions (Lan, 2003).

"If I go to the police, then all those in our community will not talk with me" - The Price of Belonging.

All women interviewed for this study, including Charity and Gina, were closely connected to other African migrants in Israel and their opinions were important to them, even if not always to their liking. They realized that the price they had to pay for their membership in that community was also – or maybe mainly – the acceptance of clear boundaries of what was permitted, what was considered morally acceptable or unacceptable. Charity and Gina were painfully aware of the community's power in this respect, and of its impact on their behaviour. Following Benedict Anderson, we may say that the African community in Israel functioned not only as an active framework with fees and regular activities, but also, and maybe mainly, as a representational system, bestowing on its members a sense of belonging and identity, and thereby dictating specific modes of behaviour. Thus, although Gina was a migrant in a strange city, far from her family and free to choose her own way of life, she acted according to the unwritten laws of a somewhat loose community. In spite of the distance from home and the precepts of traditional African society, the fear of not belonging to any community caused her to feel trapped under the watchful eye of "the community". Its power and the sense of being trapped is evident in Gina's description of her difficult marriage:

> *After we got married Marc started to beat me...he came from work, went to drink and then came home and asked me - Where is your money?... What did you do all day?...Why are you spending all the money? - He was beating and screaming...He thought I was his slave. I was working all day too. He made money and I made money. But at the end of the day he would go to drink and wanted me to go home and cook for him...and clean...Even when I was pregnant he beat me. I did not tell my friends but some knew...one of them told me that she will speak with her pastor and he will talk with my husband... but I refused. One of them told me she will ask her Israeli friends what to do... I did not want to go to the police because I had no visa and I did not want them to deport me... I did not want the police to come home. If I went to the police, then all those in our community would not talk with me. They did not want us to go to the police... but I told Marc I would go to the police...After my daughter was born, I had to go back to work...now I needed money also for babysitting and for all those things...he did not give much...Three months ago he was arrested and sent home. Now, he always calls and wants me to send him money. I don't want to (Gina, June 2000).*

Her story reflects a painful sense of stifling loneliness, of helplessness in the face of violence. When asked why she did not approach Israeli authorities to stop the violence, she spoke about her existential dilemma: stopping the violence by involving the police - as opposed to the fear (justified or unfounded) that she would be ostracized by the local African community. She preferred to suffer from his violent behaviour rather than be rejected by Tel-Aviv based African community. This would mean that besides being a battered migrant, without a visa and in danger of being deported, she would be isolated and expelled from the only social framework she belonged to.

Gina's refusal to turn to the law enforcement authorities for help is in line with the behaviour of battered women worldwide and not merely typical of migrant or African women. However, it is noteworthy that Gina mentioned people from her community who urged her to insist on her right to be treated fairly, and considered this to be desirable in the eyes of the community, and also turning to the Israeli authorities as legitimate. These African women had a less stringent view of the patriarchal nature of their society than Gina. Yet Gina perceived their advice as subversive and too costly for her. Paradoxically, her husband's deportation was for her a saving grace.

Her desire for independence together with her fear of radical changes are clearly evident also in the way she describes her future life. In answer to the question how she would like to be as a person, she said:

> *I don't know... I really don't know how to say it. I think I want to be stronger than my mother. But I don't want to be like you, Israeli women, who boss everyone in the house, give orders, scream at their husbands. No. I don't want that ...Your men divorce you because you are like that... It is hard for me to say how to be (Gina, June 2000).*

Within the wide range of possibilities open to her, including her family's way of life as she experienced it back home in Nigeria and life in the western world, she no longer accepted the former but did not wish to undermine it. Nor did she totally accept the way of life in the new country. Gina described her home as a place where women were considered the property of men, and they had little possibility to live on their own or to negotiate regarding issues such as married life, the gender division of labour, responsibility and financial matters. Her perception of Israeli women stemmed from what she observed in Israel. She had left her family in order to improve her life economically and personally, so as not to follow in her mother's footsteps. While insisting on choosing her husband, she did not leave him in spite of his violent behavior; and yet she did not wish to resemble Israeli women who paid the high price of divorce for their autonomy.

Similarly to Philippino women migrants (Salazar 2000), many African migrants are trapped. In the eyes of her parents and her husband, Gina appears to challenge the institution of marriage as she knows it, by demanding more freedom of choice regarding her body (her feminity), her work and her earnings. She does so by refusing to send money to her husband. According to Spitzer, the issues raised by Gina as to her rights as a married woman can be defined as renegotiating the gender division of roles and the process of decision-making within the family (Spitzer *et al* 2003: 267). While relating to Puerto Rican women migrants in the USA, Toro-Morn Maura (1995) maintains that even in developed western societies marriages hamper changes. Judging by Gina's case and Charity's perception of marriage, it appears that **women's migration-related achievements are curtailed owing to marriages.** The achievements of migration as a strategy for survival and advancement in the sphere of gender relations in the social and domestic domains have thus been limited owing to the rigid norms of the African institution of marriage and the existential need to belong to the local African community in Israel.

My study reveals that simultaneously with the rise in the status of African women migrants in Israel, there has been a drop in their partners' status. African men in Israel have been compelled not only to do cleaning work, considered feminine in Africa, but also to receive instructions from Israeli women (and sometimes young girls). In interviews I conducted with African men who had lived in Israel and returned home, many of them mentioned that fact as one of their hardest and most humiliating experiences as labour-migrants. One evening, displaying unusual frankness, a Ghanian who had lived in Israel for nine years said to me:

> *I will never marry an Israeli woman... you don't know how to take care of your man... You think that you are smart like God who created the world...you think you have much power and much brain... If I was married to an Israeli, I would stop being a man... When I go to work and my boss is a woman and she tells me what to do, I feel bad...but she has the money, she pays me.... I always look at her husband and he says nothing... I don't understand it. Sorry (Jonathan, Tema Ghana Ja. 2005).*

Jonathan was blunt, angry and clear. Physically going back home reinforced the traditional models of gender relations.

"Is impossible to erase thousands of years of oppression in one day": **Concluding Remarks:**

In examining the situation among African women labour migrants in Israel, we cannot point to any rapid change, headed in one specific direction. And indeed as Kamir asserted relating to women's struggle worldwide: "It is impossible to erase thousands of years of oppression in one day, merely by passing a law…It is as an ongoing process" (Kamir 2004). The findings of my study are congruent with research about women migrants in other parts of the world. There is no clear progression from submissive women arriving from Africa, obeying the rules of a patriarchal society, to women equal in status to men, with a high self-concept, able to act at will. These women, probably like million others around the world, live in a hybrid reality - both traditional and western, progressive and conservative, empowering and debilitating, liberating as well as oppressive. The forging of an identity in such a complex situation calls for awareness of ongoing changes in the environment and for flexibility and ability to adapt to them.

The women's life stories enabled us to identify survival strategies they adopted to cope with the situations, and we focused on the ways they objected, compromised, adapted and argued regarding resources, rights and obligations. Our analysis of these processes reinforces the perception that migration *per se* shakes up some of the basic values of the migrating group and leads to a re-examination, both by women and men, of the interplay of power in such areas as marriage, divorce, family structure and the gender-related division of labour. The findings of this study show that identities and modes of consciousness do not grow on the ruins of the old, but rather develop through long processes of complex individual and political, sometimes dialectical, struggles.

The women's migration from Africa to Israel, in particular when they are on their own, points to a growing awareness of their ability to cope with the difficulties of daily life, even in a place physically and culturally far removed from their homes. In the course of the years they have manoeuvred between their personal needs and the demands of their families, their own desires and the unwritten laws of the immigrant community. Many women are well aware of the price they have to pay for each choice they make, and those who choose greater autonomy and freedom appear well aware of the cost. Nevertheless, the women's discourse shows that in reality there is no unambiguous dichotomy between their several worlds, and they have been able to fashion a life where the community, the family, mutual responsibility and a sense of belonging exist side by side with independence and autonomy, within the heart of their experience as African women migrants in Israel.

We may say that our analysis of the reality of these women's lives, as they have chosen to describe it, negates the accepted dichotomous perception, postulating tradition versus modernity, African versus western, feminine versus male occupations, emotional versus rational, and so on. It appears that every woman finds her own way and place within the wide range of possibilities along the continuum between autonomy and bondage, between freedom to act and acceptance of conventions, between the need to break through boundaries and the existential need to safeguard her family heritage as a source of strength in times of crisis.

Notes

[1] This study is based on qualitative research methodologies. Most data were collected through the conduct of twenty-three open-ended in-depth interviews held in Israel and in Africa, and many hundreds of hours of participant observations of different activities of African migrants in Israel. Interviewees were located through snowballing, beginning with an African friend of mine who introduced me to many other members of the African community. The interviewees consisted of an almost equal number of men and women, aged 20 to 40, from various African countries, mainly Ghana and Nigeria. The interviews were transcribed, verbatim insofar as possible, in the course of the conversation or immediately afterwards. Participant observations began shortly after the first interview and were carried out throughout the interviewing process. The transcripts and notes from the interviews and observations were analyzed using the constant comparative method (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). For further discussion

on Qualitative research methodologies see: Dayan, I. (1999) "The methodology of Qualitative research – a case study," in Shai, A and Bar-Shalom eds. Qualitative research in Education, Tel Aviv: 73-90 (in Hebrew); Sabar Ben Yehoshua, Naama (1998) Kibbutzniks in the Diaspora New York: Sunny Press; Sabar Ben Yehoshua, Naama ed. (2001) Genres and Traditions in Qualitative Research Tel Aviv: Dvir (in Hebrew).

[2] On the reasons for opening Israel to international migrant labourers, mainly the Palestinian uprising, see: Sabar, Galia, "African Christianity in the Jewish State: Adaptation, Accommodation and Legitimization of Migrant Workers' Churches 1990-2003", *Journal of Religion in Africa,* 34 no.4 (2004), pp.407-437.

[3] The Law of Return (1950) entitles Jews from anywhere in the world to immigrate to Israel and grants them automatic citizenship upon their arrival in the country. Non-Jews, by contrast, have almost no legal avenues to citizenship. Israel does not allow residence without a work permit, does not recognize right of family reunification, and does not guarantee access to housing, social benefits, or medical care. It does, however, allow for the arrest and expulsion of undocumented migrants at any time by simple administrative decree. One of the main outcomes of this self-definition as a Jewish state is the prevalent perception in Israel that labour migrants are temporary workers and not prospective citizens; they are outsiders culturally, socially, and politically.

[4] These figures are based on unofficial estimations of several Israeli NGOs who were working with and for the African migrant laborers, as well as estimations given by the African Workers' Union, the largest NGO established by the African migrants themselves in Israel.

[5] On this question and others see an overview in Berkowitz, N. (2002) "Apocalypse now? – on globalization and other problems". *Israeli Sociology* 4 (2).

[6] The only published work that deals specifically with the African migrant labourers in Israel is G. Sabar. 2004. "I'm a Black Christian illegal worker in Jewish Israel". In Kleinberg Aviad (ed.) *Hard to Believe – A Different Perspective on Religiosity*, Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press: 15-95. Several MA theses have been published on different aspects of the African community, all in Hebrew. On migrant workers in Israel, including the Africans see: R. Bar Zuri. 1996: 13-34; Izhak, Schnell and Graicer Iris.1994: 185-97; Rosenhek, Zeev. 1999: 575-95; Adriana Kemp, Rebeca Raijman, Julia Resnik and Silvina Schammah Gesser. 2000: 94-119; Adriana, Kemp and Rivka Raijman. 2003: 295-318.

[7] Terms such as "African women" and \ or "African women migrants" might be regarded as problematic thanks to the fact that Africa is a large continent with a tremendous variety of societies and cultures, and any generalizations, in particular about women, arouse doubts about the validity of research pronouncements. Moreover, these terms in relation to countries such as Nigeria and Ghana, owing to their ethnic and religious diversity may be even more problematic. Indeed, I am fully aware of these differences, yet I claim that the qualitative method I have chosen enables me to confront this

problem and reduce its significance by moving from the individual to the general and vis-versa.

[8] On African communities in other western countries see for example: Judith, Byfield 2000. "Introduction: Rethinking the African Diaspora." *African Studies Review,* 43 (1): 5-6; Peil 1995; Owusu 2000; Attah-Poku 1996a, to name but a few.

[9] The initial appearance of this phenomenon can be found already at the start of European colonial rule in the 19th century. An active civil society existed even under oppressive colonial rule, and continued to do so in the independent states, even where civil freedom was limited by a dictatorial regime. See: G. Sabar, 2002,*Church, State and Society in Kenya – From Mediation to Opposition, 1963-1993*, London: Frank Cass;G. Sabar-Friedman, 1996, "The Power of The Familiar: Everyday Practice in the Anglican Church of Kenya," *Church and State,* 38, 1996: 377-97.

[10] To the best of my knowledge, the research done so far in relation to acquiring a profession prior to returning home has not dealt with illegal migrants rather was carried out amongst well established migrants, most of whom have gained citizenship or other forms of legal papers. See for example: S. Ammassari and R. Black. 2001; S. Ammassari and R. Black. 2001; M.A. Diatta and N. Mbow. 1999; OECD. 2001.*"International Moblity of the Highly Skilled"*. Paris: OCED; "Home, Sweet Home - for some, How can Africa move from brain drain to brain gain?" *The Economist,* August 11, 2005.

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IV

INTERACTIONS BETWEEN ASIA/INDIA AND THE EAST AFRICAN COASTAL REGIONS

29

History of Indo-African Trade Relations and the Resulting Slave Trade

Ababu Minda Yimene

A lot of literature has been published about the Atlantic Slave Trade and its maleficent legacy on the descendants of African slaves in the western world. In comparison to the Atlantic or the Occidental Slave Trade, the Indian Ocean slave trade or Oriental slave trade is underrepresented in scholarly research. This is mainly because most European and American researchers dealt on what was their immediate concern, i.e., western slavery.

Besides, much of the earlier documents pertaining to the Oriental slave trade have not been translated into European languages from the original Turkish, Persian and Arabic sources. This situation has made vital information hardly accessible to western and West based scholars. The failure of scholars to study thoroughly the Oriental slave trade and its legacy in those societies and cultures has far and wide consequences. Today, when we hear of the "African diaspora", many of us tend to think solely of Africans living in the Western world. Much of the substance we have about "the African diaspora" stems from the African diaspora in the West. The prevalent literature on the "African diaspora" can in no way be a full representation of the actual African diaspora.

The Oriental slave trade is an integral part and a direct result of the general trade relations between the African and Asian continents. Therefore, before entering into the subject of our main concern, it is essential to see how Africa and India traded with each other.

Indo-African Trade Relations

Although being aware of the high probability that trade relations between Africa and the Indian sub-continent predate recorded history, I shall discuss hereunder some aspects which left their marks in written records.

The ancientness of India's trade with Africa has been accepted both by early and modern scholars. The nineteenth century explorer, J. H. Speke, was convinced of the antiquity of Indian traders' contacts with Africa, and expressed the view that Hindus had traded with the African East Coast "prior to the birth of our Savior" (1863: 84). It seems that Indian products had always markets in Africa. India traded with the African East Coast in ivory, incense, food items, slaves and others. The earliest indication of trade between Africa and India is found in a document that narrates the

Egyptian Queen Hapshetsut's expedition to the land of Punt, presumably modern Somalia, at about 1495 B.C. The sailors of the Queen brought back a cargo of cinnamon from there which was probably originally imported from India (Pankhurst 1972: 3- 4).

The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, a first century travel document, informs that one of the first places the Indians visited in the African area was the island of Sokotra at the entrance of the Gulf of Aden. In 4th B.C., Alexander's soldiers "subdued the Indians who were established there, took possession of Sokotra and removed a colossal idol to which the Indians paid homage". The nature and extent of India's trade with Sokotra and mainland Africa was documented in the same paper. The document reveals that trade in wheat, rice, purified butter, sesame oil, cotton cloth, and honey made of sugar was already established and that the population of the island consisted of Indians. It further notes that some of these items were also traded with all of the Red Sea ports including Adulis, the principal port of the Aksumite Empire (Pankhurst 1972: 5).

Abyssinian traders were also seen, by some travelers, including Ibn Battuta, in Cambay, Bombay, Goa, Calicut, Malacca, Ceylon and in other coastal areas and islands of the Indian sub-continent. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* also records that Ceylon and other areas of the Indian sub-continent were visited by merchants from Ethiopia in the first century.

Another evidence of early Afro-Indian trade relations is to be found in the work of the Greco-Egyptian monk Cosmos Indicopleustes who wrote, as cited by Pankhurst (1972: 10), in the early sixth century that Barbaria, probably Somalia, had substantial trade with India and Ceylon. The inhabitants of Barbaria used to bring frankincense from the interior of Africa and export it to countries across the ocean. He also mentioned Ethiopia's export of ivory to Persia, India, Arabia and the Roman world.

This trade relation between the East African coast and the Indian sub-continent was largely possible because of the monsoon or "trade winds". The monsoon winds blow in the Indian Ocean six months in the summer, from the southward, and in winter from the northward, subject to a small inflection to the East and West. Hence, a ship that sails either from India to Africa or *vice versa*, following the direction of the "trade winds", will be carried on by the winds without any impediment and is able to find its destination with relative ease. This seasonal pattern of monsoon winds largely influenced and facilitated the pattern of cross-ocean trade that developed between the East African Coast and the Islamic world of western Asia during those early times. Most of the long-distance trade in the western Indian Ocean was carried in Arab sailing dhows.

Indian Ocean trade was given a great boost by the spread of Islam in the seventh and eighth centuries. The shift of the Islamic capital to Baghdad in 750 AD brought the Persian Gulf more firmly into Indian Ocean trading networks. A number of

Shi'ite refugees from southern Arabia settled along the northern half of the East African coastline during the eighth century. They intermarried with the African population and learnt the local language. The increasing presence of Arabic-speaking peoples on the offshore islands greatly eased trading relations between the East African Coast and other regions of the Muslim world. This part of the African East Coast, which was doing a considerable trade across the ocean, is referred by Arab writers of the time as the "Land of Zenj".

As the demand for African ivory, and later gold, increased with the rise of Asian empires, more Arabs and Gujarati Muslims settled in East African island towns to direct the local trade to their advantage. These newcomer Muslim settlers, like their predecessors, developed good relations, often through intermarriage, with the local African ruling families. In this way they were able to ensure that their Muslim relatives, the overseas merchants, would be welcomed within the towns. Those Gujarati merchants, like their Arab counterparts, sought Africa's ivory, which was considered by many as being the best in the world. This was because the African elephant produced larger tusks than the Indian elephant and its ivory was of finer and softer texture, thus most suitable for carving. The result was that the Gujarati virtually monopolized overseas trade in East Africa, collecting gold, ivory and slaves, which otherwise used to go to Arab countries and the Portuguese port of Mozambique, in exchange for clothes and other "luxury" items (Pearson 1976: 12; Lovejoy 1983: 151; Manning 1990: 139; Segal 2001: 102).

By the ninth century there were a number of well-established market towns along the coast of the "Land of Zenj". Most were situated on the Lamu islands off the northern Kenyan coast and others further South on Zanzibar, Kilwa and the Comoro Islands (Shillington 1989: 124f). These trading towns, which were mainly exporters of raw materials and importers of manufactured goods and luxuries, such as oriental pottery, glassware and Indian silks and cottons, were increasingly engaged in overseas trading relationships with similar ports along the countries bordering the eastern shores of the Indian Ocean. Their main trading partners were Gujarat's large and small ports such as Surat, Bharuch, Cambay and Kutch.

Indian trade with the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean Coast of Africa continued to flourish throughout the medieval period. An intense trade was being conducted at Alexandria, Massawa, Adulis, Dahlak, Sokotra, Mogadishu, Zeila, Berbera, Kilwa and Zanzibar with Indians until the coming of the Portuguese towards the end of the 15th century. Dasgupta points to the cordial relationships, in centuries before the Portuguese assumed supremacy over Indian Ocean trading networks, between those Arab, African and Indian traders and their "peaceful sharing of profits" (1979: 408). These commercial links facilitated the trading of African slaves from East Africa, mainly Zanzibar, to India. Slaves were amongst the most important purchase from East Africa which Arab traders exchanged for the cotton of Gujarat. The "peaceful sharing" of profit between Arab, African and Indian traders that Das Gupta mentions seems to have extended to the slave trade too.

Zanzibar offered an ideal location for the then flourishing Indian Ocean trade functioning as a port for the loading and unloading of Africa's produce before it was shipped to India and the Arab world. Zanzibar's convenience for the monsoon related trade led to the intensification of the migration of Arab and Indian merchants, the majority of whom were Gujarati, to the island and to intermarriage with the local population. Some centuries later, the Gujarati merchants established permanent trading posts in Zanzibar and consolidated their commercial influence in the Indian Ocean. As a result, Zanzibar, acting as a gigantic go-down or store-house for most East African towns, where both imports and exports were received and distributed, became the main port of arrival for Indian merchandise. That was why Steere called Zanzibar, "the great meeting place of India, Arabia and Africa" while Oscar Baumann called it the "East African Paris" (Bennett 1978: 187).

In the 19th century, the presence of a significant Indian population in Zanzibar led the British to permit Gujarati language to be taught at school in addition to English. This move was an indication of the secure position Indians had both in the commercial and political life of the island. Zanzibar's linkage to the flourishing markets of western Indian ports was a fundamental stimulus for the remarkable economic growth of the island during that century. Gujarati Muslims and their Omani partners engaged in a network of mercantile activities between Oman, Zanzibar and Bombay. Thanks to those mercantile Gujarati, India remained by far the principal trading partner of Zanzibar.

Indo-Ethiopian Trade Relations

Sometime between the tenth and the sixth century B.C. and earlier, hunters and traders began crossing the Red Sea from Saba in southwestern Arabia to Northeast Africa, largely in search of ivory for the Persian and Indian trade. They had learned to take full advantage of their strategic trading position between the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. They set up small trading settlements on the Eritrean coast, which rose to be the Aksumite Empire. Gradually, they took full advantage of the expansion of Red Sea trade following the Greek colonization of Egypt. Indeed, as Shillington confers, initially it was traders from Saba and Aksum who carried much of Greek trade through the Bab el Mandeb to the ports of Indian Ocean. The rulers of Aksum were importing silver, gold, olive oil, wine, clay works and other luxury items from as far as India and China. Archaeological research in northern Ethiopia has also substantiated historians' claim on the presence of long standing trade relations between Ethiopia and India. The Ethiopian Institute of Archaeology has in Haolti area, now Eritrea, excavated a number of clay works that were imported from India. The principal export of Aksum consisted of ivory and captives for sale as slaves, particularly women as concubines and household servants, to the Oriental world. These captives, notes Shillington, were taken in warfare from the highland communities South of Lake Tana (1989: 69, 107).

The extensive trade traffic of the two countries was mainly conducted through the two principal ports of Abyssinia, Zeila and Massawa. The latter port, which handled the greater part of the external trade of Abyssinia, seems to have been visited by Indian vessels for several centuries. Portuguese navigators have reported that they saw Gujarati ships in Massawa at the time of their arrival in 1520 (Pankhurst 1972: 29). According to Alvarez, in the sixteenth century, merchants of "all nations", including Indians, were trading in various items of their respective countries which they brought to Mandeley, "a great commercial town" in Tigray (Shack 1974: 26). Harar also has been a centre of commercial activity as a result of its geographical location and politico-religious importance. Trade routes linked Harar with the principal markets in the Abyssinian highlands and with Arab and Indian merchants on the coast, mainly through the ports of Zeila and Tajura, but also through Dongarit, Berbera, Mogadisho and Zanzibar.

In Harar, local merchants imported, through barter exchange and direct payment in gold, the following Indian and Arabian items: spices, sugar, antimony, chinaware, needles, pewter, zinc, scissors, knives, razors, fire-arms, carpets, tobacco, snuff, cotton, silk and brocaded cloth. beads, glass, brass, copper, iron and steel, various metal tools including swords, gold, silver, buttons, mirrors and jewels. They shipped out principally rhinoceros' horn, ivory, civet, coffee, cereals, honey and wax, spices, salt, hides, mules, slaves, and gold. They used "Virgin Mary German crown of Maria Theresa, 1780, and strips of raw hide for sandal soles" as currency (Harris 1968 I: 61f). Purchases from the Indian sub-continent in 1852 were valued, according to Plowden, at 133,590 Maria Theresa Thalers, as against only 73,065 from Arabia and Egypt. This indicates that Abyssinia used to trade with India much more than with any other country. Bunyan Indians dominated the Abyssinian export trade of whom one was a certain Currum Chand, who often purchased "an entire shipload of goods" (Pankhurst 1990a: 216). In the interior of Ethiopia, the use of Indian products, like costumes, house utensils, various kinds of perfumes and ointments, spices and jewelry had become a tradition at least among royalty and elites. This has been observed by foreign travelers and also recorded by royal chroniclers. Some of those products can still be seen in Ethiopia's museums and monasteries.

Slave Trade Across the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean

Africa has been intimately connected with the history of slavery, both as a continent of slave holding societies and as a major source of slaves for ancient civilizations, the Islamic world, India and the Americas. Many agree that the main source of slavery among the peoples of sub-Saharan Africa was the prevalence of wars among the various peoples of the continent. "The tribe that mourns to-day the loss of its young men and maidens, is ready on the morrow with heart and hand to carry on amongst others the work of captivity; and the victor of one hour may be vanquished in the next" (Harris 1968 I: 388; II. 322; Lovejoy 1983: 1, 20). Since time immemorial, the war captives of the continent's inter-group conflicts were either retained to work for their captors or sold to other parts of the world, particularly to the Muslim world and India, for the same purpose.

Our earliest information concerning the slave trade on the East African Coast comes from *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, which says that Ras Hafun (present day Somalia) "produces better sorts of slaves" (Pankhurst 1972: 1). It is presumed, with relative certainty, that an equal or probably even greater slave trade than the Atlantic one was conducted in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean since the rise of Islam in the seventh century. Besides, whereas the Atlantic Slave Trade took place roughly from 1440 to1870, the slave trade in the Indian Ocean probably went on for millennia (Lovejoy 1983: 21; Segal 2001: 61).

The trade in African slaves to India should be seen as a further continuation of the general trade transaction that was going on between the two continents. As mentioned earlier, Gujarati merchants used to trade in Africa, selling Indian commodities and buying in return African raw materials that were required back home. The most important item sought by Indian traders was African ivory. These traders had difficulties in transporting the purchased materials from inland Africa to the coast since much of the African terrain was inaccessible and very difficult for any mode of transportation. Besides, since African elephants produce huge tusks, transporting the purchased ivory to the coast was a serious challenge. It was relatively easier to buy slaves who would carry the ivory; and much profitable to sell both, the carried and the carrier, when arriving at the coast (Segal 2001: 159).

As the demand for more labour grew in rising Asian empires, the trade in humans became more lucrative than the trade in ivory or other items. The profit margin of slave trade increased tenfold in the 19th century. It was much higher than the trade in any other commodity as it was possible to buy slaves in interior Africa, in most cases, cheaper than most commodities (Colomb 1968: 96). As the incessant internal war among neighbouring ethnic groups of Africa went on, the abundant supply of slaves could not be hindered. Both the demand for and supply of slaves reached its climax when traders supplied war-mongering groups modern weapons, thereby fuelling the existing inter-ethnic clashes. The Indian Ocean slave trade was "intertwined in the general commercial network" of the region (Toledano 1998: 69). In this way, the slave trade not only accompanied the trade in commodities but also gradually replaced it in many areas.

The profit margin of the slave trade was more in women slaves than in men. In Muslim India, unlike in the case of the Americas, slaves were mainly needed for domestic labour and concubinage and not for plantation labour. Therefore, women slaves had a higher demand than men. Besides, the slave traders used to prefer women slaves. Because, during the long trek on the African terrain, which in most cases took several months, women slaves were objects of sexual entertainment for the slave traders. Women also used to serve the merchants by preparing their food along the journey. Moreover, women showed less resistance than men who very often tried to escape along the way. Therefore, it is assumed that, whereas the ratio of male to female slaves was two to one in the case of the Atlantic Slave Trade, it is the other way round in the case of the Oriental slave trade (Segal 1995: 4; 2001: 61).

Arab and European sources clearly show the selling of African slaves from Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Zanzibar, Kilwa and coastal towns of eastern Africa to the Arab world and India by Arabs and wealthy Gujarati trading castes, one of which was known as Bhatia. Muscat, the capital of Oman, was the trans-shipment centre of the slave trade transporting slaves from these African coastal towns and islands to the Arab countries along the coast of the Persian Gulf and India. Until the second half of the 19th century, thousands of Africans numbering between 10,000 and 20,000, stemming from eastern and central Africa, were annually dispersed to Asian countries via the Red Sea, Tajura, Berbera, and Zanzibar. A substantial portion of those Africans, who are presently known as Siddi, arrived in India through the ports of Gujarat and Bombay. The commercial town Cambay, which was then the major port of the Sultanate of Delhi, was one of the major ports, like Mundra was in Kutch, through which Africans reached the Indian soil.

As mentioned above, the main need for African slaves in India was for domestic work and concubinage, but also increasingly for infantry in the rising and expanding Muslim kingdoms. India had always been a producer of cheap labour and there was no need as such for additional African labour. Nonetheless, despite the abundance of cheap labour in India, many still liked to keep Africans as domestic servants for sheer display of pomp and wealth (Colomb 1968: 23f, 50-2, 58, 85, 100f; Beachey 1976: 6, 48; Lovejoy 1983: 224; Manning 1990: 139).

The Portuguese also made use of African labour, not only in their motherland but also in their colonies. In the mid-sixteenth century, after the Portuguese had conquered Goa, they maintained a regiment at Diu, a port on the shore of the peninsula of Saurashtra, consisting of 600 African soldiers (Harris 1968: 10).

In the 19th century, Zanzibar, whose two-third population consisted of slaves, claimed that it supplied Asian countries with 50,000 slaves per year. But Beachey (1976: 49f) and Bennett (1978: 180) believed it to be 15,000, on an average, which generated about $400,000, an amount equal to half of Zanzibar's annual income of the period. Their estimates of total slave exports in the nineteenth century from East African Swahili coasts to Middle Eastern and Indian destinations were 313,000. Slave exports across the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden were 492,000, a substantial number of whom ended up in India (Toledano 1998: 9). Figures from Ronald Segal, Paul Lovejoy, Raymond Mauvy and Ralph Austen are more or less similar. The total export of Africans since the seventh century ranges between eleven to fourteen million. Raymond Mauvy suggests "a figure of 100,000 for the seventh century; 200,000 for the eighth; 400,000 for the ninth; 500,000 for each of the next four centuries; 1,000,000 for the fourteenth century; and 2,000,000 for each of the following five centuries – or, with his estimate of 300,000 for the twentieth century, a total of 14,000,000" (Segal 2001: 57).

The slave trade based in Zanzibar, Kilwa and Pemba was fed by the slave trade in the interior of East Africa which was channeled along caravan routes until it reached the coast. It is highly probable, based on the existing documents, that not less than 40,000 people were bought and abducted annually from inland Africa to the coastal towns of eastern Africa. Of these, about 4,000 originated from the vicinity of the coastal towns themselves, while the remainder came mostly from the hinterland, extending to Lake Malawi and beyond. "Inland these routes branched out, spreading fan-like into the farthest reaches of the eastern Congo, Uganda and the Nyasa area. Along these routes slaves were drawn eastward from the vast area" (Beachey 1976: 23, 66; Lovejoy 1983: 224).

In Ethiopia, slavery was the direct result of "the unceasing wars" among different groups, particularly those of southern and western Ethiopia. As a result, slaves were the most available commodity in "all the markets" of the country. In the 19th century, according to official Turkish figures and European visitors of Abyssinia, like Pearce, Krapf, Beke, Salt, Rüppell, Degoutin, Ferret and Galinier, an estimated average of 1,750 slaves were exported through Massawa every year. Slave exports via Showa to Zayla and Tajura seem somewhat higher. Harris claims that no less than 3,000 slaves a year were shipped from the former port alone. In the 1930s, Combes and Tamisier estimated an annual export of 2,000 slaves through Matama and Sudan, but the Italian missionary Massaia puts the figure in 1850 at no less than ten times that number (Abir 1968: 116; Harris 1968 I: I.78; Lovejoy 1983: 149; Pankhurst 1990: 244). The trade was dominated by the Jabarti, the Somali and the *Afq'ala.*[1]

Captain Colomb (1968: 28) mentions six Oromo slaves who were bought at Brava (Brawa), Somalia, when the British captured a dhow in 1869 which they destroyed later. Similarly, British soldiers had found some Oromo slaves in another anti-slavery expedition. The slaves were sold at Brava to be exported somewhere to the Arab world. Very likely, the British took them to Aden before they eventually transferred them to India. Oromo slaves were also seen in Zeila ready for export by other European travelers (Beachey 1976: 273; Lucereau 1881: I.4; Manning 1990: 51).

The passage of slaves from southern Ethiopia to Arabia and India through Brava is tenable. According to Abir (1968: 112), merchants from Brava used to come to Bale and Sidama, every year at the end of the rainy season in highland Ethiopia following the river systems of Juba and Wabe Shebelle. Both the Catholic missionary Leon des Avancheres, who traveled extensively on the coast of East Africa and in southern Ethiopia in 1858, and the British traveler and scholar C. P. Beke, who visited Showa and Gojjam in the early 1840s, claimed that there was a caravan trade route in use between Brava and Kaffa in southwestern Ethiopia. Based on the information they obtained from a number of Jabarti and Somali merchants who actively dealt in salt, ivory and slaves of southern Ethiopia, they concluded that commerce and the trade in slaves not only existed but also was flourishing between southwestern Ethiopia and the Indian Ocean. We are explicitly informed that the Kaffa Kingdom and its environs were major sources of slaves both for internal use and external trade. It was from Kaffa that sometimes as many as 8,000 slaves a year were exported via the ports of Massawa, Assab, Beilul, Tajura, Zeila, Berbera, Brava and Mogadishu (Hassan 1990: 140; Toledano 1998: 7; Segal 2001: 96, 102, 154).

During the 16th century military attacks of Ahmed Gragn against the Ethiopian Christian Kingdom, Christian war captives were also sold into slavery, though this time, mainly but not only, to the Arab and the Ottoman world (Lovejoy 1983: 27). Because, the Muslim power of Ethiopia, that almost swept away and replaced the Christian Empire, was supported and supplied arms by the Ottomans to whom the former was recruiting and handing over Christian slaves from the conquered areas.

The Ethiopian slave trade was largely a trade in children, especially girls, the great majority of them being under twenty years of age, who originated from the South and South-west of the country, mainly the peoples of Oromiya, Wolaita, Kambata, Sidamo, Enarya, Hadiya, Beni Shangul, Gurage, Kaffa and Yem. Some were war captives, others were kidnapped and others were bought cheaply in times of famine. A distinction was made between "red slaves" and "black slaves", and while the first were mainly for export, the latter were for domestic use (Hassan 1990: 11; Lipsky 1962: 37, 43; Beachey 1976: 53, 60; O'Callaghan 1961: 64, 117; Abir 1968: 115f; Pankhurst 1976: 2, 22-9; Harris 1968: I. 310, 319f; Shack 1974: 25, 102; Philips (Jr) 1985: 75; Segal 2001: 95).

In coastal towns of East Africa, as elsewhere, prices of slaves varied according to the physical qualities and presumed skills of the individual slave, but were also greatly affected by market conditions. The price went up and down according to the changing circumstances in the source regions, the political fluctuations that determined the safety of roads, the weather conditions that raised or lowered mortality during the passage, and the varying impact of state policies regarding prohibition. Based on various publications (Beachey 1976: 8-18, 60), I present hereunder the average prices of slaves as used in the East African coastal markets in the first half of the 19th century.

To make it simpler, slaves of both sexes have been presented at the respective levels of age classifications and also based on required corporeal qualities.

Table: Average Prices of Slaves in East Africa in the 19th Century

CATEGORY	MARIA THERESA THALERS
Old man	6-7
Old woman	8-12
Strong adult man	14-16
Middle aged woman	12-17
Young adult man	17-20
A young boy of age between 10 to14	18-22
A boy between 15 to 20	20-24
A young girl between 10 to13	22-27
A young woman	50-150
Boy eunuch	80-100

In the second half of the 19th century, the British government signed treaties with several African and Asian countries that lie adjacent the waters, particularly with those countries whose citizens were involved in the slave trade.[2] These countries were compelled to allow Britain to patrol the waters and to stop and search any passerby ship other than those carrying the French flag. Britain was permitted to abort any slave trade conducted across the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean (Segal 2001:152). If a ship was found guilty of carrying slaves, it was subject to fire and the slaves were "liberated" and gathered in Aden, and then concentrated on a certain nearby island, known by then as Slave Island. The slaves were made to lead a lazy life, before they finally were transported to and left alone to their destiny in Bombay (Beachey 1976: 59; Colomb 1968: 261; Harris 1996: 13).

We learn from Captain Colomb that these African slaves had taken with them their drums into the ships when they were sold into slavery abroad and that their "frantic performances" were going on similar to the way it is seen today among the Siddi of India (1968: 280-2). The same chanting, controlled breathing and rhythmic bodily movements followed by trance and spirit possession were seen in most East Africa's coastal towns and in the Arab dhows during the slaves' journey for sale. Presently, the same situation is seen during prayer meetings in every Siddi shrine (known as *durgha* and *chilla*) of Gujarat, Diu, Bombay, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh (Yimene 2004; Watson 1980: 87; Basu 1994: 12). Whereas slaves in the Atlantic were chained, we have written documents testifying that the Indian Ocean slaves took their musical instruments with them and were singing and dancing in the ships.

Harris suggests that Britain needed to create a sentiment of hatred towards the trade in the mind of the slaves themselves if it wanted to suppress it (1968 II: 395).

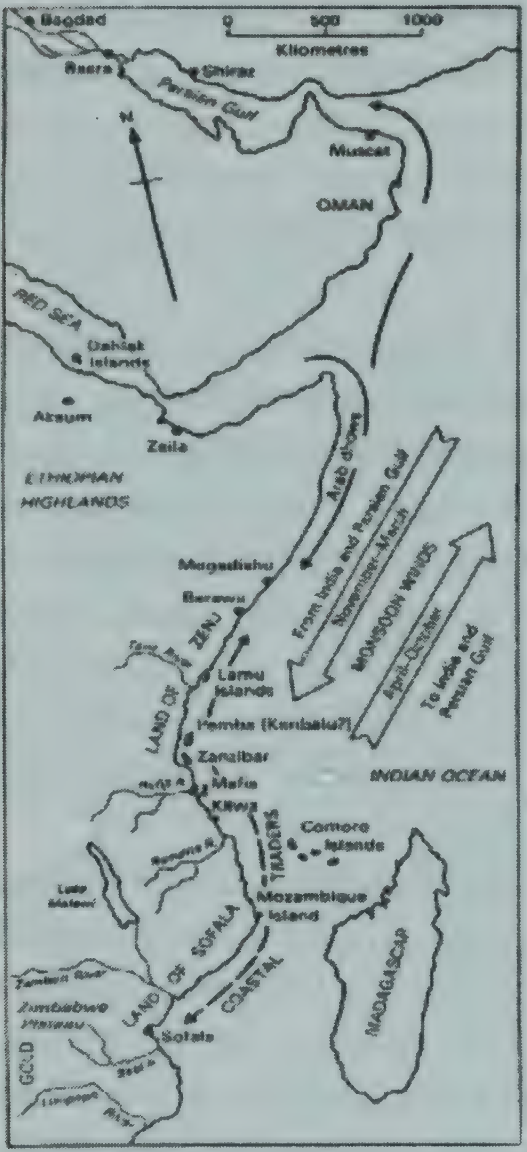
The slaves themselves were the main collaborators of the trade. British soldiers repeatedly found African slaves in the Arab dhows who pretended to be passengers. Nonetheless, the British intensified their campaign and in May 1841 captured thirteen dhows trading with slaves in the Indian Ocean and released 967 of their captures. And in 1833, the slave trade was formally abolished. They succeeded in capturing several slave dhows and in "freeing" thousands of slaves. In order to "solve" the puzzle of what to do next with "freed" slaves, an "African Asylum" was first established some hundred miles from Bombay by Christian missionaries which was later on taken over by the Bombay government.

Many, if not most, of the Africans who are still living in India nowadays are descendants of those slaves whom the British, in their attempt to abolish the slave trade, "freed" from the captured Arab dhows and huddled together in the slums of Bombay and Pune without a thought as to what might happen to them thereafter, or how they might make a living. It is reported that their death toll by far exceeded their births (Colomb 1968: 102f, 349; Watson 1980: 112). What Pasty Mitcher, a manumitted slave, told an interviewer in 1937 concerning the experience of African slaves in America was repeated among African slaves in India. "They were turned out with nowhere to go and nothing to live on. They had no experience in looking out for themselves, and nothing to live on... and nothing to work with, and no land" (Garnsey 1996: 49).

Some writers have argued that in India, after emancipation, the African became a wage-slave especially if he worked for a European employer. It has even been asserted that many "freed" slaves preferred their former masters to their new European employers who demanded harder service and failed to treat them as fellow human beings. Therefore, the "freed" slaves lived under conditions far worse in every way than when they were still slaves (O'Callaghan 1961: 107; Colomb 1968: 350; Beachey 1976: 132f). Manumission of slaves without giving them legal right and access to all the benefits that free members of the society enjoy, particularly land, left former slaves in a limbo, and their situation became worse than before. That is why the Siddi, of whom some are descendants of African slaves whom the British "freed" from the Indian Ocean and dumped in the port towns of western India now lead their cumbersome life as scavengers and fakirs in the suburbs of India's cities.

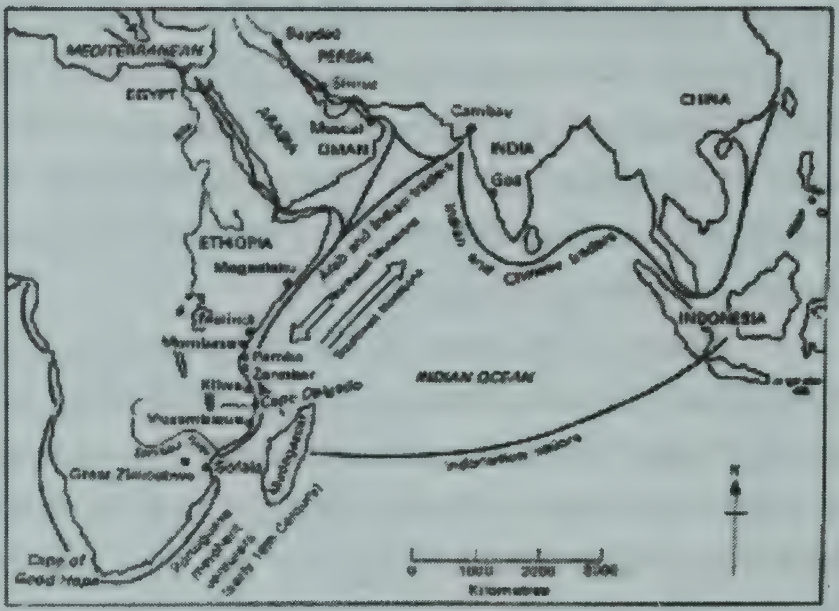
The Siddis are descendants of those Africans who immigrated to the sub-continent either on their own free will or as slaves. Some of the Siddi descend from Africans who were culturally arabized as a result of their ancestors' stay in countries of the Middle East for a generation or more before immigrating to India. Their history is rather related to military service than to slavery and they are known as such by their host societies.

Map 1: East African Coast and Indian Ocean Trade Winds



Source: Shillington (1989: 126)

Map 2: Indian Ocean Trading Networks: Tenth to Sixteenth Centuries



Source: Shillington (1989: 131)

Notes

[1] Oromo traditional merchants

[2] An example of such a treaty is what is known as the Hewelet Treaty signed between Emperor Yohannes IV of Ethiopia and Major Hewelet on behalf of the British government.

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30

The Social, Economic and Political Dynamics of the Indian Theatre and the African Diaspora: The Case of the Coast of East Africa

Bonginkhosi Azariah Bhutana Sikhondze

Introduction

The movement of some African people from different regions of the continent to other several destinations is intricate. To understand this episode it is imperative that the social, economic and political conditions which occurred on the coastal and mainland regions of East Africa be analyzed. The social fabrics that held most communities together on the coastal and inland areas opened up for the abuse of foreigners who visited the region for various economic objectives. At first the foreigners expressed interest in legitimate trade in the region but when they realized that there were certain other activities they could not perform well they thought that Africans could best be suited for those activities which they either despised or found themselves ill-equipped to handle. Agricultural plantations fell under the category of jobs European and Asian settlers delegated to the performance of local races (Bennett 1968: 224). The East African communities consisted of different local ethnic groups. The multiplicity of the communities in the region made it difficult to unite against a common enemy, hence, foreigners found it easy to defeat them and further penetrate the region. The confusion thus created made it easy for foreigners to induce communities to fulfil their commercial interests like trade in slaves. Several communities in East Africa had a long history of involvement in legitimate local and international trade in the 19th century (Bennett 1968: 224; Brett 1973: 1-30).

Coastal areas had traded among themselves and even extended their commercial activities to the inland where they enticed some societies to trade even before foreigners arrived in the region. Put differently, the history of trade in the region went back to early historical times. When foreign commodities were introduced to East Africa to increase the volume of trade with the coastal people there was very little in trading skills that the new way of the exchange of commodities imparted to the people because they were already familiar with the trade concept. Foreign trade could be credited with new trade skills that the foreigners brought to the region. These developments occurred simultaneously with the isolation of communities from one another, and the isolation had bred competition among them for the limited resources available in the region. Hence, the communities became antagonistic to one another. Antagonism was a weakness that foreigners exploited to their advantage. In other words, political disunity was common in coastal East Africa at this time and it was this factor that facilitated the exodus of Africans to other parts of the world.

Apart from Asia Minor, there were other destinations to which the African captives were sent for economic purposes. Topping the list of these destinations was America where most of the major European investor interests lay and had matured in the 19th century. Europe, where the industrialization process had begun, had reached a point where virgin investor areas had been diminished, hence, promising investors had crossed the Atlantic Ocean to break the new ground in America. However, some of the African captives, though numerically limited were sent to Europe where the areas of engagement were limited compared to America. The most undoing to the resistance efforts of Africans to the African diaspora was the collaboration of unhappy sections of African communities with European and Asian enslavers (Bennett 1968: 255). Unhappiness among African communities bred elements among them (communities) which survived on the efforts of others.

Africa has a history of several institutions which orchestrated the enslavement of some groups by others. The latter group was constituted of the unhappy factions of society which often welcomed aliens because of hopes to benefit from that cooperation. African history has numerous cases of collaboration, a development that led to the collapse of some political institutions. East Africa witnessed divisions of the nature that orchestrated domination of some local communities by alien ones and this point has been mentioned above and these divisions heightened the rate at which human exports happened. Hence, today, history talks of Africans who were taken abroad from the time of individual Asian and European travellers in East Africa.

The history of African collaboration with non-Africans is important in so far as it shows that, without this collaboration, the history of the African diaspora could be reading differently today (Bennett 1968: 224). The scale of African exodus could have been lower had it not been for the collaboration that foreigners secured from the Africans of coastal East Africa. East African history refrains from giving names of slave catchers who were either Africans or non-Africans at the beginning of the commerce. Arabs of Unyanyembe are reported to have used the collaboration of African leaders and other ambitious individuals to promote trade in human beings (Bennett 1968: 237-44). Unyanyembe was one of the East African coastal regions that was divided to befriend the Arab traders who arrived to settle there in order to trade with the people of the region. Some of the chiefs were friendly while others remained hostile. Determined as they appeared to be, Arab traders sowed the seeds of animosity among these communities through befriending one community in order to collaborate with it to topple the elements in the region that had remained aloof.

Arab traders were pragmatist in that their friendly neighbours were used to facilitate the entrenchment of foreign commercial interests in the areas. Foreigners were Arab traders whose objective in the interior of Unyanyembe, where they leagued up with some Nyamwezi chiefs, was to hunt for African captives for the purpose of turning them over to the slave markets. Arab traders depended on African collaborators to hunt for Africans whom they turned into slaves. For instance, in the 1820s, Sayyid Said bin Sultan of Muscat, individually, initiated a project that led to more Arabs going to the coast to settle in Pemba and Zanzibar to establish plantations there (Bennett 1968: 224). Sayyid made an impact on the exodus of Africans from the coast and the mainland. Most of the captives were destined for Pemba and other areas of the same region. The final destinations of the captives were in Asia Minor. In 1839, for instance, the figure of captives who were marketed at the Zanzibar market was placed between 40,000 and 45,000 (Alpers 1968: 244-45). If Sayyid alone could make an impact of this magnitude on the exodus of Africans, more damage was caused where several companies also campaigned for more slaves on coastal East Africa.

East African Polities and the African Diaspora

The political organizations of East Africa at the time of the arrival of Asians and Europeans were in their formative stages. East African political institutions were similar to those found in the rest of the African continent in that their characteristic was isolation from one another (Curtin *et al* 1978: 25-34). African communities then were isolated from one another even though that isolation could not be equated to the splendid isolation of England when the latter country began its Industrial Revolution in Europe in the 18th century (Hearder 1966: 68).

In Africa, most of the communities were isolated before the 19th century (Curtin *et al* 1978:174-78). Isolation coincided with the expansion of Asian and European nations to the coastal East African region and other inland areas. This historical development was true of East Africa, West Africa, South Africa and North Africa (Curtin *et al* 1978: 25-34). At the time of the expansion of foreign nations to East Africa, Asian investors were ready to give what was required to win East African trade to their side. Some of them even attempted collaboration in those early years of expansion. Others went as far as to engage in matrimonial ventures if for the sake of winning the support of African leaders to their side. Asian traders competed with Europeans for control over the East African commerce (Bennett 1968: 225). A great example of this competition for the East African commerce was that between the Portuguese and Arabs at the beginning of the 16th century (Curtin *et al* 1978: 175; Shillington 2005: 129-34; Berg 1968: 119-41). Being the first arrivals, in comparison with other foreign nations which arrived early on the East African coast, Asians looked upon themselves as being more of natives to the region than their European counterparts, hence, they made a strong bid for control over the commerce of the region. Though this Asian and

European rivalry for control over commerce started with economic resources, later, it extended to the politics of the region (Bennett 1968: 225).

Among the Nyamwezi chiefs who leagued up with Arab traders against each other were Mkasiwa and Mirambo. Even though the discussion has alluded to a league between Arabs and Mkasiwa, Arab traders proved to be extremely ambivalent in that they did not stop to supply firearms even to the enemy of their colleague, Mkasiwa. This ambivalent Arab character comes out clearly in this contradictory relationship but at the same time Arabs, who were on the East African coast for trade reasons, were themselves divided. Hence, the contradiction. Arab traders did not have any uniformity in their trade policies with Africans on the coast and interior of East Africa.

> *"They were a community geared to trade, loosely directed by a leader, Said bin Salim, whose purpose was not to win battles but to settle the problems that arose within the Arab community. Arab trade, however, supplied firearms to dynamic African leaders such as Mirambo and helped to make him an enemy they could not control"(Bennett 1968: 223).*

The frenzy with which Arab traders wanted to procure the commodities they were ordered to bring ashore from the interior of East Africa caused confusion of an unprecedented proportion. But it was more a pandemonium than anything else Arab created on the coast and interior that facilitated the acceleration of war-mongering situations. It was under such conditions that raids were organized and sent into the interior to create situations that led to more captives being taken away from East Africa to Asia Minor or the Americas. Asia Minor was not meant to be the priority destination for these East African captives but since among the enslavers there were Arabs and Indians some of the captives were sent to Asia Minor. While in the case of the Americas it is known that the objective for sending African captives there was the demand for manpower on the sugar plantations in Latin America such as Brazil, the objectives are not clear for taking captives to Asia Minor. Clove plantations in the Indian Ocean was yet another destination for African captives (Curtin *et al* 1978: 175; Trimingham 1964: 24).

When Asian traders encountered mercenaries their Portuguese counterparts had also met and used on the East African coast to annihilate communities that had proved a hard nut to crack. In the course of the development of this interaction between foreigners and the East African marauders polities began to disintegrate (Berg 1968: 125-26). The political fragmentation of these polities opened up opportunities for the foreigners to harvest the items of trade such as ivory and slaves that had made them visit the region (Trimingham 1964: 24). The commodities that foreign traders harvested on the coast line ranged from ivory to slaves and were taken to several destinations abroad.

The argument in this paper shows that weakness in the organization of polities was among the factors that facilitated the enslavement of some members of communities particularly those that were poorly organized. Poverty of organization showed its ugly head in the lack of a united front in the face of foreign traders in the region. This weakness, more than any other factor, led to the fragmentation of East African communities. In the wake of the fragmentation arose strong ones that replaced the earlier African societies that had lacked the numerical significance they needed to mobilize to defend their resources in the region (Shillington 2005: 129-134). At the end of the 17th century there were Arabs and Indians who regarded themselves as citizens of the littoral but none of these was mistakenly enslaved along with the African victims. Africans became the victims of Asian and European expansion to East Africa. The enslavement process was carefully planned to affect Africans in order to satisfy the ego of European traders by Arab, Indian and European traders. To follow the logic of the debate the fragmentation of communities might have happened before foreigners arrived but the latter exacerbated it. In other words, both internal and external factors contributed to the exodus of African people to regions that lay beyond the Indian Ocean (Bennett 1968: 225).

Arab and Indian traders were among the earliest groups to spread to the coast of East Africa in search of opportunities to support the establishment of their commerce. Later, the expansion extended to Zanzibar and Pemba (Bennett 1968: 225). Arab traders antagonized the Africans whom they met on the coast and in nearby areas, as they failed to mobilize Africans to support their trade on the coast. In other words, some of the coastal Africans were reluctant to collaborate with Arab and Indian traders at the beginning though later they cooperated because they began to realise the benefits that accrued from the trade (Bennett 1968: 226-29). It is important to note that the divisions that foreigners exploited among the Africans in East Africa were not a common feature in the region. Coastal politics has shown that foreigners were accepted generally without much hesitation but even in such cases there were exceptions.

The cases of Mirambo and Isike, Mkasiwa's successor from around 1878 are spectacular examples of the different opinions Africans held about the presence of Arab and Indian traders in their areas. Isike was not steadfast on his domestic policy. Instead, he changed quite often from one position to another. Isike is one political leader who mimicked the Arabs and Indian traders in their relationship with Africans. He did not hesitate to exploit their weaknesses to attain his political destiny. In other words, some African leaders learnt to survive in the confusion that Arab and Indian traders created in the region. Guile and cunning became the means to survival among some African leaders. For instance,

> *"Isike gave the Arabs the obedience they required in return for their support against his enemies, dropping this distasteful role when it no longer suited his interests" (Bennett, 1968: 223).*

Different polities in Unyanyembe held different aspirations about their states and each of these states wanted to benefit from the presence of Asian traders in a unilateral way (Bennett 1968: 225). As such, African reactions differed from one group to another and it widened the gulf that had existed among them from time immemorial. Factually, Arabs and other foreigners noticed the gulf and exploited it to their benefit. Political antagonism among East African polities opened them up for the benefit of Arab and Indian traders (Bennett 1968: 225). Later, the French joined the Asian traders in widening the gulf that different aspirations of chiefdoms had created in Unyanyembe (Bennett 1968: 225). Asian traders in Nyamwezi wanted a variety of legitimate and illegitimate items of trade. At first, ivory was the most valuable and wanted commodity but soon it was followed by trade in slaves. The latter commodity led to the large scale exodus of human beings to Zanzibar from where they were shipped to Asia and other destinations (Alpers 1968: 238-54).

East African history would be different from what it became after colonialism if the polities of the region were not divided and isolated from one another. United polities elsewhere even in East Africa such as the Jiji and Ha had held together in an effort to rebuff alien influences however limited they turned out to be. The Jiji and Ha efforts led to these people burying their differences in favour of resistance to foreign pressure, a point which Bennett alludes to in his discussion of the development of the slave trade (Alpers 1968: 238-54; Trimingham 1964: 24). Arab traders among Nyamwezi communities instigated one of these polities against another in a bid to sow seeds of confusion. In the wake of the confusion thus created, Arab traders raided for slaves whom they sent to the clove plantations in Pemba and Zanzibar. Political divisions combined with competition for control over the commodities that Asian traders wanted were those major factors that facilitated the enslavement of sections of communities in the mainland of coastal East Africa (Alpers 1968: 238-54; Trimingham 1964: 24).

The unity of some communities of the mainland against foreigners frustrated alein efforts to determine the volume of items of trade they wanted in the interior even though these efforts were short-lived. Most of these communities were found in the interlacustrine region of East Africa like the Lake Victoria area. But even in this area Arab traders were not to be stopped dead from procuring items of trade their masters in Zanzibar had instructed them to channel to the coast in transit to Zanzibar (Bennett 1968: 226). Guile and tact were the major means by which even united communities were dismantled and made to entertain commercial activities some of which went against the cultural norms of the people of the interior. The Jiji and Ha did not thwart Asian traders indefinitely because in the end these polities were defeated and forced to cooperate with Asian traders.

The unity of some communities in the interior hung on a very weak political thread that Arab traders did not find hard to cut asunder in order to free the means by which the commodities of ivory and slaves were made to flow to their destinations. For the above reasons history discusses the dispersal of Africans in different parts of the world. That the Americas and Asia Minor were the major participants in the trade in human beings is emphasized by the development of the history of the dispersal of Africans in Asia Minor and America. The economic activities of the 19th century in East Africa emphasized the role of Europeans in the slave trade as though Asians did not make any slave purchases or raids to supply their economic needs both locally and externally. Locally, slaves were sold to plantation owners like the clove plantations while externally there appears to have existed similar markets in Asia Minor and the Americas. History has portrayed Asian traders as facilitators rather than initiators of the slave trade in the period before European arrivals (Bennett 1968: 225-26). Asian traders facilitated the slave trade before European arrival and the slaves were taken to Asia Minor to play domestic, military and other economic roles. But conditions prevalent in East Africa facilitated the creation of commerce in human beings. Outsiders received collaboration from most of the areas where the slaves were raided (Bennett 1968: 226; Shillington 2005: 174-78).

In the mid 19th century, commercial developments heightened to a point where African communities competed among themselves for the economic benefits that world trade offered (Shillington 2005: 174-78). Competition for exotic European and Asian commodities created a state of confusion that later led to the dismantling of several communities. In the wake of these events, slave traders emerged and took advantage of the situation to increase their catch in slaves, and the nineteenth century in East African history is characterized by political collapse where some states rose at the expense of others (Shillington 2005: 174-78). The ascendancy of Arab and Portuguese sponsored communities facilitated the fall of those states that failed to attract the collaboration of the foreigners. Thus, as Alpers (1968) suggests that the number of slaves collected rose. Slaves became an instrument by which some communities expanded to absorb weaker ones. In the process of these expansions the exodus of African captives destined for Asia Minor and Europe increased multi-fold.

African political aspirations in East and West Africa were hit hardest by the exodus of Africans. It led to the adulteration of the tradition that determined leaders in Africa to the point where leaders came from those who collaborated with trade in human beings. These people were among the ambitious Africans, who were used to heighten the destruction of African political, social and economic norms. These Africans were rewarded with promotion to positions of leadership. The slave trade degraded human life and led to the destruction of African traditions that had held the society together. The destruction of African norms led to less protection which, in turn, facilitated the capture of weak members of society for sale at slave markets. The examples of Mirambo and Isike could not be more elaborative of these developments in East Africa where leaders' concern was the accumulation of material wealth at the expense of political stability, social coherence and economic viability (Shillington 2005: 225).

Isike and Mirambo also exemplify leaders who desired to lay their hands on those resources that were crucial to the economic resurgence of their polities which facilitated the disintegration of others (Shillington 2005: 225). Perhaps it is more pertinent to end the discussion on political developments with the observation of Curtin and others:

> *"The arms trade, the demand for slaves and ivory, the presence of caravans and Baluchi soldiers, the development of notables and standing armies, all had an enormous impact on the political fortunes of East Africa's chiefs and kings, but the effect on centralized authority was not uniform. In some places powerful chiefs fell; in others, centralized rule emerged stronger than ever before" (Curtin et al 1978: 406-07).*

The quotation gives weight to the discussion above to the effect that even though African leaders collaborated with foreign traders in order to enhance their chances of improving their political power, not every leader benefited to the same degree (Curtin *et al* 1978: 406-07). There were those who benefited more than others, and were those who became worse off than they were previous to the introduction of international trade and, especially trade in slaves. However, in the end there were political benefits and losses that leaders witnessed in the region (Curtin *et al* 1978). Thus, whether political groups crumbled or expanded, slave raiders benefited because in the case of fallen kingdoms chaos resulted and created an opportune environment for slavers to capture more slaves than they could have done under calm conditions. In the case of expanded political groups, survival depended on continued collaboration with slavers (Curtin *et al* 1978).

Coastal Economic Dynamics and the African Diaspora

The East African coast held the prospect of becoming the centre of international commerce where items of trade between different nations could be conducted. Expatriates on the coast viewed East Africa as an economic asset. Hence, they visited it in order to collect commodities they wanted to sell at different markets. Ivory, as indicated above, seemed to abound in quantities in East Africa, hence, the speed at which Arabs and Indians, the first foreigners to arrive in the region, hunted it in order to market it on the coast and abroad. The frenzy with which ivory and other items of trade were hunted was characterized by its market demand. As though their lives depended on the success with which they hunted for ivory and slaves, Asian traders were ready to do what it took to procure these goods for the markets which engaged them as agents (Bennett 1968: 224-25). In close scrutiny the trade assumed two dimensions: first, it was the initiator's approach which exploited and exacerbated the divisions that existed among the coastal and interior communities. The market demands Asian traders had taken to the coast of East Africa created a drive whose diplomatic execution drove the indigenes of the coast to frenzy. Second and closely linked to the economic situation of the communities of the coastal areas was that the Africans of the coast already had their own needs which could have been salvaged without recourse to the slave trade. Africans on the coast already had a long history of commerce among themselves and with inland traders that needed only a spark to blossom to maturity. This touch was provided by the foreigners who themselves were also driven by excessive economic dire needs from their original places (Bennett 1968).

The mixture of the two factors mentioned above provided an explosive situation which made both races Asians and Africans desperate for a solution to the problems they had endured for years. To the Asians, East Africa provided the long awaited panacea to their economic needs. Bennett's observation, on the ruthless intermingling by the Asians in the African affairs in Unyanyembe, illustrates the Asian desperation for items that were seen to possess the instrument they could use to redeem their economic woes back in their home continent (Bennett 1968: 224-25). Both Bennett (1968: 216-31) and Trimingham (1964: 20-24) observe the extent to which destitution was the main drive behind African competition for the acceptance of Asian traders when the latter appeared in their land. Collaboration appeared a more obtrusive and aggressive means by which some African groups resisted foreign domination in the determination of the economic destiny of the region. However, this approach to resistance was a misnomer in the sense in which it was implemented. Collaboration mobilized foreigners to provide the strategy to combat the elements of domination that pre-existing powerful groups had used to dominate others in East Africa in the formative years of state formation. The examples of Isike and Mirambo were the ones that Africans used to gain power to resist future Asian and European domination on the coast and in Unyanyembe (Bennett 1968: 224-25).

The poverty situation of some East African communities and the commercial ambitions of some individuals were the major facilitators of the process of slave raiding. In the former case, where poverty was used as a means of foreign domination over trade, ambitious individuals and community leaders initiated collaboration with traders of Indian and Arab extraction (Berg 1968: 124-25). Collaboration was mainly welcome to the former because slave raiding called for some firm economic muscle, hence, an individual could not undertake it but wealthy traders could do it through collaboration. But the combination of ambition and poverty were not necessarily the major cause for collaboration because even financially balanced groups under commercial minded chiefs expanded their polities over weaker ones through collaboration (Bennett 1968: 225). Collaboration did not end without some indulgence in slave raiding in order to support commerce generally on the coast and other adjacent areas. While the means to slave raiding might have been political in the sense that wars were provoked among communities, the end result was economic and commercial. Slaves served as an alternative means of capital accumulation either in monetary terms or in other forms of wealth acquisition. For instance, even though guns were a means to achieve political power, they also served as an effective means for wealth creation or expansion. Traders of Asian extraction used every available means that appealed to their African traders to induce their participation in all forms of trade which included even trade in human beings. Conditions in East Africa during the period from the 17th to the early 19th centuries were conducive to the events that have been used to explain the factors that favoured the exploitation of the divisive tendencies for slave raiding.

Given that the East African coastal communities were economically undeveloped at the time of the arrival of early foreigners from Asia and Portuguese from Europe, the extent of the poverty of the African communities was exacerbated by the ruthlessness with which Arabs, Indians and Portuguese plundered newly established entrepots on the coast. When the Portuguese arrived at the close of the 15th century, some Asian traders had already developed some of the entrepots of the coast (Berg 1968: 119-40). It was the merciless destruction that weakened indigenous communities of the region to a point where they accepted to become instruments of any European or Asian craving to amass wealth on the coast. Some of the foreigners both of European and Asian extraction fed on the crisis. Coastal Africans accepted to raid other Africans to supply slave markets on the coast because of the desperately weakened economies. Arguably, the extent of the exodus of Africans from the coast to unknown Asian destinations could have been brought under control but the desperation the plunder created turned the indigenous groups into raiders of slaves. Collaboration that forced Africans to raid one another had become a viable option to survive under the economically deplorable conditions. These conditions had created confusion among several communities. Confusion reigned on the coast and was exacerbated by Portuguese plunder which was extended to Mombasa, an oriental entrepot whose financial base in trade had turned it into the commercial glamour on the coast of East Africa (Berg 1968: 119-40).

The destruction of coastal trading centres did not affect Arab and Indian owners of those cities but the impact was heavier on the indigenous people whose benefit from the trade had already been stopped. Indigenous people had found markets for several of their items of trade but when these markets were destroyed poverty grew and intensified. The option that was open to these people was to offer themselves to the traders to be used in several ways some of which did not auger well with the indigenous cultural practices. Being used as economic mercenaries did not help the people of East Africa to improve their economic standing but worsened it. It was at levels of need like these that Africans collaborated with traders and facilitated the slave trade. These developments increased the socio-economic partners of the marauders of the Zimba, Galla, Segeju and others (Berg 1968: 119-40). As these landless and economically frustrated and fragmented groups increased so did the socio-economic insecurity and misery on the coast and mainland of East Africa. The latter development was yet another factor that was to accelerate slave raiding.

The prevalence of destitute socio-economic conditions on the coast reduced people to lawless groups that lived on crime which involved enslaving one another. The experiences of Unyanyembe and Ujiji, where some financially strong groups resisted trade in human beings while weaker ones gave in to Asian pressure to participate in the slave trade is a case in point (Bennett 1968: 219-26). But it is important to note that the vulnerable groups to the slave trade were not in all cases economically weaker groups but even some of those who were economically strong were raided for slaves. The latter succumbed to trade in slaves to enhance their economic power.

In Ujiji where unity among the inhabitants was strong, and where trade in fish and other items of trade became the pillar of the economy, Asian influence on the inhabitants to trade in slaves was stalled for sometime. In Unyanyembe, division among the chiefdoms was one of the factors that facilitated Asian penetration of the communities and the result was growth in the slave trade. While Asian traders were successful in pushing for commerce in human beings in Unyanyembe they had temporarily failed to do so in Ujiji until trade in legitimate commodities began to lose grip (Bennett 1968: 219). Just as in the case of Unyanyembe, trade in human beings was introduced after Africans had been made trade partners in legitimate commodities. At a later stage when mutual understanding had been built, foreigners began to entice African leaders to trade in human beings. These were the economic developments that finally plunged East Africa head-long into trade in slaves.

The Social Environment and the Slave Trade

At the time of the arrival of foreigners in the East African coastal region, a social upheaval had begun following the flushing out of ethnic groups South of Somalia by expanding stronger ethnic groups. Successful expansion often resulted in stronger groups dispossessing weaker ones of their resources which had become the means for their survival. In East Africa, South of Somalia this episode occurred at the time when Arab traders waxed their commercial muscles in the South, at present-day Mozambique (Shillington 2005: 127). A search for the means of survival had forced the Galla, Zimba, Segeju and others to roll down along the Indian Ocean in search of resources on which to survive (Berg 1968: 76-79). It was in the course of this episode that untold misery befell other groups whose military technology was weaker than that of the marauders mentioned above. Their (marauders) presence on the East African coast was the source of insecurity for most of the communities that lived there. Insecurity created lack of confidence in one another, hence, the lack of unity whose end result was isolation for some while others sought incorporation with stronger groups to secure protection against attacks, and even against being raided by those who formed themselves into slave hunters (Bennett 1968: 216-36).

Insecurity before the 19th century was a common concern to people of the region because the period was characterized by attempts to build states and consolidate those that had already been formed. At the time of state formation, vulnerable groups of people could not defend their states against the attacks of stronger ones (Bennett 1968: 216-36). Uncertainty became the main worry for weaker states not just on the East African coast but throughout the African region (Curtin *et al* 1978: 376-417). At the same time, similar developments occurred in West Africa, South West Africa especially Angola (Curtin *et al* 1978: 376-417). Those foreigners who arrived at this time were favoured by the conditions that prevailed to create a social problem.

Activities of any description along the coast that involved long distance travel for trade participants opened up wide enough to elements that were harmful to life. For instance, the caravan trade routes between the mainland and the coast exposed trade promoters to the menace of those people who had been employed to raid for captives. Arab traders wanted to raise the number of slaves for coastal entrepots. In its initial stages, trade between the mainland and the coast built mechanisms to ensure the safety of lone travellers in search of ivory and other commodities. In other instances the transportation of commodities between the two major points, namely, the coast and the interior exposed traders to ambushes of numerically stronger groups who were better armed than the unsuspecting caravan traders (Curtin *et al* 1978: 376).

Philip Curtin *et al* have made the following observation;

> "At dangerous spots the traders would wait until several caravans had gathered so as to mobilize greater strength in defence. Larger caravans were better able to bargain with powerful chiefs about the exact amount to be paid in tolls" (1978: 376).

The quotation is an indication that the major concerns of the caravan traders were not just the fear of being killed by marauders for their wares but even the fear of dispossession of their commodities by extortionate chiefs; hence, the need to move in large groups. Lack of security opened up the region to risks that resulted in the easy capture of members of communities who were not protected and therefore, landed themselves in the hands of slave raiders. In the long run, numbers of captives who were sold into the slave trade increased until targeted figures set by slave buyers were met. The isolation of trade points also facilitated the capture of people who were taken to slave markets for sale. Slave markets were either on the coast or in Zanzibar placed strategically to facilitate transportation to onward destinations (Trimingham 1964: 24).

The cases of Unyanyembe communities, away from the coastal area, that were turned into slave hunting grounds for early Arab and Indian traders, are historical examples of areas of insecurity on coastal East Africa. The availability of a variety of commodities for trade in the region created an unusual atmosphere where several nationalities met to look for commodities they wanted to conduct commerce in. Ivory was among the commodities that Unyanyembe was associated with at that time in history. Leaders of societies in Unyanyembe did not react in the same way to the demands of some market commodities. Instead, there were two major camps with regard to the trader demand for commodities especially when trade interests shifted to slaves. As such, Arab and Indian traders employed different strategies to flush out slaves and ivory from communities that did not "cooperate" in order to facilitate a modicum flow of trade with communities of Unyanyembe (Trimingham 1964:24). The two Nyamwezi leaders of Isike and Mirambo, in seeking Arab support against each other, created competition that inadvertently led to a situation where lack of cooperation with Arab demand led to a warmongering situation.

It was the uncertainty of the conduct of the people that were raided for market commodities that created a state of insecurity. Insecurity either divided or united affected sections of communities. In the wake of either division or unity some of the affected people alienated themselves from the core of the affected areas. The natural reactions of the affected people were either desertion to look for cover away from the scene of the raids or voluntary incorporation where they offered to be used to bring more of the commodities to the markets. These reactions were natural in so far as they created security for vulnerable groups. All these were efforts aimed at securing protection against being enslaved (Trimingham 1964: 24).

Either of the two reactions did not preclude the enslavement of weaker members of society. In the first reaction, where sections of society were alienated, the raiders found it easier to raid them because they were isolated and lacked recourse to protection. In the long run, they were enslaved and their destinations were either America or Europe while fewer numbers trickled to Asia Minor. The trend suggests that there were more investment avenues in the former two continents than in the latter. It is, however, regretted that statistical evidence has not been provided in this discussion to justify the logic used to place the value of African slaves in each one of the three continents that competed for them. Use of East Africa as the basis of our discussion was to suggest that it was the main region on the African continent that was ravaged by the slave trade. The second African reaction to enslavement was congregation where weaker groups gave themselves over to stronger groups for incorporation. In this way larger communities were formed not only in East Africa but even West African communities built themselves into stronger communities in an effort to protect themselves against enslavement by Asian and European interlopers (Fage).

There are numerous cases to indicate that slaves were drawn from other corners of the African continent but East Africa supplied more slaves to Asia Minor than any other part of the continent. Irrespective of the magnitude of the plunder, commerce in slaves caused loss on the East African region, loss of human contribution to projects which had been initiated by the indigenous people there. These disrruptions had a hand in the deprivation of East Africa of the resources that were to have an impact on the economic development of the region. In his development of the Dependency Theory, Walter Rhodney (1972: 84-102) argued that Africa's economic development was delayed by several factors, chief among them was the removal of resources that had the potential to heighten the economic development of the African continent.

Under social conditions that facilitated African exodus to either Asia Minor or Europe it is crucial to note that the removal of human beings from the region was also a loss of manpower that could have determined the extent of economic development there. It is important to observe that several industries, albeit at the level of cottages, were nipped in the bud by the exodus of able bodied Africans. At the time of the arrival and expansion of Arab compradors on the coast of East Africa extensive destruction of empires and trading entrepots did not occur in isolation but occurred hand in hand with the loss of human life. In the process, economic development was stalled in some of the communities on the coast while foreigners benefited (Rhodney 1972: 108).

Conclusions

The history of the African diaspora in Asia Minor, America and Europe cannot be explained convincingly without falling back on what occurred in the places of origin of the people who were exported from Africa. It owes an explanation to the development of events in Africa that facilitated the African diaspora. This study was focussed on the political, economic and social conditions that affected East Africa and encouraged the exodus of Africans from that region. It has been argued in the text that, without the provocation of chaos in East Africa, the extent of the exodus of Africans to overseas destinations could have been different in the regions that were directly affected. Much as East Africa suffered immensely from ethnic and other forms of divisions, the adverse conditions that international trade created in East Africa worsened the already prevalent divisions. Politically, East Africa possessed strong and powerful polities which resisted Asian pressure to participate in the slave trade but the persistence of Arab and Indian traders to entertain trade in human beings led to the legitimization of such trade.

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31

Some Features of the Economic Basis for Acculturation in the 19th Century Indian Ocean: The Case of Zanzibar

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Since the beginning of the Christian era, the Indian Ocean has constituted, assuredly for those who dwell on its shores, the beginning of a world rather than the end of one. This world was created and supported by an economic system which extended to all the communities around this vast ocean, comprising Oman, East Africa and the Indian subcontinent. These regions played a major role in the exchange of people and cultural artefacts, and in Zanzibar, it reached its apex in the 19th-century because of its strong connection with Oman. In the same century, the steadily thriving economic sphere was confronted with the growing interference of the British Empire that not only tried to govern the Indian Ocean from Bombay, but also strove to settle in Zanzibar.

We have focussed on the structural elements of the economic system as well as on the importance of the individual groups with their own background. Although, all of the aforementioned groups, each assumed a slightly different role in the Indian Ocean, they needed to be allies nevertheless, to continue to ensure the smooth working of the economic system. We, therefore, have described their various roles and the ways they dealt with it themselves, both for the Omani-Zanzibar connection and the Indian Subcontinent, particularly, Gujarat.

The reciprocal interdependence that existed before the arrival of the European great powers had been encompassed in the economic system and it started a gradual process of mutual acculturation across the Indian Ocean. The involvement of the British Empire, however, caused several clashes between their existing economic sphere and the British way of dealing with the economy, especially the slave trade and the notion of nationality as conceptualised by the British Crown.

The Economic Sphere of the Indian Ocean

The economic sphere of the Indian Ocean was controlled by navigation and by making use of the monsoon winds. An Egyptian merchant bore witness to this in the first century A.D. in his famous testimonial: *The Periplus Maris Erythraei - The Periplus of the Red Sea* (Casson 1989: 61).[1] He described an economic system which would rule the Indian Ocean during the two subsequent millennia: the monsoon winds made it possible to sail from East-Africa to Asia with *jahazi* from April until September, and back to East-Africa from November until February. Because of this system, supplemented by coastal navigation with *dhows*, East-Africa could make contact with

Arabian, Persian, Gujarati and other overseas cultures. Obviously, this system was by no means inert and unchanging; on the contrary, especially between 1500 and the 19th century it underwent an evolution in which the historical and cultural interaction played an important role.

Like the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean too can be seen as an economic and cultural sphere, *a world-economy* as Braudel would call it (Braudel 1979 I: 12-33; see also Chaudhuri 1990: 1-19).[2] *A world-economy* is not to be mistaken for *the world economy,* (Braudel 1985 I: 21-22)[3] because *a world-economy* "only concerns a fragment of the world, an economically autonomous section of the planet able to provide for most of its own needs, a section to which its internal links and exchanges give a certain organic unity." (Braudel 1985 I: 22).

An important difference between *world-economies* of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, lies in the physical distance that has to be covered by the sailors. As a result, the monsoon winds forced the merchants of the Indian Ocean to remain on the other side of the ocean for at least six months, which was not the case in the Mediterranean (Alpers 1975: 2-6; Horton 1987: 299; Horton and Middleton 2000: 5-47; Pearson 1976: 7-29; Sheriff 1987: 6-12). These merchants married local women in East-Africa, creating urban culture in a unique way.

The economic success of the cities on the shores of the Indian Ocean can be attributed to the trade in small but valuable products, such as gold, ivory, rhinoceros horns, spices, turtle shells and slaves. From the 8th century onwards, coral buildings became one of the first expressions of the mixed culture in East-Africa. Migration and encounters of overseas and local East-African cultures formed the basis for a particular African culture: the Swahili, a culture for which the rhythm of the monsoon always played an important role. The latter factor is also apparent on the Asian continent.

In spite of the difference with the Mediterranean, it is interesting to dwell on Braudel's concept of a *world-economy*: the rules that Braudel applies to his concept are also applicable to the Indian Ocean. In his first rule he states that *a world-economy is defined by a space that changes slowly* (Braudel 1985 I: 26).

This is undoubtedly a feature of an economic system that follows the rhythm of the monsoon winds. From the border areas of the Indian *world-economy,* merchants were able to travel to other areas by making use of the monsoon winds. As Braudel prescribes, those border areas had certain inertia. Nonetheless, the cities around the Indian Ocean proved to be crossroads of both the economic network of the Indian Ocean, and the local networks in the hinterland. Hence, merchants established contact with other peoples and cultures, and cities came to mediate between the different economic and cultural spheres.

What were the effects of this on the position of the Swahili people on the West coast of the Indian Ocean, and on the economic structure of Gujarat in relation to this area? How were the Gujaratis affected by this, and how did they change their position in the world in reaction to this? Those are the questions that we would like to shed a new light on. First of all, we proceed by having a look at the relationships between both areas, and by analysing the positions of the traders and the merchants. After this socio-economic analysis, we confront it with the British involvements in the Indian Ocean during the 19th century.

The Mediating Position of the Merchants of the Indian Ocean

Different cultures come into contact when people from diverse cultural backgrounds meet. Traders and merchants who established contact had an important function in this process. So did slaves, soldiers and craftsmen who, willingly or not, ended up on the other side of the ocean. We have concentrated mainly on those who had crossed the ocean voluntarily and, as such, have been part of an economic network of which we outline the main features. In doing so we illustrate the mediating position of those who took part in this. This presents an aspect which is all too often overlooked in the relevant literature, since the focus is mostly on the impact and the diaspora resulting from the slave trade (Alpers 1975; Austen 1987; Curtin 1984; Harris 1971; Jayasuriya and Pankhurst 2003; Sheriff 1987). We have used a different angle to widen the point of view in the debate about the diaspora, and to make links between the economic organisation and its cultural impact.

The mediating role of the merchants is exemplified by the description in 1606 by Gaspar De Santo Bernardino of a visit made by Franciscan friars to the Lamu archipelago: "On our way (to Pate) we entered the city of Siu where we found neither Christians nor Portuguese, nor anyone who knew about us, with the exception of two heathen merchants, of whom we heard in Ampaza. These men were natives of the island of Diu, where they had seen members of our order, whose monastery had been built with alms which they - the merchants - had given more willingly than when they had contributed to their infamous temples. These took us to the king's palace, and acted as interpreters since they knew Portuguese very well.... The merchants spent a long time with him [the king] telling him about the Franciscan way of living in poverty and of begging alms from door to door, or living in a cloister where the time was spent in praising God." (Bernardino 1611: 22; Freeman-Grenville 1966: 161-62). They were the first friars who arrived there dressed in a habit with a rope, in an area where Christianity was as yet unknown. Fortunately, there were present at the time, two Hindu merchants from Diu who were already accustomed with Christian clerics and the Portuguese language. They became the mediators between visitors, local rulers and the rest of the population.

Within the group of mediators that took part in the economic network of the Indian Ocean, a distinction must be made between the traders and the merchants, as

John Middleton correctly observes (2003: 509-11). Traders are mobile: they travel and at the local markets they stay no longer than necessary to buy and sell goods. Their stay and their route between the different spheres of the Indian Ocean were determined by the economic system and by meteorological conditions. There was, however, one shortcoming for them, which pointed to one of the most important features of cross-cultural trade: a structure that inspired the traders confidence to trade. Philip Curtin defines cross-cultural trade as an agreement between strangers, "[who] may appear not to be hostile, but they are still not to be trusted in the same full sense that neighbours and kinfolk can be trusted. These problems in cross-cultural understanding in general have meant that cross-trade has almost always been carried out through special institutional arrangements to help guarantee the mutual security of the two sides" (Curtin 1984: 1).

This "institutional arrangement" was for a large part being shaped by merchants. They established and controlled the relations between the producers and the traders, who didn't necessarily have to meet in person. They were often part of the elite of the city in which they settled.[4] From their urban dwelling they controlled the production networks and the means of trade.

We have tried to analyse how they did this, and what exactly their role and position was in society. This has lead us to a better understanding of the cultural exchange between Gujarat and East-Africa.

The Gujarati Side

While the overseas trade was vital for the East-African economy, it was less significant to Gujarat in terms of quantity compared to the overland trade (Pearson 1998: 230-32). In both regions, however, the harbour has the gate of entrance and the place of labour creation for overseas traders and merchants. Both regions received foreigners and sent out their own residents. Apart from the traders and the merchants, the craftsmen formed another group that emigrated voluntarily.

In Gujarat, there existed a great diversity in the nationalities of the traders and merchants (Alpers 1976: 26-27 Pearson 1976: 23-29). Apart from the Gujarati Muslims, there were also traders and merchants from Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Egyptian areas. They conducted business next to Hindus and Jains, of whom the *Vanias* were the most important (Alpers 1976: 26; Pires 1978: 198-99). As far as trade was concerned, the latter were more important in the Muslim state of Gujarat than the Muslims themselves. Even more, within the local Muslim population, it was mainly the converted Muslims who played an important role: the *Khojahs* and the *Bohrahs*. *Khojahs* were Hindus who converted to the Ismaili Shia and recognized the Aga Khan as their spiritual leader, while the *Bohrahs* had converted to the Sunni Islam. The *Vanias* were a very flexible class which brought in a lot of money and were, hence, positively tolerated.

They formed a differentiated, but well-defined group within the Indian society. Their *varna* is *vaisya*, the third of the four mythical subdivisions of the Hindu society. The term *Vanias* is not to be confused with the Swahili term *banyani* (pl. *mabanyani*), which is the general term in East-Africa for Indian businessmen. However, the Swahili language did discern between two "castes" within the *banyani*: the *batia* (*banyani* of the superior "caste") and the *wangia* (*banyani* of the inferior "caste") (Saclaux 1939: 1941).

That way the Gujarati, Muslims as well as Hindus, were active in overseas trading (de Castanheda 1924-1933: I.10). Tome Pires was particularly positive about the Hindus: "These people (the Gujarati of Cambay) are like Italians in their knowledge of and dealings in merchandise. All the trade in Cambay is in the hands of the heathen. ... They are men who understand merchandise. They are Gujaratis settled everywhere. They are so properly steeped in the sound and harmony of it that the Gujaratis say that any offence connected with merchandise is pardonable. They are diligent, quick men in trade." (Pires 1978: 42). The Dutch traveller and secretary to the Archbishop of Goa Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1563-1611), was a bit more spiteful about the Gujarati businessmen: "The Gusarates and Banianes are of the country of Cambaia: many of them dwell in Goa, Diu, Chaul, Cochin, and other places of India, because of their trade and traffic in merchandise, which they use much with all kindes of wares, as corne, cotton, linnen, anil, rice, and other wares, specially all kinde of precious stones wherein they have great skill. They are most subtill and expert in casting of accounts, and writing, so that they do not only surpasse and goe beyond all Jewes and other nations thereabouts, but also the Portingales: and in this respect they have no advantage, for [that] they are very perfect in the trade of marchandise, and very ready to deceive men." (van Linschoten 1985: 252-53).

There was a basis for cultural mediation in the reception as well as in the expedition of traders and merchants. The sheer diversity in products and regions could but add to the variety; but, however highly differentiated the trade might have been, it was unmistakably well-organized. The financial assets were provided by the *shroffs*.[5] They granted the traders and merchants with *hundis* (credit letters for long distance trade or short term loans, which provided the Gujarati economy with the necessary capital). The *Vanias* were organised in *mahajans* (Alpers 1976: 28). These were communities of businessmen which were classified per sector. A Sheth headed these guild-like structures. Participation in such a *mahajan* transcended the caste-structure of society, because it was only applied to business, not to the religious-ritual aspects of the community. The *mahajans* dealt with prices, disputes and external relations.

Within this structure, Africans in Gujarat enjoyed a recognized status outside of the Hindu caste-system (Patel 1991: 17-24). Most Africans arrived in Gujarat as slaves, and were known as *Sidis* or *Habashi.*[6] Some of them became rich and powerful, and held important political and military positions in politics and armed forces. Two well-known Ethiopian immigrants were Mandal Dilawar Khan and Yakut Sibit Khan Habshi, both of whom earned the title of *ulugh khan*, and were militarily as well as politically active in Gujarat (Pankhurst 2003: 203-05).

Important characteristics at this point were the notion of the State, and the Islamic view on slavery, which was quite different from the stance that was held in the Americas (Basu 2003: 223-25). They constituted a separate caste, in the same way as the Muslims constituted the *jamat*-caste.

Most slaves, however, did not move up in the Gujarati society, notwithstanding their cultural integration. Most of them spoke Gujarati as well as Shimali (Swahili?), and the Sidis of Saurashtra used many Swahili words (Patel 1991: 18; Thompson 1978: 91). They also underwent a process of integration, and adopted social codes and customs. The Islamic Sidis adopted Hindu customs with relatively few problems. For instance, after the birth of a son, they would sacrifice coconuts in the same fashion as the Hindus did during the *Shrimant*, but they would also circumcise the newborn child according to the Islamic customs. They also introduced the *dhamal* drum from East-Africa, which they accompanied with singing in Gujarati. The African ways of greeting remained customary as well.

The East-African Side

On the Swahili coast of Africa, there were also the so-called "institutional arrangements" in which the merchants acted as brokers between different sections of the population involved in business: between traders who came from overseas, local domestic networks, goods that were offered; and between different languages, cultures and religions (Horton and Middleton 2000: 89-103). They formed the cement of not just the economic relations, but also of the social and cultural relations. They controlled vital commodities such as salt, and goods that had a different value amongst the diverse various groups, such as beads, gold and ivory. To be up to this task, the merchants had to be integrated in a social structure in which trust was a cornerstone. This trust evolved into a semi-kinship. The merchants also gained control over the financial assets of the Swahili coast.

This was the dominant system in the cities of the Swahili coast until the Omani seized power. Already in 1330, Ibn Battuta bore witness to this when he visited Mogadishu:

> *"Among the customs of the people of this town is the following: when a ship comes into port, it is boarded from sanbuqs carrying a crowd of young men, each carrying a covered dish, containing food. Each one of them presents his dish to a merchant on board, and calls out: This is my guest. And his fellows do the same. Not*

> *one of the merchants disembarks except to go to the house of his host among the young men, save frequent visitors to the country. In such a case they go where they like. When a merchant has settled in his host's house, the latter sells for him what he has brought and makes his purchases for him. Buying anything from a merchant below its market price or selling him anything except in his hosts presence is disapproved of by the people of Mogadishu. They find it of advantage to keep to this rule." (Ibn Battuta 1997: 2,85; Freeman-Grenville 1966: 27-28).*

The aforementioned "young men of Mogadishu" that welcomed the traders were members of the urban elite families who controlled the business: *the Waungwana*, the local and urban patriarchate (Middleton 2003: 514-15). They invited the traders to take up residence in their coral houses. In these houses, which were intended to emanate confidence towards their trading partners, rooms were provided for such guests. In Lamu they were called *sabule* (Allen and Wilson 1979: 11; Horton 1996: 60; Middleton 1992: 63-64). One of their specific features was the presence of a separate latrine.

The relationship between the local market and the community, on the one hand, and the traders, on the other hand, was established in the houses of *Waungwana*-merchants. The Waungwana were always settled in the cities, where they would take up an intermediary position between the local producers and the traders who brought products from the overseas. Because the cities were not self-supporting, their position was vital. In a few exceptional cases, they would run a small number of plantations for food production.

The *Waungwana* merchants lived under the political protection of the urban rulers; and they provided these rulers with an income (Middleton 2003: 512-17). So the merchants had to organize themselves as well as possible. Slaves or freemen, *washenzi* (sing. *mshenzi*) provided the labour force, while the patricians provided the intellectual, religious and political leadership. The merchants were well-ordered into houses of commerce, *shirika*, which were organized along patrilineal and endogamous lineage. These *shirika* determined the status of the merchants, and just like the houses, they emanated a certain confidence towards the traders that they received (Middleton 1992: 54-82). Because of the lack of shroffs as they had in Gujarat, and because of the nature of the long-distance relations and trade, the *shirika* came to be a necessity.

Apart from this, there were several other structures in the Swahili society that formed the foundation of the "institutional arrangement". The marriage of the first-born daughter was of particular importance here. In order to tighten the bonds within the *shirika*, she would ideally have to marry the son of her father's brother. This marriage was monogamous and uxorilocal, which meant that the boy move in with the family of the girl. In order to concentrate and safeguard the family capital, divorce was not possible. Later, daughters might marry with cousins, for instance, to tighten the bonds with members of the family in other cities. This marriage is polygynous and virilocal, and the possibility of a divorce is left open here. The union was meant to broaden relationships. The overseas traders could also engage in such a marriage. In that case, the daughter stayed with her parents and served as a "lure" for the overseas trade relations. As a result, this type of marriage created an overseas semi-kinship in an endogamous social world.

The merchants would also mediate between overseas traders and local producers and buyers. The merchants would receive both parties separately for discrete negotiations. They would "transform" the goods that were offered into merchandize or heirlooms (Middleton 2003: 517-19). The latter was often the case with the gifts that were presented by Asian businessmen, mostly porcelain plates which were only shown inside the house in the niches or *zidika*, or were placed in the tombs of the deceased. Carpets or house commodities were no unusual gifts to the African merchants either. These allowed them to show off their power and culture. The Asian traders received animal skins, ivory or local luxury products in return as gifts. This practice implied that these goods were taken out of the economic circulation.

Furthermore, *the Waungwana* merchants monopolized the right to own slaves, ocean-going ships, and plantations on the mainland, as well as symbolic privileges such as the use of the siwa horn during marriages (Donley-Reid 1979: 3-11; el Zein 1974). For this reason *the Waungwana*, contrary to *the Washenzi*, considered themselves as the owners and creators of the *ustaarabu* (knowledge or wisdom) and *utamaduni* (civilization, culture, way of life). Purity was an important notion here, because it was *the Waungwana* who allowed strangers - i.e., impure elements for the lineage - into their homes. For the Swahili status, purity was even a necessity. Under control of *the Waungwana*-merchants these impurities were "transformed" inside a windowless house into wisdom and civilization *(ustaarabu na utamaduni)*. In this manner, the impurities were introduced into the local culture or "acculturalised". Gifts such as porcelain created the social, economic and cultural power to carry out this transformation (Donley-Reid 1979: 3-11; 1984; 1990; 1991: 75-89).

The Omani Side

The transformation mentioned above and the timeless heirlooms as a way to acquire prestige meant little to the Omani who, from the end of the 18th century onwards, started to become influential and seized power in Lamu, Zanzibar and other East African cities (Middleton 2003: 520). The Omani felt that business based on money and political-military resources was much more convenient. Being the leading class in Zanzibar, they would become the mediators between the Indian Ocean and the East-African mainland. They sent traders to the mainland to acquire slaves for their plantations, or commodities for the traders in the Indian Ocean.

Oman became a true maritime nation only during the reign of Ahmad Bin Said (1749-1783), who was the founder of the al Busaidi dynasty (Bhacker 1992: 15-22 and Sheriff 1987: 18-32). He transformed the Omani state into a maritime nation and an expansionist commercial power. He acquired a near-hegemony over the western part of the Indian Ocean, partly due to the position of Muscat, which enabled the Omani to control access to the Gulf. At the beginning of the 18th century, some strategic points on the East-African coast were safeguarded too, amongst them Mombassa, Lamu and Zanzibar. All this was possible because of the weakening power of the Portuguese.

When Sayyid Said bin Sultan (1806-1856) settled in Zanzibar, after an uprising of the Omani Mazrui rulers in Mombassa, he and the Omani who followed him became an Ibadi minority in a mainly Shia area (Bathurst 1972: 98-99; Bhacker 1992: 3-30).[7] This forced the Omani to be open to a different school from that of the Ibadi. They succeeded to a certain extent, but their economic policy and the system they introduced caused a transition in the economy of East-Africa. The Omani thought that East-Africa had a shortage of capital for business on a larger scale, independently of the system that had been in place for centuries in the Swahili cities. This was where the Vanias and the Gujarati merchants joined in, who had a good knowledge of East-Africa because of their presence there for centuries. They were also able to provide the necessary capital, as the Shroffs had been doing for a long time in the economy of Gujarat. This attracted investors such as the Topan family. When, on top of it all, the British Empire tried to gain influence here and the sultan gave the British an entry gate, the picture became very complex.

The superiority of *the Waungwana* merchants evaporated, and moreover, the Omani belonged to the Ibadi school of Islam, while *the Waungwana* belonged to the Shia school. The semi-kinships and the diminishing control of the economic system became pernicious for their urban leadership. The traders of the African mainland as well as those of the Indian Ocean felt looked upon differently in the Omani cities on the East-African coast. While formerly, the economic system we outlined above had been perceived as a bringer of wealth, now the Omani came to be perceived as takers rather than givers of wealth (Middleton 2003: 520).

The Bohrahs and *the Khojahs*, the Vanias and the merchants of Kutch and Bombay took control of the financial aspects of commerce, and they were British citizens in addition. The main thing that *the Waungwana* still had going for them was their trust and experience, and this enabled them to mediate between those who came from overseas and those who came from the mainland, but they were not able to dominate anymore.

Culture Clash with the British Empire[8]

Although they were aware of the existing social and cultural structures in the Indian Ocean, the British experienced difficulties in getting a firm grip on the process of integration in the local economic networks. The more informal functioning of the social networks thwarted their attempts to apply the more formal way of dealing with economic issues they were used to. Moreover, their policy regarding the cornerstones of the economic structure of the Indian Ocean, the slave trade and slavery, did not exactly improve their reception by the local rulers.

Although the British had some attention for these issues, there remained a huge gap between their views and systems of organizing the economic sphere and that of the locals. In order to solve this problem, information on how local merchants dealt with economic issues was gathered through prominent locals. In 1873, Sir Bartle Frere[9] had already expressed his awareness of the substantial significance of this course of action as well. In a report to the Foreign Office, he stressed the importance of local participants.

> *"At my (Sir Bartle Frere's) request Col. Pelly[10] is accompanied on board the 'Punjaub' by M. Muthoridass, a Hindoo merchant of Bombay, formerly resident for some years at Zanzibar, and able, from what I learn through Col. Pelly, to be of very great use to us in ascertaining the relations of the Hindoo Banians with the Slave Trade, and in giving effect to the wishes of the British Govt that they should be effectually detached from much connection. For the same reason I have requested Mr. Kazi Hahabadin to accompany Col. Pelly in the 'Punjaub' and to rejoin us at Zanzibar. This gentleman is an Indian Mohammedan in the British Govt for some years with great credit when he was selected by H.M. the Ras of Cutch, on account of his high characters for the difficult office of Dewan or Prince Minister. In this capacity he visited England three years ago on a mission from His Highness and made a most favorable impression on all who came in contact with him either in his official or his private capacities. Having formed a very high opinion of him and believing that both as an educated Indian Mohammedan and from his position as Prime Minister to H.M. the Ras of Cutch he would most materially assist the objects of my mission."[11] This gathering of knowledge was vital, because neither the European explorers of the past nor the "Arab Invaders" could provide the right and trustworthy information.*

The intention to play the economic game following the rules as they came into being in the Indian Ocean was, however, new to the British. As they were used to act in a territory dominated by the British Empire, most of the Governors in Zanzibar did not realize how penetrating the existing system was for the economic life and the societies along the shores of the Indian Ocean. When Captain Atkins Hamerton, the first British Consul of Zanzibar (1841-1857), on the 4th of May 1841 arrived, he had to act in an environment which was different from the one he was used to from his previous position in Bombay (Bhacker 1992: 164). He was just one of the many actors on the Zanzibar scene. He had to come to terms with the fact that the British grip on Bombay was more dominant than their grip on Zanzibar. Above and beyond, he had to abolish the slave trade by which he repelled most of the merchants' support.

The economic sphere of the Indian Ocean was already fleshed out by Oman, Gujarat and other local participants in the economic game before the British arrived. Thus, the British Empire had to squeeze in between these existing participants. Even in Zanzibar, where the business only started in the beginning of the 19th century, the "loot" was divided up between people and families with long-lasting ties with East Africa (Bhacker 1992: 117-19). Imposing notions such as statehood or nationality on these people was Utopian for the Indian Ocean and Zanzibar. Even concepts such as "Arab", which is often misused to define the Omani, were not applicable.

Zanzibar did not become "the centre of the old Omani trading network." (Cooper 1977: 118) Instead, what was called Omani (or even more incorrect Arab) was in fact nothing more than a bunch of immigrants from Oman composed of Mazaria, Manadhira, Barawina, Nabahina and a lot of other tribes which had settled there already long before the arrival of Said bin Sultan in East Africa (cfr. Speece 1989: 495-515). Even Indians migrating from Muscat to Zanzibar regarded themselves as "Omani", "Zanzibari" or "Swahili".

These "Omani", "Zanzibari" or "Swahili" acted as merchants, often in the roles I described earlier, all acted as cultural mediators in the economic network around Zanzibar. They established contacts between the overseas traders and the local producers. Because of their history, the varied group of Omani from Muscat, however, maintained privileged contacts with the region of Sind and Cutch (Nicolini 2004). Muscat, Zanzibar and *the banyans* seemed to go hand in hand in the economic network. So, it was not that surprising that Britain wanted to set foot ashore Zanzibar and followed Said bin Sultan to the city and island.

Consul Hamerton realised very soon after settling in Zanzibar that participating in the local economic network would be difficult because of the existing privileges and contacts between the participants (Bhacker 1992: 164-70). When faced with the choice between integrating in the economic system in which slavery was a cornerstone and fighting it, he, as a model British citizen, decided on the latter, implementing the British policy of abolishing the slave trade. Although this did not make him very popular with the local merchants and nourished the anti-British sentiments, it strengthened the British mobilisation of their project in East Africa. Moreover, Hamarton was aware that "no negotiations nor remonstrance of any kind, nor on the part of anyone, will succeed with His Highness for the suppression of the slave trade in his dominions unless backed by force."[12]

Some British subjects, however, tried to integrate more firmly into the local way of dealing and producing. For that they needed slave labour, which was the only way to compete with other plantation holders. The anti-slavery policy of Hamerton destroyed any chance of people like Cogan of integrating in the local economic networks. Although Cogan was one of the driving forces behind the Omani-British treaty of 1839, he realised that he could not survive economically without slave labour. While Hamerton fought it admitting with the slave trade was seriously considered.[13]

Hamerton and the Foreign Office wanted to implement the prohibition of trading slaves by all British subjects of the British Empire, also those who dwelt in Bombay and other British dominions. This caused an interesting clash of the concept of citizenship between the Zanzibari government and the British concept of citizenship. Lord Aberdeen expressed this thought of the Consul to Said bin Sultan as follows:

> *"With regard to your Highness's inquiry, whether established themselves in Your Highness's Dominions, where Children have been born to them, are not entitled to British Consular Protection. I have the honour to inform your Highness that every Person born in the Dominions of the British Crown is entitled to British Consular Protection, and that children and grand children of such persons even though born out of the British Dominions, are, by the Law of this Country, equally entitled to British Consular Protection. This Protection, however, does not necessarily absolve here children and grand children from a certain allegiance to the state in which they may be born, provided that in such state the children of foreigners are entitled to all the rights and Privileges of native subjects. No native of India, excepting the natives of those portions of India which form part of the Dominions of the British Crown, can be considered entitled, as a matter of right, to British Consular Protections and your Highness would do well to require from all parties, claiming such protection, to show proof to the satisfaction of her Majesty's Consul that they claim to be treated British subjects."*[14]

The implementation of this law did not only harm the British subjects but also the British Indians born in India. For both of them it was hard to compete in the plantation economy, the more the British Indians were put in disadvantage compared to other Indians, for example from Kutch.

Said bin Sultan did not understand the key of the British problem, since he was more used to the Omani and Arab way in this issue, which was more "tribal", as opposed to the Western way which was more legal. "It was immaterial to him whether the banyans were subjects of England or Zanzibar. He added that he considered the English and the Arab (Omani?) people as one", (Bennett 1961: 123-24), as the American consul Ward mentioned. Said bin Sultan put additional stress on the position the Indians occupied in the local history and society of the Indian Ocean.[15]

Said bin Sultan, however, was very cautious in the negotiations, because he felt that he had to recognize the power of the British. He did not want to lose his face vis-à-vis the other rulers of the Indian Ocean and hoped for some compensation. Gradually, he gave into the British claim, but only after taking a crack at all possibilities, including moving the Slave Market outside town, as was done in Muscat as well.

Eventually, in their quest for integration in the local trade networks, the British succeeded in creating an opening, a gateway for Western interests by which they would try to gain over the others. Even if these others presented a complex web of mutually interdependent relationships, the British Empire eventually wrought itself a path in between the vast variety of communities around the Indian Ocean. They cleared the decks for self-styled and more formal Western ways to conduct business and to deal with the cards, in an intricate web of more informal large-scale trade and its inexorable dynamics on the local level. In short, the way was wide open to formalize the economic networks. But behind those seemingly complex sets of connections, meanwhile, the very same engine was still at work: the mechanism of the monsoon winds, ensuring the contacts between the hinterlands and the overseas territories all around the Indian Ocean.

Notes

[1] Two runs beyond this island [Pyralaoi] comes the very last port of trade on the coast of Azania, called Rhapta ["sewn"], a name derived from the aforementioned sewn boats, where there are great quantities of ivory and tortoise shell. (Casson 1989: 61).

[2] Giorgio Borsa tested Braudel's views by the historical evolutions around the Indian ocean as well (Borsa 1990: 3-14). A more detailed comparison between Braudel's concepts and applications for the Indian Ocean has been dealt with in Biesen (2006: 122-27).

[3] "*The world economy* is an expression applied (by Braudel) to the whole world. It corresponds (…) to 'the market of the universe', to 'the human race, or that part of the human race which is engaged in trade, and which today in a sense makes up a single market." (Braudel 1985 I: 21-22).

[4] This, however, is not an academic elite, which could outline the discourse with regard to its identity. This is a reference to an elite that forms and participates in the urban economic and cultural preoccupations. Lack of an intellectual elite in the 20th century can be seen as one of the causes why the diaspora in the Indian Ocean remained relatively unknown compared to the diaspora in the Atlantic (See, Alpers 2003: 32).

[5] *Shroff* is derived from the Arab word *sarraf*, which means banker (Pearson 1976: 21; Torri 1990: 47-79).

[6] According to Lodhi, both terms are exchangeable. *Habashi* nominates those who come from Abyssinia, Ethiopia and *Sidi* refers to the Islamitic-Arabic context of the *sayyid*. Both, however, got in India a broader meaning and refer to Indians of African origin (Basu 2003: 225-27; Lodhi 199: 83-87; Pankhurst 2003: 190).

[7] The religious aspects have been dealt with in: Hoffman 2004: 201-16; Kaylani 1979: 567-79.

[8] The research for this paragraph has been done in the National Archives of Zanzibar in August 2005.

[9] Sir Bartle Frere (1815-1884) was one of the leading men in mid 19th-century British India. He spent most of his career in India where he was Governor of Bombay in the 1860s.

[10] Colonel Lewis Pelly was the British Consul of Zanzibar from 1861 till 1862.

[11] ZA AA1/10 *ir Bartle Frere to the Foreign Office (4/1/1873),*f° 38r - 41r.

[12] ZA AA3/1 *Hamerton to Foreign Office,* (30/8/1841), f°1.

[13] "I have received your Despatch marked Slave Trade n° 2 of the 15th April last on the subject of a scheme said to be in contemplation by the firm of Cogan and Co of Zanzibar for purchasing for a term of years the services of slaves as agricultural labourers and servants, after the Expiration of which term of service such slaves are to become …." ZA AA1/3 *Foreign Office to Hamerton* (29/6/1844), f° 5.

[14] ZA AA1/2 *Aberdeen to Said bin Sultan* (12/2/1846), f° 119r-121r.

[15] "Maintenent, j'ai à vous informer que nombre d'individus natifs des Indes sont établis à Zanzibar que depuis 10 ans, que depuis 15, et même 20 ans, Lesquels sont sa famille et beaucoups d'enfans sont nés ici; ces Gens posedent des biens et de tems semblable à celle des autres Arabes, on donc ces peuples sont elles sous la jurisdiction des Arabes, comme il serait dans les autres Pays ou elles voyages ou bien sous celle de Consul & Il en est de même pour les Royas de Raura, habitants des Kesh. "Notre ami le Capitaine Cagan nous a dit dans le papé que ces Individus sont raclus de la protection (litt. Arab de la liste). Maintenant nous desirons un explication de votre part pour connaitrela verité, et pour savoir à quoi nous se tenir, ainsi voux m'oblige infiniment pas une prompte exposé."ZA AA1/2 *Translation of a letter of Said bin Sultan to king Theodorowos (of Ethiopia),* (28/9/1845, transl. 13/9/1846), f° 111r-111v.

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32

The Bombay Africans and the Freretown Settlement

Clifford Pereira

The history of the so-called "Bombay Africans" or "Bombayans" is hardly known to people apart for a few academics in East Africa (Harris 1977: 52). It is a story that encompasses the processes of the Indian Ocean slave trade and its abolition, following a group of Africans, from Africa to India and then their repatriation from Asia back to East Africa, that formed a specific community.

Despite the parallels with the Atlantic slave trade and the establishment of Freetown, Sierra Leone and the state of Liberia, there are also some distinct differences both in the processes that created the community and in the contribution made by the Bombay Africans to the social and political development of East Africa.

Ethnic Origins of the Bombay Africans

The so-called Bombay Africans owe their origin to a wide area of East Africa. The careful recording and archiving of data in East Africa and in Europe, the personal biographies of several Bombay Africans and liberated slaves, and the recorded oral testimonies of members of the community in Kenya provide a good insight into the area of Eastern Africa affected by the Indian Ocean slave trade in the nineteenth century. This is reflected in the ethnic composition of the people who later became known as the Bombay Africans.

Research by Joseph Harris who has done much of the research on the Freretown settlement suggests that many of the women among the Bombay Africans were from the Galligna/Oromo (Cushitic) speaking peoples of Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia (Segal 2001: 154; Ogot 1981: 176). These slaves were particularly prominent in the markets at Gondar and Gallabat and in the Red Sea slave trade (Segal 2001: 154). Towards the later half of the nineteenth century, some of these slaves were in fact Christians (Segal 2001: 154). There was also some trade in Oromo peoples arriving at the Indian Ocean, particularly at the Somali ports of Mogadishu and Brava as mentioned by Captain Sulivan on board the HMS *Daphne* in the mid-nineteenth century (Colomb 1968: 28, 272). These Galligna-speakers were often termed "Abyssinians" by the British and French, and "Habeshi" by the inhabitants of India and Persia. In Eastern Africa, these people are often called by the derogatory term "Galla".

Further South, the islands of the Lamu Archipelago were receiving some slaves from the Oromo and larger numbers from among the Bantu-speaking Pokomo, Mijikenda, Kamba, Taita and Taveta peoples of Kenya.

The area known as the Mrima along the coast of Kenya and northern Tanzania provided many of the slaves for the plantations of the islands and adjacent mainland under the Sultanate of Oman/Zanzibar. However, slavery was not just limited to the coastal areas. The slave routes stretched far into the interior, through Kitale in western Kenya into eastern Uganda (Huxleye). These slaves would have been brought down to the markets of Lamu, Malindi, Mombasa and Wasini.

The slave markets of Bagamoyo were fed by way of an extremely busy route through Kazeh (near Tabora) in central Tanzania and Ujiji on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. Feeding into the same route was one from the Buganda kingdom in Uganda along the north-western shore of Lake Victoria. Research by the author tracing the origins of an African called Cupid who was liberated by the British Royal Navy vessel HMS *Daphne* around 1868 suggested that he was originally from the Bunyoro kingdom of western Uganda.[1]

One famous liberated African known as Chengwimbe who was later known by the Christian name of Mathew Wellington came from the Yao tribe in southwestern Tanzania and Malawi.[2] Slaves from among the Nyassa and Yao made up the majority of the slaves brought to Kilwa, and were then shipped to Zanzibar (Colomb 1968: 20-29; Clarence-Smith 1989: 132). David Livingstone at the end of his Zambezi Expedition had, in fact, taken a few liberated Africans to India. Chuma, Wakitani, Susi and Amoda had been among the slaves freed by the missionaries from the Ajawaa in 1861. Wakitani was originally from the Shire Highlands of Malawi.

In the area under Portuguese influence and the Comoro Islands there was a flourishing trade in the Makonde people of Northern Mozambique. This trade was centred on the island of Mozambique and the Ibo Islands. There was also considerable trade along the Zambezi valley fed by routes into the present day Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The Bombay African, called Legett, was one of the unfortunate persons sold into this trade.

An interesting contrast between the slavery of Eastern Africa and that of the Atlantic system is that throughout the nineteenth century the Indian Ocean slave trade involved both Africans and non-Africans. It must be noted that domestic slavery was already in existence among some Eastern African societies such as the Buganda, Bunyoro, Yao, Nyassa, Tonga and Merina (Wills 1985: 76-77). Additionally, plantation and domestic slavery was endemic among the Islamic societies of the Somali, Swahili and Comoro Islanders. In fact, it was the availability of Bantu slaves that enabled the Somali pastoralists in southern Somalia to take up agriculture in the 1830s and 1840s.

The expanding inland kingdoms of eastern Africa, such as that of the Baganda in Uganda and the Nyamwezi in central Tanzania were responsible for initially capturing slaves from adjoining areas. By the second half of the nineteenth century the caravans to the coast were in the hands of the local Arab, Swahili and Somali traders and the slave trade was often accompanied by the ivory trade – the slave carried the ivory tusks to the coast (Segal 2001: 160). Bagamoyo was the main coastal terminus for the Nyamwezi trade (Colomb 1968: 29). The major exception to this African-on-African slavery was in the Zambezi valley where Portuguese or Afro-Portuguese slavers were active. The trade to Brazil from Mozambique continued into the 1840s and was only formally ended in 1853. However, it continued throughout the second half of the nineteenth century until it was abolished in Brazil in 1888 (Sulivan 1967: 170). Apart from Brazil, the Portuguese also shipped slaves from Mozambique to the French at Reunion and to the Cacao plantations on Sao Thome in the Bay of Benin (Wills 1985: 77).

At the Indian Ocean or Red Sea coasts, Arabs and Indians financed the caravans (Segal 2001: 156). The shipment to Asia, Madagascar or the Mascarene Islands (Mauritius, Reunion and Seychelles) was in the hands of Arabs, Swahili merchants and Europeans. Through much of the period between the seventeenth and the early nineteenth centuries, the bulk of the slaves bound for the sugarcane fields of the Mascarene Islands were from Madagascar (Clarence-Smith 1989: 166). However, this trade decreased after 1820 when the island increasingly came under the influence of the European missionaries. In 1865, the Hova queen of Madagascar signed a treaty with the British that gave the Royal Navy the right to search any Malgashe (or Malagasy) or Arab vessel suspected of being involved in the slave trade (Colomb 1968: 314). After 1820 and up to 1840, the major source of the slaves to the Mascarene Islands was from mainland East Africa where it was dominated by Portuguese and French vessels. In 1861 and 1862, the Royal navy delivered a total of 399 liberated slaves to the Seychelles (Burton 1966: 11). The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by the introduction of indentured labourers, mainly from India, to the Mascarene Islands in the form of neo-slavery. As a result, the component of Malgashe slaves and slaves bound for the Mascarene Islands made up a small proportion of the contribution to the Bombay African community.

The ethnic origins of the Bombay Africans can, therefore, be seen to vary in geography and period throughout the nineteenth century, and it takes a more detailed research to seek the most important ethnic influences that contributed to the Bombay African community. However, it would probably be fair to say, based on preliminary research, that the origin of most Bombay Africans lay in the area from modern day southern Ethiopia, southern Somalia, South to northern Zimbabwe and northern Mozambique and inland to western Uganda, Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia. Therefore, the biggest contribution was from the Bantu-speaking peoples. The Red Sea and Sudanese slave trade as well as the trade southwards from Mozambique made little or no contribution to the Bombay Africans. It will become clear in this paper that the slave trade between 1855 and 1870 was to be especially crucial to the development of the Bombay African community and that the Royal Navy vessel HMS *Thetis* would play an important role in those events.

Abolition and the Royal Navy

The abolition of slavery in the Indian Ocean followed that of the Atlantic Ocean. Initially, agreements were made by the British to stop the trafficking of slaves in the sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf, with the Shah of Persia, with Mukalla and some Somali chiefs in northern Somalia. The Moresby Treaty of 1822 signed by the Sultan of Muscat prohibited the sale of slaves to Europeans and allowed the Royal Navy to enforce the treaty (Al-Maamiry 1985: 84). The Abolition Act of 1811 and the Indian Government Act of 1843 reduced the trade within the British Indian Presidencies, and placed pressure for the abolition of trade within the Independent (or "Princely") Indian states (Harris 1977: 16).

As early as the 1830s, the Africans liberated by British cruisers from Arab slaving dhows in the Indian Ocean were taken to India. In 1835, 200 African children from Karachi were sent to Bombay's Police Commissioner. These children were placed among families, in local employment or in charitable institutions (Harris 1977: 18). There are references to "Abyssinians" arriving in Bombay in the 1840s after liberation from a French vessel off Mauritius.[3]

By the second half of the nineteenth century, half of the nineteenth century liberated slaves were frequently given a resting place on the decks of British cruisers and then ultimately brought together at the Seychelles, Aden or Bombay (Colomb 1968: 24). At both Aden and Bombay, ex-slave men were employed as stevedores and many taken aboard both merchant and Royal Navy ships (Harris 1977: 17). As the main headquarters for the British Royal Navy that spearheaded the abolition of the Indian Ocean slave trade, Bombay was connected, with the entire antislavery campaign. Research in the naval archives suggests that between 1861 and 1881 the British Royal Navy was utilising most of its East Indies fleet to liberate Africans.[4] In fact, the British Navy in India also enlisted so many of these liberated Africans that by the 1850s the government observed that a majority of the Bombay recruited seamen were Africans (Harris 1977: 18). Research into British census records and archival material points to the importance of these liberated Africans to the Royal Navy in the antislavery campaign right into the last decade of the nineteenth century. The Royal Navy often called these liberated Africans "Seedies" or "Sidis". As mentioned above, many liberated Africans found employment at the docks in India and this was the case of the two Bombay Africans, Susi and Amoda, who were brought to India by David Livingstone in 1864 (Harris 1977: 17). Others were employed by the Royal Navy in the waters of

Eastern Africa.[5] According to the memoirs of Captain G.L. Sulivan of the HMS *Daphne,* a total of 322 were liberated from fifteen dhows. All of these were initially taken to Seychelles where they were placed in quarantine due to an outbreak of smallpox. They were then taken to Bombay (Sulivan 1967: 170). The number of slaves liberated by the Royal Navy in the two years from 1868 to 1869 was estimated at 2,179 with more than a half of them landed at Seychelles. Much of the remainder were delivered to Bishop Tozer in Zanzibar and were headed for the settlements at Kiungani or those run by the University's Mission for Central Africa at Mbweni (Al-Maamiry 1985: 84). Just a few were sent to Bombay and Aden (Sulivan 1967: 264). As the slave trade began to decline along the coast of East Africa due to the actions of the Royal Navy, there was an increase in the Red Sea trade.

The Founding of Nasik and the Establishment of a Link with the Missions in East Africa.

By the 1870s, European and Indian families in Bombay were requesting and receiving liberated Africans as domestic workers (Harris 1977: 18). There was some concern by Christian missionaries that liberated slaves would fall under the influence of Hinduism and Islam (Sulivan 1967: 264). Meanwhile, the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1871 had already discussed the use of the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) mission at Nasik and the missions at Mauritius and Seychelles as settlement areas for these Africans (Sulivan 1967: 431).

The establishment of Christian missions in East Africa ran alongside the establishment of the Nasik Orphanage in India. Nasik is about 187kms Northeast of the present day Mumbai. In 1844, Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810-1881) arrived at Mombasa with his wife and newly born baby in the hope of establishing a mission among the Galligna peoples. Within three months of their arrival, the family was struck with malaria, which killed Mrs Krapf and the baby (Ingham 1963: 88). Johann Krapf was joined by the Rev. J. Rebmann, and the two men eventually established a mission 25 kms inland of Mombasa at Rabai. This mission, which lay on a slave trading route, was to be a base for expeditions among the Akamba and Chagga peoples and would lead to the first recorded European sightings of Mt. Kenya and Kilimanjaro (Huxley 1990: 26). In 1846, the Rabai mission opened the first mission school in Kenya (Raju 1973: 2). Up to this point education for Africans in Kenya had been restricted to the Moslem "Madrassa" schools attached to various mosques along the coast.

In December 1849, the Rev. W.S. Price and his wife, both members of the Christian Missionary Society (CMS), arrived at Bombay from England.[6] There were two other missionaries established at Nasik at this time, the Rev. Robertson and the Rev. Rogers.[7] There was a suggestion to establish a small asylum at Nasik (also called Nassick or Nassuck) by 1850 though there is no evidence of any ex-slave being housed there.[8] It appears that Rev. Robertson had initially opened the asylum for orphaned Indian girls. By 1853, freed slaves were initially housed at an asylum that was established in Bombay.[9] In the following year, Rev. Robertson proposed that the Christians of Bombay be brought together to establish a Christian village.[10] It is not clear whether Robertson was proposing this for the local Anglican Indian or for the African congregation at the Bombay asylum. But he was clearly not looking at the larger Catholic Goan or Anglo-Indian community that was already well established at Bombay. In any event, in 1848, the Rev. Price founded a Christian village near Nasik, which was called Sharanpur (City of Refuge) (Harris 1977: 19). In August 1855, the Rev. Price joined the Rev. C.C. Menge at the Nasik station and noted that there was a "native" congregation of only thirty people.[11] Assuming that the "natives" here were Indians and not Africans, it seems that initially this settlement was for Indian converts to Christianity and that it was not much of a success. One of the notable points in the images held by the National Maritime Museum (Greenwich) was that the images of slaves liberated by the Royal Navy often included a very high number of children and women posing on the decks of the Royal Navy vessels.[12] And so, this Nasik station might have become an asylum for freed African slaves. It came to be known as the Nasik Orphanage. Most of these Africans were either children or young adults. Funding for the Nasik settlement now came from fines imposed on convicted slave dealers in India (Harris 1977: 19).

Sir Bartle Frere, who was appointed Governor of Bombay in 1867 was an opponent of the East African slave trade and so it is no surprise that in the same year the government of the Bombay Presidency began making annual awards from the public revenues for the Nasik Orphanage (Harris 1977: 19). At the recommendation of Sir Bartle Frere, the Bombay Africans proved an important source of interpreters and assistants during the voyages of exploration in Eastern Africa. The gun-bearers, Seedi Mubarak Bombay and Muinyi Mabruki, who accompanied Richard F. Burton and John Hanning Speke on their expedition of 1857-58, were probably Bombay Africans (Burton 1860: 21-22, 103). It is interesting here that Mubarak was known as both "Seedi" and "Bombay", Seedi (or Sidi) being the common Indian term for a free African and especially one that was a Moslem. Thus, we have one of the first references to a free African known as "Bombay". Sidi Bombay was to accompany Speke in 1860 to Lake Victoria and then down the Nile to Cairo and back to Zanzibar by sea. In 1873, Sidi Bombay crossed Central Africa from the East coast to Benguela on the West coast with Cameron and then returned by ship to Zanzibar in 1876 (Ingham 1962: 93-94). Another Bombay African, David George, worked as a catechist at the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) mission at Rabai until 1874, though he may have been at Rabai earlier and it is quite likely that the explorer, Richard Burton, met David George at Rabai in 1857 when he delivered a letter from the CMS in London to Rebmann. By this time Krapf had left

East Africa (Huxley 1990: 26). Here we see the start of the links between the Bombay Africans and the missionaries.

On one occasion, around 1860, the Nasik asylum received 200 slaves that had been liberated from an Arab dhow by the British cruiser HMS *Thetis* off Somalia. The dhow had originally set sail from Kilwa with between 200 and 300 enslaved Africans, including some from the Yao tribe. Many of the sick were thrown overboard before the dhow arrived at Zanzibar (Harris 1977: 22-23). The dhow then sailed onto Mogadishu where some Galligna/Oromo slaves were taken on before she proceeded to Arabia. After the HMS *Thetis* intercepted the dhow, the liberated slaves were first taken to Aden before being landed at Bombay (Harris 1977: 17). Among this group were six young men including Chingwembe, Benjamin Rutton, Richard Rutton, Mabruki and Jacob Wainright. Chingwembe later took the name of Mathew Wellington upon his baptism at Nasik.[13] The *Thetis* group were to form the nucleus of both the Nasik Africans and the Bombay Africans of both Freretown and Rabai. Nasik was by no means the only refuge in India for liberated Africans. Africans were accepted at the Roman Catholic Mission at Bandora and the American mission at Poona (Pune) (Harris 1977: 18). The Free Church of Scotland had also founded a mission school in Bombay and we know that Livingstone had found places there for Chuma and Wikatani in 1864 (Jeal 1974: 296).

Including the *Thetis* group, Captain Sulivan estimated that between 1860 and 1874 about 200 Africans were received at the Nasik Orphanage. Many of the Africans were taught to read and write in Hindi and in English and given some training as catechists and teachers (Colomb 1968: 101-02). They were also taught to play cricket and skills such as carpentry and smithy, and embalming. Mathew Wellington trained as an embalmer. It was around this time that the community on the whole became known as the "Bombay Africans".

Probably at the suggestion of the Rev. Price, Johannes Rebmann recruited two Bombay Africans in 1864 for his mission at Rabai, William Jones, a blacksmith and Ishmael Semler, a carpenter. These two African missionaries arrived with their Galligna wives. Another Bombay African, William Jones worked at Kisulitini in 1865 and at the University's Mission in Zanzibar in 1867 (Harris 1977: 20).

David Livingstone visited Bombay in 1865 prior to his expedition to Africa. He stayed with Sir Bartle Frere. Here Livingstone found the four Africans that he had brought to Bombay in 1864 at the end of his Zambezi expedition (Jeal 1974: 296). Wikitani and Chuma were still at the Free Church of Scotland mission, and Susi and Amoda had been working at the docks (Jeal 1974: 296). Frere recommended that Livingstone choose some of his next party from the Nasik school (Jeal 1974: 296). Five Nasik Africans (including Mabruki, James and Gardner) accompanied Livingstone on his expedition from Nyassa to Tanganyika (1866-1869). On this expedition, Wikitani actually made it back to his homeland in Malawi (Harris 1977: 19). By the middle of 1870, six of Livingstone's followers had deserted him and he was down to three, Chuma, Susi and the Nasik boy Gardner (Jeal 1974: 294). James had been taken captive and killed by the Munyuema.

By 1872, the Nasik Orphanage had sixty-nine inmates of which twenty-four were girls (Colomb 1968: 101-02). We have no idea what happened to the rest of the former inmates including the majority of the *Thetis* group numbering over a hundred. It is possible that some were dispersed to other missions in India. We do know that William Jones had returned from Rabai to Nasik in 1871 to recruit more settlers and this may account for reduced numbers of inmates (Harris 1977: 21). On February 6, 1872, five Bombay Africans, Mathew Wellington, Jacob Wainright, William Benjamin, Kalos and Legget, left Nasik and accompanied H.M. Stanley during his search for Livingstone. Mathew Wellington was one of the *Thetis* group that had arrived at Nasik in the 1860s (Harris 1977: 23). On the 9th August, an advance party of Stanley's men marched into Unyanyembe and encountered Livingstone. They were followed by the main party, including the five Bombay Africans from Nasik, and possibly one more former Nasik inmate who was hired in Africa (Jeal 1974: 357). All six Bombay Africans returned to Freretown, where they were recruited, to take stores and medical supplies to Livingstone who was waiting at Kazeh near Tabora. They met up with Livingstone and set off with him for Central Africa, where Livingstone died. It was Mathew Wellington, known as "Bombay" who embalmed Livingstones' body. Mathew Wellington, Susi and Jacob Wainright then accompanied the body to Bagamoyo in January 1884. However, only Wainright made it back to London in time for the funeral ceremony at Westminster Abbey. Wainright's passage was paid by the CMS as a fund-raising exercise (Jeal 1974: 369). The British Consul at Zanzibar was initially reluctant to cover the cost of sending Chuma and Susi to London, and these two Bombay Africans eventually made it to London after the funeral ceremony (Jeal 1974: 360). Wainright, therefore, became one of the best-known Bombay Africans in the late nineteenth century. Kalos, Jacob, Wainright and Susi settled in Zanzibar. Legget and William Benjamin returned to Mozambique as missionaries. Mathew Wellington returned to Zanzibar and was then brought to Freretown as a missionary.

In 1872, the Sultan of Zanzibar was dependent on the Royal Navy to maintain his power in eastern Africa and to secure dominion primarily from the growing French presence in the Indian Ocean. As a result, Sultan Barghash conceded to British pressure and agreed to the treaty of 1873 whereby he was bound to suppress any trade in slaves by sea and to close all slave markets in his dominion.[14] The terms of the treaty effectively ended the Indian Ocean slave trade from East Africa, though not that across the Red Sea from Ethiopia, Sudan or Egypt. With this treaty, the need for an orphanage at Nasik for freed slaves was also reduced.

The Freretown and Rabai Settlements.

In 1872, Sir Bartle Frere was sent on a special mission to Zanzibar. His primary aim was to negotiate a more effective treaty for the suppression of the slave trade. The negotiations resulted in the 1873 treaty.[15] However, while in East Africa he visited the Rebmann mission at Rabai and was pleased with the work of the Bombay Africans. On his return to England, he urged the CMS to provide a refuge for freed slaves at Mombasa. At the time, the island was in the hands of a governor appointed by the Sultan of Zanzibar and the dominant local Arab –Swahili (or Afro-Shirazi) families were opposed to a refuge for slaves on the island. For these reasons, a site was chosen on the northern (or Nyali) mainland. Discussions were held between the British parliament, the CMS, the University's Mission and the Anti-Slavery Society in London, and the Rev. Price and his wife were sent to Mombasa where, in 1874 the Freretown settlement was established on the northern or Nyali mainland opposite the island of Mombasa. Mathew Wellington, the Bombay African who had been recruited by Stanley, arrived at Freretown from having accompanied Livingstone's body to Zanzibar. This must have been a big boost for the Rev. Price who was supervising the clearing of the site at Freretown (Harris 1977: 23-24). The role of the Bombay Africans and the development of the Freretown settlement can be viewed in three distinct stages.

In the first phase of the development of the Freretown Bombay African community, the Bombay Africans, William Jones, Ishmael Semler and George David, and others from the Rabai settlement were there to receive the Rev. Price (Harris 1977: 20). Many of the children of these pioneer Bombay Africans, though born in Africa, were to be educated in India (mainly, at Bombay). The orphanage at Nasik, therefore, not only served as the source for the repatriated Africans of Freretown and Rabai but it also acted as the reason for Bombay Africans to maintain their links with India. Within its first year, Freretown housed 500 freed slaves and became a settlement somewhat similar to the settlements of Liberia in West Africa. There was a hierarchy, at the top of which were the mission-educated Christian Africans, who had been exposed to British-Indian customs, spoke English and probably Kiswahili and some Hindi, and all of who had English names (Harris 1977: 43). Further down the social scale were local converts, some of whom were ex-slaves, and there were the recently freed slaves who had been liberated by the Royal Navy. The early European and Bombay African missionaries generally forbade elements of traditional African culture such as the playing of drums or singing folk songs. The biggest exodus, of Africans from India was in 1875 after the Nasik Orphanage was broken-up. Over 150 Bombay Africans sailed from Bombay to Mombasa on the HMS *Thetis* and were settled at the Freretown mission (Harris 1977: 24).

In 1878-81, William Jones went back to India and recruited more settlers possibly from the Church of Scotland Mission in Bombay (Harris 1977: 21). By 1880, there were over 3,000 Bombay Africans in East Africa, mainly at Freretown and Rabai. However, the settlement at Freretown was now entering a second phase of its social development with the arrival of large numbers of liberated Africans from Eastern Africa who had not been through the experience of life and education in British India. By and large, these people had been liberated by the British Royal Navy with its base ship (HMS *London*) at Zanzibar, and its fleet including the HMS *Seagull*, and HMS *Daphne* patrolling the East African coast.

There was also some maltreatment of the ex-slaves by some European missionaries, prompting the HMS *Seagull* to arrive at Mombasa in 1881 to investigate the issue.[16] The Arabs at Mombasa continued to complain that the missionaries at Freretown and also Rabai were harbouring runaway slaves. A commission of inquiry found that 1,421 slaves had in fact been given refuge at Freretown and Rabai (Harris 1977: 37). In the larger scale of affairs, European interests in Eastern Africa led to a consolidation of the British, German, Portuguese and French spheres of influence at the Berlin Conference in 1884. The Freretown settlement was the most important settlement of its kind to be established by the CMS in Eastern Africa and provided support for the establishment of the British sphere of influence that would eventually become the state of Kenya (Ingham 1962: 110).

When the Anglican Bishop, James Hannington (1847-1885,) decided to make a journey to his assigned bishopric of Eastern Equatorial Africa in 1885 he decided to use the old slave route through the present day Kenya Highlands towards Mt. Elgon. This route had only recently been explored by Joseph Thompson (1858-1895). In the bishop's party was a Goan cook, Pinto, and the Bombay African from Freretown, William Jones, described by The Times of London as a "native clergy".[17] Given the importance of Bishop Hannington, it is hardly surprising that the most important Bombay African was chosen to accompany him. Hunnington was unknowingly walking into a web of political intrigue whereby the new and despotic Baganda king had sided with a pro-Arab slaving faction against the Europeans, who were themselves fractionalised on national (German, French and British) and religious lines (Anglican and Catholic). Hannington was captured, the messengers were sent back to the coast and the remaining party of fifty were marched off to be executed on 31 October 1885.[18] Four of the party escaped including the Bombay African, William Jones, who made it to the Lwo at Lake Victoria. William Jones waited two months at the lake and then joined a caravan to the coast where he arrived in February 1886 bringing the news of the Bishop's death.[19] There was for a while some discussion about the route taken by the bishop. However, since the choice of the route was made by the bishop in Europe, no blame was accorded to William Jones. All the same, this fatal expedition marked the arrival of the Bombay Africans into Eastern Uganda.

Mr. Mackenzie opened the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) in 1888 with its base at Mombasa.[20] Within a twelve-month period of the company's existence, some 4,000 slaves had been liberated.[21] Despite the growing British presence and her official anti-slavery stance, there were constant tensions between the missions and the Arabs since the founding of the Freretown settlement (Harris 1977: 33). The IBEAC found itself in a difficult position between these factions, especially when fugitive slaves took refuge at Rabai and Freretown. At the same time, the Freretown community and, especially, the Bombay Africans, were among the first Africans to gain employment in the IBEAC (Harris 1977: 31). This ensured that the Bombay Africans remained an elite group among the residents of Rabai and Feretown, if not among the African population of East Africa in general. Perhaps, more important in local social affairs was the fact that the self-sufficient Freretown community was the first African Christian community to produce an indigenous labour force that competed with the Arabs and the Asians in the administration of the IBEAC.

Finally, under the careful diplomacy of William Jones, an agreement was reached in 1889 to appease the Arabs by which they were to be paid $25.00 for every slave at Rabai in exchange for their freedom. In effect the freedom of these Africans was being purchased (Harris 1977: 38). To compound the problems in Africa, the Freretown settlement also faced some opposition in Britain. In 1890, Alexander Mackey published a report in which he argued that since Europeans did not fair well in Africa, the process of Christianising Africa had to be done by Africans. Despite the acceptance of this approach in theory, Mackey was not so approving about the Freretown settlement commenting, "Mombasa has proved a failure to health, while the introduction of the freed-slave element would alone ensure the ruin of an institution for the training of free men. I have seen hosts of specimens of the men turned out at the institution of Nassik, Mombasa and Zanzibar, where freed slaves are educated, but the best yet met was bad."[22]

The British anti-slavery campaign had made a noticeable effect on the reduction of the Indian Ocean slave trade. A letter, dated 3rd May 1891 from Captain Henderson of the HMS *Conquest,* reported the decline of the East African slave trade to small-scale smuggling to Madagascar and Arabia.[23] The trickle of slaves being liberated and landed in India was sufficient for William Jones to make one last recruiting trip to India in 1893 (Harris 1977: 21). After this date, there appears to be no more recruitment from India suggesting that either there were too few Africans being landed there or that those landed may not have been willing to return to Africa as missionaries.

Apart from the slaves repatriated from India, there were also liberated slaves from the Seychelles who were sent to Freretown. During most of this period there was no common language or culture in the settlement, though many of the older people had some knowledge of Kiswahili and a few were familiar with English. In this void, there was some attempt by the elders, most of whom were Bombay Africans, to create a westernised Christian African society. The Bombay Africans, with their British Indian background and education and their command of English, retained their role as the elite of the community and some would argue that the influential role of the elders might have been appealing to the community as a whole in that it was similar to the structure in traditional African cultures (Harris 1977: 30).

The third phase of the Freretown and Rabai settlements is marked by a change in the ethnic composition of the settlements. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Freretown settlement included free or unbonded converts from among the Wataveta, and the Arusha peoples. Furthermore, people from the Agikuyu and the Wagiriama came to the settlement during the 1895 famine (Harris 1977: 27-28).

These people were mainly from the more restrictive area of Eastern Kenya. They were also more aware of their own beliefs as more of them were adults. Despite the social developments and the growth of the settlement at Freretown, life there was far from secure, with a slave raid occurring in the early part of 1896 during the failed Mazrui insurrection (Patience 2000: 49). By the end of the nineteenth century, people from the local African tribes far outnumbered both the Bombay Africans and the liberated Africans in the Freretown settlement. Additionally, from the late 1890s as part of the growth in missionary activity, the Bombay Africans were dispersed from Rabai and Freretown to other new settlements and missions along the East African coast and upcountry (Harris 1977: 32). This movement facilitated the establishment of important links between the missions and people right across eastern Kenya and northern Tanzania and led to the establishment of some limited access to education for Africans. At the same time, these developments challenged the older philosophy of the community. Since most of the new missions were among Bantu cultures and the majority of the new-comers were from the Mijikenda peoples, Kiswahili became the principal language of the communities. Ironically, the Bombay Africans and the liberated Africans who were the leaders of these communities were regarded as “comers” (Wasili) by the traditional Africans. The Bombay Africans were losing their cultural links with British India as fewer children were sent there for their education and the community was increasingly identifying itself politically with the indigenous Africans. At the same time, the Freretown settlement had developed into a light-industry zone for Mombasa, producing furniture, bricks, tiles and mats (Harris 1977: 41).

In the early twentieth century, there were some arrivals at Freretown from Freetown, Sierra Leone. The most famous of which was a former Royal Navy seaman, John Clement Young who arrived at Freretown in 1910 (Harris 1977: 29). There were also some arrivals from Barbados during the First World War. The first decade of the twentieth century saw a massive increase in the numbers of Christian missions, churches and schools in Kenya. This created a mission attitude that linked education with Christianity and with westernisation. To many Africans, an educated man was a Christian and *vice versa* (Raju 1973: 2). The Bombay Africans were dispersed throughout Kenya and into Eastern Uganda. The necessary skills for political and social development, i.e., education, eloquent speaking of English and standard Kiswahili, a printing press, journalism, etc., were eagerly transferred from the Bombay Africans to the indigenous African population at Freretown, Rabai and other missions, such as Kiambaa in Central Kenya (Ogot 1981: 110-11). This would be instrumental in the rise of African nationalism and the move to independence in Kenya, though little research has been conducted into the links between the independence movement of India and those of East Africa. We do know that James (Jimmy) Jones, the son of William Jones and a Galligna girl, both from the original Nasik group of Bombay Africans, was born in Africa and educated in India and became one of the best printers in Kenya. James Jones is known to have communicated with Kenyan pro-independence leaders such as Harry Thuku (1895-1970), Jomo Kenyatta and Mbiyu Koinange (Harris 1977: 53).

The Freretown settlement still stands today, though population growth has led to the settlement being surrounded by the recent suburbs and shanty towns of Mombasa on the Nyali or North coast. A copy of the old bell, that warned the settlement in times of slave raids, now stands at the centre of a roundabout, while the original bell remains in the original church – one of the oldest in Kenya. Descendants of the original Bombay Africans, continue to live at Freretown, though they are now fully integrated into Kenyan African society.

The development of the Bombay African community within East Africa stands in contrast to the Americo-Liberian and Freetown communities in West Africa. It must be noted that the Freetown Africans and Americo-Liberians were composed of a variety of liberated Africans, by way of the actions of the Royal Navy, Maroons, Nova Scotians and "Freeborn Africans" in the USA (Foray 1977: 75; Dunn 1985: 17), whereas the Bombay Africans had at its nucleus a group with a distinct story, of capture in East Africa, liberation by the Royal Navy and exile at Nasik in India. Though all of these communities were the result of the slave trade, and the repatriation of liberated Africans, the Bombay Africans did initially form a social elite, but due to their relatively small numbers, diverse origins in Africa, and perhaps their experiences in colonial India, they did not remain as a social elite and never developed a national political elite. However, the influence of this community in the social development of East Africa, and of Kenya, in particular, cannot be understated.

Notes

[1] *Cupid – An officer's servant on board HMS Dryad* (P.47492), National Maritime Photographic Collection, 1870.

[2] London Missionary Society Register, 1850, p 166.

[3] London Missionary Society Register, 1849, p 282.

[4] FHL Film 1342355, PRO Ref-RG11, Piece 5639, Folio 43, pp 17-18.

[5] 1881 Census, *Royal Navy Vessels*. PRO records. 1881.

[6] London Missionary Society Register, 1849, p 282.

[7] Ibid, pp. 208-309

[8] London Missionary Society Register, 1850, p166.

[9] Bombay Gazetteers – Nasik OIH 915.479.

[10] London Missionary Society Register, 1855.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] HMS *Flying Fish* (REPRO ID P39566), National Maritime Museum Photographic Collection, 1875.

[13] Births Register, Emmanual Church, Freretown, 02.11.1866 – 30.04.1939.

[14] *The Times, Issue 27732.* Thursday July 03, 1873, p 10.

[15] *The Times, Issue 27516.* Thursday October 24, 1872, : 10; 27731,Wednesday July 2, 1873:3; Thursday July 3, 1873:10).

[16] FHL Film 13442355, PRO Ref-RG11, Piece 5635, Folio 81, p 4.

[17] *The Times, Issue 31646,* Saturday 02 January 1886. p. 5.

[18] *The Times Issue 31683*, Monday 15 February 1886. p 6.

[19] *The Times Issue 31678,* Tuesday 09 February 1886. p.6.

[20] *The Times, Issue 32486,* Saturday 08 January 1888. p 4.

[21] *Church Missionary Intelligence*, 1891, p 674.

[22] *Ibid*, p 674.

[23] *Ibid*, p 50.

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33

The Origin of the "Zanzibari" Diaspora in Durban, South Africa

Abdul Sheriff

1. Introduction

An enigmatic small minority of "Zanzibari" [1] Muslims who speak the Makua language of northern Mozambique as a mother tongue had been washed ashore at Durban in South Africa, and was shunted to the Chatsworth area which had been designated as an Indian area by the apartheid regime in the early 1960s. Some newspapers described them as a "lost tribe" which they deeply resented since they said they knew their origin. I had first become familiar with this community from an obscure publication of the University of Durban by Oosthuizen (1982), who had written a sociological study in 1982. In June 2005, I was contacted by one of the descendants asking for my assistance in tracing their roots in the National Archives of Zanzibar (NAZ). As luck would have it, I had an opportunity to go to Durban the following month to attend a conference where I was able to meet some of them face to face and visit their homes but for a very short time.[2]

So far the only substantial publication on the community is that by Oosthuizen who was particularly interested in the religious expression of this minority. This report was also informed by the unpublished social anthropology Master's thesis by Seedat (1973). Both of them argue that Islam has been the most important glue that has held the community together and has underwritten its identity despite its smallness. Islam has also been the most important element in the "Zanzibari" relations with other communities in South Africa, especially with Muslim Indians with whom they lived in close proximity and prayed together on Fridays. Finally, Professor Arnold Temu (1999, 2003), while teaching at the University of the Western Cape, conducted research on the history of the community, and has written a paper tracing their history from the moment of their landing in 1873 to the present through all the buffeting of South Africa's racial policies. Although a more detailed study of the community based on oral sources still needs to be undertaken while some old people are still with us, it is the origin of this community that is most obscure. It is to this part of their history that I devote this paper.

2. The East African Slave Trade in the 1870s.

The East African slave trade in general has been treated elsewhere (Sheriff 2006), but it may be necessary to place the discussion about the "Zanzibaris" in its proper context by briefly summarising it. In doing so, however, we have to take into consideration the two fairly distinct arenas roughly divided at Cape Delgado between the "northern complex" that was dominated by the demand for slaves on the clove plantations of Zanzibar and the grain plantations on the coast of Kenya and southern Somalia, and, to a lesser extent, the date plantations and pearl fisheries in the Persian Gulf; and the "southern complex" where slaves from Mozambique primarily supplied the islands in the south-western Indian Ocean, like Madagascar and the Mascarenes ands and beyond that to the Atlantic region. This is not to say that the two regions were not connected and that slaves never flowed across the divide – indeed, they were at various times and under specific stimuli with momentous consequences. As it turns out, both these complexes were to make their contribution to the creation of the "Zanzibari" community in Natal.

i. The Northern Complex

The northern slave trade had originally developed to supply the date plantations and pearl fisheries of the Persian Gulf, but during the last third of the eighteenth century the extension of the Atlantic system of slave production to the Mascarene islands of Mauritius and Reunion in the Indian Ocean had created a new demand that began to encroach into the northern sphere and gave rise to a roaring slave trade at Kilwa and Zanzibar. However, the Napoleonic wars which had culminated in the capture of Mauritius by the British in 1810 had cut short the bonanza from which many northern slave traders had flourished. It was this crisis that had induced the slave traders to divert the surplus slaves to clove plantations on Zanzibar in the first place. By the 1860s, up to 23,000 slaves were still reaching the coast, primarily from the populous hinterland around Lake Nyasa via the major slave port of Kilwa in southern Tanzania, and a vast majority of them were being absorbed in the plantations on Zanzibar and the coast of Kenya and southern Somalia. However, the anti-slavery movement was then reaching its climax with the campaign by Livingstone and others, and it led to the mission by Sir Bartle Frere, the former Governor of Bombay, which finally ended with the imposition of the treaty with Zanzibar in 1873 prohibiting all slave trade by sea (Sheriff 1987: 223-38).

This prohibition came only a year after a devastating hurricane had uprooted most of the clove trees on the larger island of Unguja. The more fertile Pemba, which had escaped the worst of the hurricane but had not yet emerged as the major clove producer, therefore became the focus of a major replanting exercise. The rise in value of cloves had greatly enriched the local landowners and encouraged them to extend their plantations. Slaves were being smuggled in the first place from the damaged plantations on Unguja to the productive ones in Pemba, and many of the slaves caught near

Pemba after 1873 were experienced slaves who were being moved from Unguja (Cooper 1977: 124-25).

But the steep and sudden demand had also increased the price of slaves on Pemba, and landowners began to send their agents to Kilwa to purchase slaves to be delivered at the northern Swahili ports to be smuggled across the channel to Pemba. In 1876, for example, Captain Sulivan reported that 170-180 slaves belonging to a number of Pemba landowners were shipped at Tanga. One vessel was caught with 129 slaves who had been brought up by the land route that had taken three months. They were bought in Kilwa where they cost $15-20, and were taken to Pemba where they fetched $40-45. As Captain Sulivan said, "as usual, the majority were females and children." The following year, a dhow was taken off Pemba with 165 slaves who had also been brought up by the land route. Of these, 80 were given to the English and French Missions and 77 were sent to Natal.[3] Many of these slaves had been taken to Pangani which was the nearest point opposite Pemba from where they could be smuggled at night, but when the anti-slavery patrols there increased, the slave traders began to resort to shipping them from other points to Unguja, or even taking them to Malindi before the onset of the North-East monsoon for later shipment to Pemba with that monsoon.[4]

The 1873 treaty had cut off the market for a vast stream of slaves still flowing to Kilwa. In 1876, seven slaves were found on shore near Tongoni on the mainland who were part of a gang of about 30 slaves who had been brought up from Kilwa belonging to the Ngindo tribe of southern Tanzania. Kirk wrote the same year that two caravans with 5,000 slaves had reached the coast led by the people of the Makanjila chief from the west of Lake Nyasa within two months. Those of his rival Yao chief Mataka had come down with a caravan of 500 slaves, but his larger caravans were still due. There was also a smaller caravan of 85 slaves owned by Arabs and Swahili.[5]

Thus, while many of the slave traders and their agents at the coast were Arabs and Swahili, it is misleading to interpret the slave phenomenon in racial or ethnic terms. In 1875, a dhow was captured which belonged to a Baluchi living in Pemba. In 1876, a native vessel was captured with 43 slaves which was suspected that it was owned by an Indian resident in Tanga, while one of the slave dealers was a native of Hodeida in the Yemen who was to be publicly flogged and imprisoned for trying to drive the slaves from the vessel to the rocks where several children were drowned.[6] Kirk was pained by the fact that most of the major slave caravans from the interior were brought down "not by Arab or Swahili who are [accused of] all the atrocities of the traffic…but by natives the fellow countrymen of the slaves they sell."[7]

With the passage of the 1873 treaty, slaves began to pile up at Kilwa. It was estimated in 1876 that 6,000 slaves had to be driven away to be hidden in the lands of the Samanga near the swamps of the Rufiji to avoid confiscation. Unable to smuggle them by sea to the North, slave traders resorted to marching them along the coast as far as Bagamoyo and Pangani from where they could be smuggled across the narrow channel to Pemba at night, even singly in small canoes. In August 1873, the British consular official Elton saw five slave caravans passing up the Kisiju road to Dar es Salaam, and in December he met 15 caravans, one with over 1,000 slaves. He estimated that over 4,000 slaves passed north by the land route between Kilwa and Dar es Salaam between December 1873 and January 1874 which was a peak period (Beachey 1976:114-15).

British consular officials estimated that Pemba was then receiving 1,000 slaves a month, and some multiplied the number to achieve an annual figure of 12,000 to 15,000 a year. On the unsubstantiated assumption that only five per cent of the smuggled slaves were getting caught by the British Navy, some did not hesitate to postulate fantastic figures of up to 35,000 for the slave trade in the 1870s (Bennett 1978:99. Coupland 1968: 221. Beachey 1976: 119). When the British tried to cut off the land slave route with the Sultan's Proclamation of 1876 prohibiting it, the traders began to march them farther inland to reach the northern ports, or even to exchange them in Ugogo and Masailand for ivory to take to the coast.[8]

Unfortunately, the harder the British pressed against the slave trade, the more the slave traders tried to find other sources, engulfing people who had previously been spared. In 1876, the British cruiser HMS *London* caught a dhow with 67 slaves none of whom had been brought lately from Kilwa. Most of them could speak Swahili or a coast dialect, and a majority were natives of areas within 100 miles of Bagamoyo. They included 21 natives of Ukami who were agriculturists and had frequent intercourse with the coast. Kirk, therefore, concluded that "we are now threatened with an increase in slave hunting in countries near at hand." Slave traders also obtained slaves from the Shambaa and Zigua countries which were torn by internecine wars.[9]

ii. The Southern Complex

Gwyn Campbell (1989) has rightly complained about the neglect of what he has christened as the "southern complex" which he says is the "missing link" in the history of the East African slave trade, focusing particularly on the trans-Mozambique Channel trade in the south-western Indian Ocean. There is no need here to go into any details about the beginnings of this trade during the second half of the eighteenth century which has been covered by Alpers (1970; 1975: 152, 185, 211-4) except to point out that between 1786 and 1794 an average of more than 5,000 slaves were being exported from Mozambique, of whom about 37 per cent were Makua who were the most esteemed slaves in the Mascarene islands. The slave trade received a major boost with the opening of the slave trade to Brazil, especially after the shift of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro in 1807 when Henry Salt reported five ships going to Brazil loaded with 300-400 slaves each. By 1819, at least 10,000 slaves were being exported annually to that destination. According to Alpers, the Brazilian slave trade continued unabated into the 1830s and 1840s.

However, Anglo-French naval warfare from the last decade of the eighteenth century, culminating in the capture of Mauritius in 1810, and the formal abolition of the slave trade there had dealt a severe blow to the slave trade to the Mascarene Islands. While slaves continued to be smuggled into Mauritius for some time, the British found a new source of labour for their colonies from their own populous labour reservoir in India through the massive importation of indentured labour, but they refused to share it with their French rivals. The latter, therefore, turned a blind eye to slave smuggling by local slave traders who were allowed to use the French flag to protect them from the British Navy and devise a new subterfuge for the slave trade through the so-called *"libres émigrés"* (voluntary emigration), which continued into the second half of the century.

More relevant to the subject at hand was the slave trade between Mozambique and Madagascar across the channel. As Campbell (1981, 1987, 1989, 2005) shows, there was a coexistence of two competitive slave networks in Madagascar. It was traditionally an exporter of slaves to meet the demand for slaves in the Mascarene islands. Slave trade had played a very important role in the economy of the Imerina empire before 1820, yielding foreign currency with which the ruler could purchase muskets imported by Arab traders that were crucial for the continued expansion of the kingdom. However, the adoption of an autarkic economic policy as early as the mid 1820s and a ban on Malagasy emigration, promoted economic expansion based on the exploitation of internally enslaved labour and the importation of additional slaves from abroad. It thus activated the second slave network in which Imerina itself developed as a market for slaves on a large scale. The estimated number of slave imports into Imerina quadrupled from 1828 to 1861. Economic prosperity in the 1860s and early 1870s led to increase in wealth and slave ownership in Imerina and an enormous explosion of the slave trade in the Mozambique Channel. Frere estimated that Madagascar was importing six to ten thousand slaves a year by the early 1870s, which Campbell thought was an under-estimate. This forms the background to the question of the origin of the "Zanzibaris".

The primary and nearest source of slaves for Madagascar was the coast of Mozambique across the channel where dhows were able to make multiple crossings almost all the year round, taking three to nine days to cross it. From the mid-century, ports on the northern coast of Mozambique were the chief centres of slave exports, and some 2,000 to 4,000 slaves were exported annually. Some of these dhows were packed to over-capacity and some capsized as a result. In one such instance, 120 Makua slaves drowned off the Malagasy coast. After a lull in the 1840s and 1850s, slave exports to Madagascar reached 11,000 a year in the early 1870s, and 17,000 by the early 1880s, when Madagascar was absorbing more than two thirds of this number and transhipping the balance to the French islands. Campbell, therefore, concluded that Madagascar played a pivotal role in the "southern" network of the East African slave trade in the later part of the nineteenth century (Campbell 2005: Ch. 9).

Frederic Elton, who became a British Consul in Mozambique, adds some flesh to these dry statistics. In July 1874, HMS *Thetis* seized a dhow with 38 male and 54 female slaves off Majunga on the North-west coast of Madagascar. Some of the slaves were in a very emaciated condition and two had died. All the crew and slaves were short of water although the dhow had only been four days out of the Mozambique coast. It was leaking heavily and, as soon as the slaves were taken on board the warship, it sank. (Elton 1879: 118-19) The following year, the warship captured the dhow *Kunguru* which had sailed from the Maravoni River on the Mozambique coast with 93 slaves for the Madagascar market. The dhow was leaking heavily and the slaves on the lower deck were up to their waist in water, crowded and packed in a solid mass, although according to Elton they were strangely in pretty fair condition.

Apart from the slaves, there were on board 31 people, including 19 passengers and 11 sailors. Elton gives a fair description of these passengers, which throws light on the class of men employed in this trade and the way it was conducted. Fifteen of the passengers owned slaves on board. Two Comorian brothers, who were traders in a village under a Makua chief owned 21 slaves. Others were commission agents carrying between three and 10 slaves each. One of them was a *Muallim* (Quran teacher) who had six slaves: he taught boys to read the Quran and was paid for his teaching the slaves; he thus gained his living alternately by teaching and slave-trading. One was an Arab of Muscat who was married to a Makua woman and lived with the Makua for a year. Another Arab had lost his dhow two years before and had settled at Shangani where he bought four slaves with whom he tilled the land; but he was badly treated by the Makua and had thus run away. A third Arab from Sur said "he had failed in everything and wherever he went", at Zanzibar and at Madagascar. His wife was waiting for him in Madagascar and he was going to Muscat where he thought his uncle had left him some money; so he invested the remaining $20 in two slaves, who he also lost through capture by the British. (Elton 1879: 168-72)

As Hafkin (1973: vi, ix-x, ch. VII) shows, a *de facto* ruling class of slave traders had emerged on the coast of northern Mozambique, which transcended ethnic divisions, and "the course of people's lives was determined not so much by group identity as by relationship to this phenomenon". The ruling class included the rulers of the Swahili sultanates and sheikhdoms, such as Angoche, who dominated the trade along the coast in partnership with their counterparts, the Antalaotra (Muslims with Arab antecedents, see, Campbell 1981: 215-16) and Sakalava traders on the West coast of Madagascar. Portuguese officials and citizens directly participated in the slave trade or skimmed the cream, while Indian traders often financed it. Even Makua chiefs, in the immediate hinterland, participated in this nefarious traffic, raiding their neighbours or extracting a tax on Makua and Yao slave caravans passing through their territory.

As stated above, the community as constituted at the present time and describing itself as "Zanzibari", as has been stated above, is Makua-speaking. They may have constituted the core of the original community which may either have absorbed members of other ethnic and linguistic groups, since they came in smaller numbers, or, possibly, the non-Makua speakers were absorbed by the wider African community in South Africa. Therefore, before we consider this historical problem, we should look more closely at the original Makua homeland.

3. The Makua

The Makua occupy a vast area in north-eastern Mozambique between the Indian Ocean and the Licungo, Lugenda and Rovuma rivers (Trimingham 1964: 28, 46). They form the largest linguistic group in Mozambique accounting for more than 40 per cent of the population. Traditional material culture of the Makua was based on hoe agriculture, growing millet, corn and manioc, fishing, elephant hunting, pottery making and iron working. According to Elton in the 1870s, they built quadrangular huts thatched with *makuti* (coconut palm fronds). The women wore brass ornaments and blue calico *(kaniki)* round the body, while the men occasionally boasted a ragged long shirt *(kanzu),* but most were content with a loin cloth of white calico *(merikani)* or *kaniki.*(Elton 1879: 199) Their social organisation revolved around the matrilineal system. They lived in small kinship groups *(nihimo).* Sons belonged to the *nihimo* of their mothers, and went to the villages of their wives when they married. They used scarification extensively and women often wore an ornament inserted above the upper lip similar to the *pelele* of the Makonde which was noted as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century by Barbosa. They did not have a strong central organisation above the village, which may have contributed to their fate in the slave trade raging in their country over such a long period (Hafkin 1973: 2, 17, 73, 75, 77-8).

The Makua had contact with the Portuguese since the latter established their hegemony over the coast and, in the decadent slave society at Mozambique, they performed numerous domestic functions as servants, sailors, porters and, no doubt, as concubines. They were also used to capture other slaves. Desultory missionary activities among them may have led to some conversion, as some of the freed slaves in Durban appear to have been Christian. More significant was their long-standing contact with the Swahili, which altered Makua society in many ways; but the process was reciprocal, for the Makua had as much influence on the culture and language of the Swahili with whom they intermarried. Some of those close to the coast adopted Islam and belonged to the Shafe'i Sunni school that was characteristic of the Indian Ocean maritime and mercantile tradition, although, in most cases, this was a highly syncretistic folk Islam. They were initiated into the sufi brotherhoods *(tariqas)* with their characteristic *dhikiris* (a ritual repetitive recitation of God's names and attributes), the most prevalent being the Qadiriyya, introduced from Zanzibar whose *shehe* (or *khalifa*) was based in Mozambique island, and the Shadhiliyya with Comorian connections whose *shehe* was at Angoche. Nearly a fifth of the Makua are today Muslim and some groups are predominantly so, identifying themselves as "Maca" (from Mecca?), Makua. (Hafkin 1973: 70)

Circumcision became common among the coastal Makua as early as 1772 in the Islamised regions; and some groups adopted other Muslim customs such as prohibition against eating of pork. They adopted Muslim-style clothing, especially the ankle-length white dress and skull cap *(cofio).* They used the Islamic calendar for their religious observances, such as the *Maulid* or Prophet's birthday, but, otherwise, followed the Makua agriculture-based calendar. They adopted the Arabic script in their correspondence; and all the Makua chiefs near the coast, regardless of whether they were Muslim, either wrote in Arabic script or had a scribe at court who did so. Tribal sorcerers assumed the title *mwalimu* (Islamic teacher), and the dead were buried facing Mecca. From contact with the Muslim Swahili they began to move to patrilocal residence and patrilineal succession to chieftaincy; and Islam affected their laws of property and inheritance. However, in this case also, the influence was reciprocal. Some Swahili rulers acquired matrilineal succession and Makua matrilineal organisation affected the Swahili Muslims' laws and rights of women. The closer to the coast they lived, the more their traditional culture changed in contact with the Swahili. At the end of the sixteenth century, Joao dos Santos described coastal Muslims as mixing constantly with the Makua and being almost like them in their colour, customs and conversation (Hafkin 1973: 42-7, 50, 74, 81-2).

Hafkin (1973: 36, 46, 74) argues that conversion of the Makua to Islam accompanied Swahili slave trade into the interior, introduced domestic slavery where it had not existed, and depopulated large areas, as for example, in 1771-2, when it was accompanied by a spate of mosque building in Makuani. However, such a cultural transformation can hardly be a phenomenon in a situation of conflict. In fact, she reports an increase in conversion after 1839 when the official end of the legal Portuguese trade in slaves was accompanied by growth in Swahili commerce. Nevertheless, it is true that, in this period, the Makua were victims of the slave trade, frequently through the co-operation of their own rulers. As Newitt (1972: 660) says, the Swahili of the coastal towns "did not penetrate inland in search of slaves and ivory, for these were brought to them by Yao or Makua middlemen." The voracious demand for slaves by the 1870s and 1880s on the Indian Ocean islands, as well as on the *prazos* (slave-based plantations) in the Zambezi valley, resulted in the depopulation of Makuani and disintegration of its polity. Elton, who travelled through the Makua hinterland in 1876, gives a very graphic account of the devastation caused by so many years of slave trading:

> *"For years past Makuani has furnished the main supply of slaves and "libres engages" for the Portuguese, French and Madagascar markets. Fighting is constantly going on, dissensions being actively promoted by the unscrupulous dwellers on the coast, anxious to purchase the prisoners taken by the successful side, and utterly careless as to who is the winner. So long as the Makuas held together they were formidable enemies to the Portuguese; but the breaking-up of the tribe into fragments, and faction-fighting amongst the chiefs for the supreme power, eventually placed them at the mercy of any Arab intriguer who chose to instigate hostilities in order to secure a slave cargo" (Elton 1879: 195).*
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> *Elton (1879: 186-89, 198-99) visited the Tugulu flats which he described as "the nearest slave preserve to Mozambique." The headman at Molo, "an ancient and garrulous negro, had been actively engaged in the slave trade ... for the last sixty years; and as captain of a dhow had run cargoes from most of the Madagascar ports, all the Comoro islands, and also from Kilwa Kivinji to Zanzibar, Lamu and Brava." The flats were used by the Arabs and the Yao for the collection of Makua slaves for export from the Umfusi-Kivolane district to Madgascar. It was then being hotly contested between the Makua and the Yao of Mosembe over the right to cultivation of the fertile alluvial plains. "It is still with fear and trembling that the Makua venture down to till the soil." To avoid famine, the Makua were compelled to send down strong parties to plant millet and maize and fish the rivers and build villages until they were attacked by the Yao slave-hunting parties. Elton commented that "latterly... the Makuas have had the worst of it, and are almost driven out of the flats." He found "village after village was ... burned and plundered. All cultivation was stopped.... The fishing weir on the rivers and the raised houses for goats, poultry, and the storage of grain, were tumbling into pieces, and the only inhabitants we found were a few half-starved Makuas living on roots and by trapping... a broad, rich, and once densely populated belt of land, some sixty miles by twenty miles, converted into a perfect wilderness." This is from where the Makua-speaking "Zanzibaris" of South Africa originated.*

4. The Suppression of the Zanzibar Slave Trade and Natal's Demand for Labour

While the hunting for slaves in Mozambique for the Madagascar market across the Mozambique Channel was in full swing into the 1870s, there were significant changes in the fortunes of two other regions in the western Indian Ocean which were also of great relevance to the origins of the "Zanzibaris" in Durban. As we have seen above, Zanzibar had emerged as a major emporium of the slave trade by the 1860s. The British were then embarked on a national crusade to prohibit the slave trade which reached its zenith in the late 1860s and early 1870s when the British Navy was "chasing" and "catching" slave dhows in the western Indian Ocean. British warships liberated an enormous number of slaves who had to be found a new home, since it was not practical to return them to their original homes, nor to keep them in Zanzibar where slave trade was still legal. Some were sent to Christian mission schools in India, such as the "Bombay boys" that Professor Temu (1973) had studied. The crusade culminated in the 1873 treaty, which prohibited all slave trade by sea in the territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and this was expected to increase the number of slave dhows that might be captured (Sheriff 1987: 232-38).

As luck would have it, at that very moment, there was an acute demand for labour at the southern end of the region in Natal where a plantation economy had been established. A solution to the labour problem had been found there through the importation of thousands of indentured labour from Britain's imperial labour reservoir in India. British colonists in Natal numbered about 18,000 by the 1870s and they were already a powerful political force in the colony's affairs, demanding the importation of cheap labour, since local African peasants were unwilling to abandon their land and sell their labour power on a regular basis. The first batch of Indian indentured labourers landed in Natal in 1860. However, conditions of employment on the plantations were so oppressive that many refused to renew their contracts. Some chose to remain in the colony as free citizens, while those who took the free return passage to India related grim tales of hardship. These were so serious that the Indian government, ever sensitive to local opinion after the Indian Mutiny of 1858, temporarily stopped further emigration to Natal in 1870. By then, Natal was producing ten thousand tons of sugar, and the cut-off in the supply of labour created a huge commotion in planter circles (Seedat 1973: 3-4).

Probably, aware of the dire need for cheap labour in Natal and faced with the prospect of captures by British warships of many slave dhows, the British Consul at Zanzibar, John Kirk, came up with a solution to kill two birds with one stone. Earlier, Frere had recommended to Kirk to dispose of freed slaves among Christian missionaries, Captain Frazer, who had a sugar plantation in Zanzibar, the British Consul Sunley, the Sultan of Johanna in the Comoros, and even to "respectable and responsible native landed proprietors" in Zanzibar.[10] On the 29th April, 1873, Kirk wrote to the Colonial Secretary of Natal:

> *"As it is possible the refusal of His Highness Seyd Barghash ... to accede to the demands of Sir Bartle Frere ... may lead for a time to very extensive seizures of slaves whose freedom, not acknowledged by the Arab government, will preclude the possibility of their being located within these dominions, it seems to me that the present time when native labour is in demand in the Colony of Natal, an arrangement might possibly be made that would for the time enable me satisfactorily to dispose of captured slaves and at the same time assist in meeting a present demand in the Colony.*[11]

In fairness to Kirk, he added that should the Sultan eventually yield, he was in favour of locating the freed slaves within the Zanzibar dominions "where the presence of a free settlement would react favourably on the country itself." Therefore, any arrangement to send the freed slaves to Natal might have been temporary.

In the meantime, his assistant, Elton, wrote to a planter in Natal that there would be some liberated slaves by the mail steamers; and the latter replied enthusiastically:

> *"We all interested in the labour question got quite excited ... If you should succeed in getting this settled on Natal, we all ought to be very thankful to you. ... Drove up to Pietermaritzburg where I had an interview with the Executive and arranged on the spot that the Union Co. would bring them down as they are offered by your agent in Zanzibar. Of course every Planter would be only too glad to take 100 of these fellows... Natal will be quite capable of accommodating say four to five hundred men at this time... We would have no difficulty in giving employment to 5,000 of these men... If we do not get labour from somewhere Natal will go to the dogs."*[12]

The Natal Government responded immediately to Kirk's offer, undertaking to pay for the transportation of the freed slaves to Durban where accommodation was offered in the barracks which were earlier provided for the reception of "coolie immigrants". This was logical since Indian immigration had already been suspended. They would be indentured for five years, later reduced to three years, "the least required to enable these persons to acquire habits of industry and knowledge of agriculture." The Governor of the Cape Province also wrote that "as labour is extremely scarce and dear at the Cape of Good Hope, the colonists are desirous of sharing in the benefits of this immigration ... not exceeding 100 on any one voyage."[13]

However, it was not only the planters who were interested in this source of cheap labour. In June 1873, the Natal government had invited applications from persons wishing to obtain "Liberated Africans from Zanzibar", but the following month it announced that the Public Works would require the entire number received, but the agitation by the settlers forced it to settle for half the number of male adults.[14] Natal offered the terms and conditions under which the freed Africans were to be employed. They were as follows:

1. The term of service was to be for three years.
2. The wages were six shillings for males, four shillings for females for the first year, to be increased by one shilling for each successive year.
3. Destitute children were to be apprenticed until the age of 18 for boys and 16 for girls, and were to receive no pay apart from food and shelter until they attained the age of 12. They were to be taught English besides a trade or domestic occupation, "habits of cleanliness", as well as "the great truths of Christianity." Moreover, "their lodgings shall be separate from those of the Kafir servants of the country."
4. The rations were to be two pounds of Indian corn meal per diem and two pounds of meat once a week.
5. The freed Africans were to be placed under the care of the Protector of Indian Immigrants dealing with the indentured labourers.[15]

There were criticisms in England against the use of freed slave labour in the British colonies. H. M. Stanley, the famous American explorer who "found" Livingstone in central Africa and whose humanitarianism had rubbed on him to some extent, criticised the British government for taking money from employers for every slave that was captured which he said was "compounding villainy." He stated that "England should provide healthy places or an establishment for the freed slaves and not sell these people for a few dollars a head for a term of years." The Colonial Office responded that the charge was the same as that used on the employment of "coolies" in the West Indies, Mauritius and Natal to cover administrative costs. It admitted that the charge might have been misrepresented, but in the face of urgent need for cheap labour in Natal, the criticism was ignored.[16]

However, by then, the Sultan of Zanzibar had already been forced to sign the treaty, and Kirk began to pour cold water on the whole enterprise. He wrote that while he was willing to share any captured slave, equally between Natal and the Cape, in consequence of the acceptance of the treaty by the Sultan, "the slave trade must for the future be greatly decreased and hence the chance of my having freed Africans at my disposal diminished. … I have no doubt that … the mass of the slave trade is at an end." He also added that in any case, under ordinary circumstances, children would not be sent from Zanzibar to Natal, and it was only in cases where British warships were to capture dhows in the Mozambique Channel.[17] The Foreign Office supported Kirk's policy that, while Seychelles and Natal had equal claim to the freed Africans, it was considered more desirable, when practicable, to land them at Zanzibar. However, Kirk realised that, while various English and French Christian missions were willing to take care of the liberated slaves, without government allowance to help the missions, he was forced to send them to South Africa where there was a strong demand.[18] It was under these circumstances and conditions that the freed slaves were introduced into Natal in the 1870s.

5. The Origin of the "Zanzibaris"

Between 1873 and 1880, a number of Africans liberated from slave dhows were sent to Natal; and they constituted the nucleus of the "Zanzibari" community in Durban. From the records seen so far, the first contingent of 113 freed Africans was taken directly after the capture of a slave dhow in the Mozambique Channel in 1873, but, according to the records in the Zanzibar National Archives, the rest might have transited through Zanzibar where many of the slave dhow prizes were adjudicated. Between 1874 and 1878, a total of 2,127 slaves were liberated at Zanzibar, of whom 376 were sent to South Africa, 220 to the Seychelles, 973 were given over to Christian missions in Zanzibar and 558 were freed in Zanzibar town.

Table1: Number of Slaves Liberated from Slave Dhows and Their Disposition, 1874-78[19]

Year	Slaves Liberated	Sent to Natal	Sent to Seychelles	Christian Missions	Freed in Zanzibar
1874	671	81	219	91	280
1875	415	-	-	376	39
1976	614	213	-	269	132
1877	285	79	-	139	67
1878	142	3	1	98	40
Total	2,127	376	220	973	558

In all, therefore, a total of about 489 liberated Africans were landed at Durban between 1873 and 1878. Some came in large contingents captured from single slave dhows, but others were put together from a larger number of smaller captures and sent by the mail steamships. I have tried to trace, as far as the records in the NAZ permit, the precise details of each of the contingent in order to trace the exact origin of these liberated Africans, since they seem to have come from the two slave trade complexes defined above, and to arrive at a conclusion why the "Zanzibari" community today is predominantly Makua-speaking and what might have happened to those from other linguistic groups.

i. The Frist Batch, 1873.

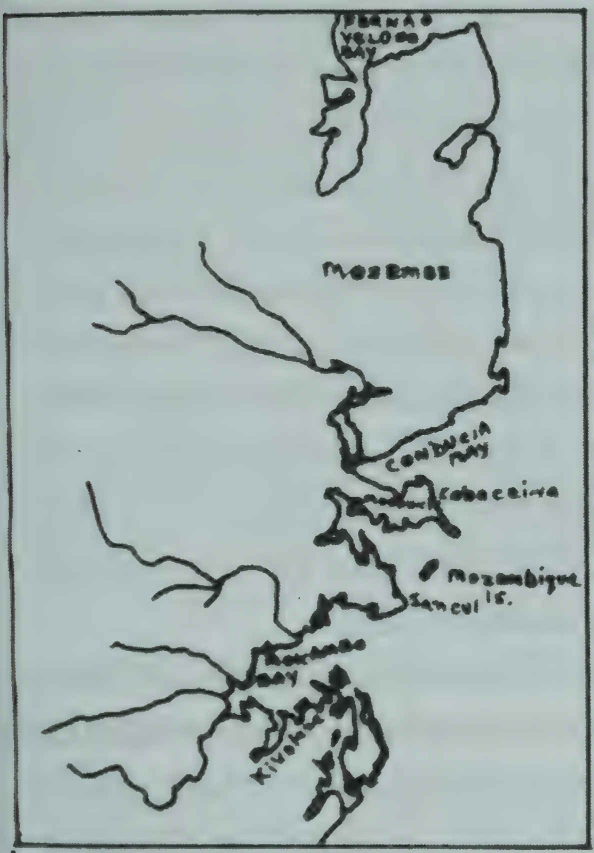
On 4th August 1873, HMS *Briton* arrived at the port of Durban in Natal having on board 113 freed slaves captured from a dhow in the Mozambique Channel. This was probably the 75-ton dhow captured at Majambo Port in Madagascar on 23rd July, 1873 with 121 slaves on board, but the others might have died en route. Kirk wrote to the Foreign Office that he had been informed about their arrival by his assistant, Frederic Elton, who happened to be in Durban when they were landed.[20] These individuals, therefore, never passed through Zanzibar, although they did arrive in Durban when discussion about them was already in the air. They, were therefore, described in Natal Government Notices as "Liberated Africans from Zanzibar", and might have contributed to their identity as "Zanzibaris." They consisted of the following:

Table 2: Liberated Africans from Zanzibar

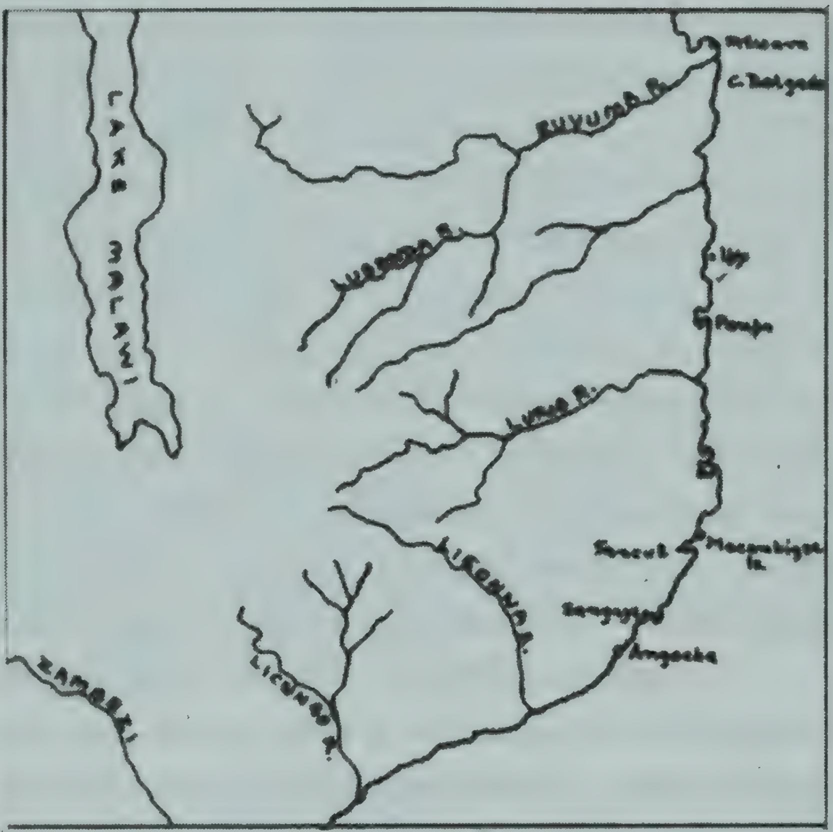
Men	28
Women	22
Boys under 12	37
Girls	18
Little children and infants	8
Total	113[21]

A local newspaper had commented on the very large number of children who had been landed and Kirk wrote that, had the capture been brought to Zanzibar for adjudication, the children would certainly not have been sent to Natal especially at the present time "when the Sultan is working honestly hand in hand with me for the purposes of the [1873] Treaty".[22] Twelve of them had to be hospitalised, and the rest were in fair condition but most were suffering from fever and illness from their ordeal in the slave dhow for ten days where they had received little food or water. A local newspaper also criticised the thoughtlessness of exposing them to a long sea voyage to Natal where they arrived in a "weight for age" condition, i.e., a boy of 15 weighing only 15 pounds (Seedat 1973: 8).

Elton (1879) reported that "the whole body consisted of Makuas and Maganja (Mang'anja, South of Lake Nyasa) – that the women (whose upper lips had nearly all been pierced for the ring called pelele, long since removed on capture) on being given strips of serampore, immediately dressed themselves in the manner peculiar to the slaves under the Portuguese – that they smoked tobacco … and … not a few spoke indifferent Portuguese." One of the women discovered her own brother who, as a slave, had accompanied his Portuguese owner from Mozambique to Delagoa Bay, from where he escaped because of ill-treatment, and landed in Natal. From his inquiries, Elton concluded that the freed Africans had been captured from a 75 mile coastline between Angoche and Port Makambo where there was a colony of Arabs who monopolised the trade and was the headquarters of *Umkuba Muntu*, which merely means a Big Man or a chief in the Swahili language.[23]



N. Mozambique: Makua territory



Mozambique Island environs

(Source: Hafkin 1973: xxiv, xxvii)

A deposition taken from Maria, a Makua woman, is quite revealing:

> *"I live in the Portuguese territory. ... About six months ago I went to catch crabs on the sea-side; as I was returning a Mussulman ... seized me and put a collar round my neck. He took me to a house in a village... Slaves are put one by one into the house, so that it may not be known they are there. Umkuba Muntu is the Mussulman. He is black and is set over us by the Portuguese; he takes the people as slaves and barters them. Umkuba Muntu did not actually catch me. The dhow comes, the men catch as many of us as they can, and they pay a royalty for each slave to Umkuba Muntu. ... When the dhow that we left in sailed, there were still four dhows loading with slaves.... Mozambique is the nearest town where Umkuba lives. All the slaves come from the country around the town of Mozambique. I come from close to Cabeceira... Dhows come to these rivers [Kivolane and Umfusi] constantly for slaves. Umkuba Muntu governs the country under the Portuguese. Slaves go to an Arab country. They wear Arab gowns. ..... I was a slave of Umsaji, Patron Moro. He did not sell me, I was kidnapped" (Elton 1879: 115-16).*

Based on this information, Elton concluded that the slave trade was being carried on in a big way in the district. These slaves had been captured with the sanction of *Umkuba Muntu,* a chief under Portuguese rule, from the coast lying in the immediate vicinity of Mozambique Island. He was in the habit of collecting slaves himself as well as sanctioning slave hunting in his district. The slaves were closely packed in tiers on slave decks, and almost starved during the ten days preceding the capture of the dhow. He also added that "according to Mozambique opinion Zanzibar is the motive money power in promoting the slave trade from *Umkuba Muntu's* coast", and thought it "quite probable" that the anti-slavery measures culminating in the slave trade treaty prohibiting all slave trade by sea had driven many Arabs to seek for other outlets in the Portuguese territory.[24] While this is possible, since the commercial economy of the coast of eastern Africa cannot be easily separated at Cape Delgado at this time, slave trade on the coast of Mozambique and its connection with Madagascar, was of long-standing duration and had deep local roots and structures, and the only recently signed treaty could not have brought about such a dramatic shift.

Hafkin (1973: 281, 291, 293, 294) says that Elton later specifically identified *Umkuba Muntu*, described as a very black grey-haired old man who wore a red fez and an Arab gown, as Abdallah Usufu b. Hasan, Shaikh of Sancul on the mainland opposite Mozambique island. To divert attention from himself in 1875, he alerted the Portuguese and the British to the existence of slave dhows at Kivolane-Infussi delta, which was a centre of illegal slave shipments, and pointed to Makusi Umar, the *capitao-mor* of Sancul and his brother, who were his rivals, as the other major slave traders. In the raid in which Elton participated, Makusi lost eight of his vessels and the Swahili settlement at Kivolane was razed.

ii. The Second Batch, 1874.

In 1874, Elton travelled from Zanzibar to Natal in the mail steamship, *Kafir*, in charge of 78 freed slaves. As he explained:

> *"The slaves are a portion of the 225 captured by HMS Daphne ... off the Madagascar coast, and were run from the Portuguese possessions whence a slave trade with Madagascar has been actively carried on of late. After destroying the dhow Captain Foot ... was compelled to sail with the slaves for Zanzibar ... 194 slaves were landed, 30 having died since leaving Mozambique... Many of the slaves had arrived in desperately poor health ... This was the result of hardships, starvation and filthy overcrowding in the slave ship" (Loftus 1952: 33-34).*

It appears that these slaves were freed from a 182-ton dhow called *Bandara Salam* which was captured at Boyanna Bay in Madagascar on 13th March 1874. HMS *Daphne* had been hoping to transfer the freed slaves on to a mail steamer at Mozambique for onward transmission to Durban, but the shipping agent at Mozambique was absent.

Therefore, its captain was forced to take the freed slaves to Zanzibar where the larger number, probably, consisting of younger children, was landed, and the balance was sent by the mail steamer, *Kafir*, to Durban (Elton 1879: 111). Relying on a contemporary newspaper account in *The Natal Mercury* of 25th April 1874, Seedat (1973: 22-23) states that, when the British frigate rescued 225 slaves, they had only two days' provision on board, but light winds had prolonged the voyage to eight days. The frigate, then, encountered a cyclone and a great number of the slaves had died on board the frigate. The Foreign Office clarified the matter further when it ruled that the *Daphne* could not claim bounty on the five slaves who had died before its arrival at Mozambique, but allowed half bounty on the additional 27 slaves who had died before the case was adjudicated in Zanzibar. This was in addition to 193 Africans, who were legally liberated in Zanzibar, making a total of 225. In this case, therefore, the liberated Africans did transit through Zanzibar for a short period. They were reported to have been Makua; and some of them spoke Portuguese fluently.[25]

iii. The Third Batch, 1876.

No freed Africans were sent to Natal in 1875. In May of that year, Elton, who was then the British Consul at Mozambique, informed the British consulate in Zanzibar that the Protector of Indian Immigrants did not wish any liberated Africans to be forwarded to Natal pending the publication of the terms upon which they could be obtained. However, by October, Kirk reported to the Foreign Office that by then the Natal official was ready to receive them and had asked for 435 "freed slaves for assignment as labourers", but apparently no slave could be sent until the following year.[26]

According to the records in Natal, 226 liberated Africans were landed in 1876; but records in the NAZ show only 213 being sent from there; the balance might have been captured in the Mozambique Channel and brought directly to Natal. Even those from Zanzibar did not come in a single batch. A minute of the Natal Immigration Department of 24th March mentions a small batch of seven freed Africans, including four males and three females, was landed. The Assistant Protector of Immigrants wrote, "They appear in excellent health, and altogether a very nice lot" (Oosthuizen 1982: 9. Seedat 1973: 23) Unfortunately, we do not have further details about these individuals and the route they took to Durban.

A more substantial number of liberated Africans had been captured off the northern coast of Mozambique, and may thus have been Makua from the "southern complex." On 24th March 1876, HMS *Thetis* intercepted a slave dhow of less than 100 tons off the coast of Mozambique which had sailed from one of the creeks described as of evil repute just North of Angoche and was carrying 94 slaves, including six male and 21 female adults, 39 boys and 28 girls, and "much provision." Captain Ward said the condition of the slaves was "remarkably good", which was not surprising since the dhow had just left the port. The dhow, however, was leaky and he thought it could not have reached Madagascar, and so it was blown up. He had intended to send the freed

Africans to Natal by the mail steamer, but he apparently had difficulty arranging this with the shipping agent, and thus had to bring them to Zanzibar where the case was adjudicated. Together with the slaves, 31 slave dealers were captured, and they were sent to the Portuguese authorities for prosecution, but Kirk reported that they were released "on the plea that witnesses are not forthcoming" which he considered a grave case of miscarriage of justice.[27]

iv. The Fourth Batch, 1876.

The second contingent in 1876, on the other hand, appears to have been a mixture of freed Africans from several dhows captured further North near Pemba from the "northern complex." The Lt. Governor of Natal wrote that 131 freed Africans, captured by HMS *London* and other cruisers at different times, were put on board Union steamship, *Kafir.* From among them, three died en route and 128 were landed on 20th April, 1876. They included 27 male and 29 female adults, 46 boys, 20 girls and six infants. The Protector of Immigrants reported that 17 had died since their arrival, four were under treatment and 107 had been allotted to Victoria County.[28] Among these, according to Captain Sulivan of HMS *London,* 61 slaves were liberated from a large 179 ton *baghala* which was captured off Pemba. They were part of a large gang that had been marched from Kilwa to Pangani. Many of them were in a state of emaciation from disease and over-driving. The batch also included seven slaves who were found on shore near Tongoni who could not speak more than a few words of Kiswahili. They had formed part of a gang of 30 Ngindo slaves from southern Tanzania who had been marched from Kilwa Kivinje to Pangani. Both these groups of freed Africans were specifically said by Sulivan to have been sent to Natal. Although Kirk did not specifically say so, the batch might also have included 43 slaves who were freed from a native vessel captured by HMS *London* which was suspected of being owned by an Indian resident of Tanga. These liberated Africans added up to 111, out of the 128, who were said by the Lt. Governor of Natal to have been landed; the remaining might have come from some smaller captures.[29] Unfortunately, these three batches during 1876 added up to a bit more than the 226 liberated Africans said to have been brought to Natal during the year, and there might be some discrepancy somewhere which could be cleared up by an examination of the Register of Liberated Slaves formerly in the Department of Indian Affairs in Durban (Seedat 1873: 303).

v. The Fifth Batch, April 1877.

The origin of the last major batch of freed Africans to land in Natal is similarly contradictory. In April 1877, 77 freed slaves were received in Natal who had apparently experienced great hardship at sea, of whom 14 were ill. A local newspaper, *The Natal Mercury*, of 25th April, 1877, gave a graphic account of how the freed slaves who had arrived on the mail steamship, *Kaffir,* were rescued. It said they were shipped from the

Umpiza River a few miles South of Mozambique Island and were being taken to Madagascar by Arab and Comorian slavers. All the slaves were Makua and some were able to speak Portuguese fluently. The report stated that, the Makua "are highly prized as domestic servants in Zanzibar, being considered a hard working and faithful race"; but the "disfigurement of their tribal marks render them less in estimation of the Arabs" (Oosthuizen 1982: 9. Seedat 1973: 10-11).

All these are very significant and apparently authentic details. However, records from the NAZ suggest that they were part of a large group of 165 slaves freed from a dhow that was captured off Pemba Island. Kirk's returns of the disposal of freed slaves for the year clearly states that of the 165 freed Africans, 77 were sent to Natal, 50 given to the UMCA, 30 to the Roman Catholic Mission and eight were freed in Zanzibar. Apart from these people, two individually liberated Africans were sent to Cape Town in June and August.[30]

Among these liberated Africans, there might have been four individuals, the details of whose lives added flesh to the sometimes dry census of the arrivals of the liberated Africans in Natal. They were domestic slaves near Pangani who had taken refuge in HMS *Philomel* in February 1877 claiming to have suffered cruel treatment from their master; and they declared a wish not to be landed in the Zanzibar territory. They were, therefore, sent to Natal. Through a contradictory investigation, the fugitives admitted that they were slaves of Mambo Sasa, the Diwani of Bweni near Pangani; but claimed that they had been his slaves for only two years. The owner, on the other hand, claimed that two of them, Hanzerani and Amana, were his concubines whom he had bought in Urua and Ruemba in eastern Congo, apparently with money he had earned by working for Dr. Livingstone on his expeditions to Katanga. He said that they had been with him for 10 years and had been behaving well enough until lately when they took to going to other houses at night. The third, Jemalife, was a female slave, whom he had bought in the Nyasa country also 10 years before. She was married to another of his slaves who may have flogged her. The fourth was a male slave, Kajifu. He was bought at the coast, also 10 years before, and he used to go on trading expeditions into the Masai country. He said that he had no dispute with the last two slaves. Whatever the truth about the cruel treatment, what is interesting is that they were domestic slaves long resident on the coast opposite Zanzibar and with wide-ranging commercial connections in eastern Africa. Since they were domestic slaves, the British had no grounds to free them and, in March 1878, the Foreign Office agreed to pay a compensation of $250.[31]

vi. The Small Batches, October 1877-1880

In a letter dated 19th October 1877, Kirk informed the Protector of Immigrants that "by the *Kaffir* steamer … I have forwarded to your charge four freed slaves (3 males and 1 female)." (Oosthuizen 1982: 9). Only four freed slaves entered Natal in 1878, and the Slave Relief Report mentions two of them, Bora Afia and Kupata, whose tribal names are not given. A third one is also listed, Katorafili, who was sent to Cape Town, and he was described as a Nyasa and "incorrigible, a thief". Finally, in 1880, three more appear to have been sent of whom two were young boys who were reportedly cruelly treated by their Arab slavers. This apparently brought to an end the entry of freed Africans into Natal from Zanzibar (Seedat 1973: 23).[32]

By 1877, of the nearly 500 liberated Africans, who had landed in Natal, 216 were men, 136 women and 151 children. Of these, 64 men and four women had died by then in the colony, a fairly high mortality rate, and four had absconded. There were, therefore, 432 freed slaves still in employment in Natal, scattered in Durban, Pietermaritzburg and elsewhere. In terms of age, according to Seedat, of the 352 freed slaves listed in the Register of Liberated African Slaves, compiled by the Protector of Indian Immigrants for the years 1873-1875, only five were registered as being over 40 years old, the oldest being Jamalee, a man of 54 years of age, who had arrived in the first batch on HMS *Briton*. A majority were young men, women and children who were apparently preferred by the slavers (Seedat 1973: 15, 23).[33] From the detailed itemisation of the entry of the freed Africans into Natal, it is clear that liberated Africans from both complexes of slave trade on the eastern African coast were sent to Natal; but those from the "southern complex" and, specifically, the Makua were predominating, as shown below:

Year	Batch No.	From "Southern Complex"	From "Northern Complex"
1873	1	113	
1874	2	78	
1976	3		7
	4	94	
	5		128
1877	6	77	77
	7		4
1878	8		4
1880	9		3
Total		285 + 77	146 + 77

Of these liberated Africans, the first two batches of 113 and 78, definitely originated from the Makua area of Mozambique and were being taken to Madagascar; but while the first batch was sent directly to Natal without passing through Zanzibar, the second group transited through Zanzibar where the captured slave dhow was adjudicated. Thus, the total number of those originating from the "southern complex" was at least 191. On the other hand, one large group of 128 freed Africans, who were sent to Natal in 1876, appears to have originated in the "northern complex", who probably came down to the coast at Kilwa and were marched up the coast and were intercepted while crossing the Pemba Channel. To the same origin could be traced, smaller numbers of freed Africans, numbering a total of 18, who might have been captured while being ferried to Pemba. If so, the total number, originating from the "northern complex", adds up to 146. However, it must be remembered that the slaves feeding the two complexes originated from the same general area of southern Tanzania, northern Mozambique, and Malawi, amd a vast majority of them were freshly enslaved Africans. A small number of them might have been domestic slaves who had lived for some time on Zanzibar or the Swahili coast, such as the plantation slaves from Unguja being taken to Pemba or the group of domestic slaves who took refuge on HMS *Philomel;* and they might have been Swahili-speaking However, there is still one large batch of 77 liberated Africans in 1877 whose origin I cannot determine because the evidence seems to be contradictory.

6. The Identity of the "Zanzibaris"

The question that still remains is who are the "Zanzibaris"? We are dealing with a historical community that has come into being under some very trying circumstances within the past century and a quarter. We must also bear in mind the somewhat varied origins of the liberated Africans who were sent to Natal who might or might not have been all integrated eventually into the "Zanzibari" community. I will try to elaborate on the various aspects of their identity in order to understand their origin and what they have become.

i. The Makua Linguistic Factor

It cannot be denied that a majority of the "Zanzibaris" today speak or claim Makua language as their mother tongue. Oosthuizen (1982: 28) and Temu (1999: 1) claim that the "old perople" could speak the Swahili language, but I could meet only one who could speak broken Swahili, and he told me that he had picked it up in Durban from Swahili dockworkers from Mombasa. However, as we have seen above, the liberated Africans also included other language speakers from within the "southern complex", such as the Mang'anja of the neighbouring Maravi group, or from Inhambane in southern Mozambique. More significant is the fact that at least a third of the liberated Africans, who were brought to Natal, originated from the "northern complex", some speaking the Ngindo language of the Yao cluster in southern Tanzania. There were also the small numbers, who were brought from Zanzibar by mail steamers; who might have come from the Swahili coast; and who might have spent some time in Zanzibar. While it is very likely that the large original contingent of Makua-speakers formed a core which assimilated smaller linguistic groups, it is also possible that, after the three year labour contracts, the other groups might have dispersed and might have been absorbed by the wider South African population. Only the Makua-speakers might have come together at King's Rest or the Bluff in Durban with a strong attachment to the ancestral mothertongue to give them a sense of identity.

However, the process was not unilinear, for the "Zanzibaris" did not remain an exclusive linguistic or tribal grouping. In subsequent decades, the community absorbed several other groups. In a census of the "Zanzibaris" at King's Rest in 1959, it was found that twenty heads of families, out of the 153, were not descendants of the original freed slaves but had intermarried with them and had been assimilated, probably through the strong matrilineal tendency among the Makua; and the community pleaded for them to be considered as part of the "Zanzibari" community. It is not clear whether these included the 15 poor Indian Muslim families, out of the 96 households, who were settled among them and with whom they had obviously intermarried (Seedat 1973: 32, 45). The "Zanzibari" graveyard at King's Rest bears many names which are identifiably Indian.[34]

In his survey in 1982 after the community had been shifted to Chatsworth, Oosthuizen found that there were about 20 male Yao-speaking Malawians and other Muslim Africans, half of whom had taken "Zanzibari" wives, and the rest had married local African women, who had converted to Islam, if they were not already Muslim. There is also an important case of a Muslim from the Comoros, who settled among them in the 1880s and married into the community, and thus became a "Zanzibari", perhaps representing many others from the islands in the western Indian Ocean. If all these people speak the Makua language at home today, it exposes the pitfalls of associating any linguistic group with a single ethnic or spatial origin. Nevertheless, the language remains a very important criterion of identity; it was the majority language of the original or founding members of the community which has absorbed those who joined it later. Many of Oosthuizen's informants repeatedly identified the community unhesitatingly as Makua (Seedat 1973: 32. Oosthuizen 1982: 18, 20).

ii. Islam, the Religious Factor

The second criterion of identity of the "Zanzibaris" is their religion; and they themselves would probably place it as foremost. A document prepared by one of the members of the community about their history said "Islam played and still plays a pivotal role in the life of the community."[35] Oosthuizen argues:

> *"For no other community in South Africa is their religion of greater value than for the "Zanzibaris". Not only has it protected them against unjust situations and assisted them in times of real need, it has also kept them together as a community – it is their way of life....Where the slave raids broke up some societies, Islamic law served as means towards their reintegration. ... The*

> *Makua found in Islam's emphasis on the demonstration of unity through religious observances and beliefs a reintegrating factor of immense importance" (Oosthuizen 1982: 5,16).*

Although the "Zanzibaris" developed very close links with the Indian Muslims, the fact is that a majority of them had come as Muslims from Mozambique belonging to the Shafe'i school of Sunni Islam which was the prevalent school in the maritime and mercantile world of the Indian Ocean including the northern coast of Mozambique, rather than the Hanafi school which a majority of the Indian Sunni Muslims follow. As Oosthuizen points out, the Shafe'i school had penetrated Africa largely through trade and accomplished primarily by merchants and religious teachers rather than by rulers and the sword; and the result was an indigenous Islamic-African civilisation which preserved many indigenous features in its culture and religion. In fact, the two Muslim groups came together in the first place when the freed Africans from the Bluff travelled weekly to attend the Friday prayers in the Indian-controlled Juma Masjid (Friday Mosque) in Grey Street during the last quarter of the nineteenth century wearing their ankle-length flowing white gowns; and the Indians were impressed by the religious zeal of the "Zanzibaris" (Oosthuizen 1982: 7; Seedat 1973: 27, 31).

Not all the freed slaves, however, were Muslims; nor did all of them remain so. One of the earliest freed slaves was named Maria; and several others were said to have been fluent in Portuguese. While these considerations do not necessarily mean they were Christian, they do indicate some Christian influence. When they landed at Durban, it was ruled that they should be "gradually instructed in the great truths of Christianity." More significant was the deliberate attempt by the Catholic Church to establish a mission among the freed slaves as the only tool to penetrate the Zulu people. It encouraged new converts to intermarry and assimilate with the local African population as a way of converting them. However, in the process, these Christian liberated Africans lost their separate identity, language and culture. They were settled on a 100-acre plot in the Bluff area in 1880 where even some Muslims lived (Seedat 1973: 16, 30-1).

iii. Relation with Indian Muslims

It is obvious that the "Zanzibari" community was involved in a close inter-relationship with the Indian Muslim co-religionists in Durban from a very early period, although it has now become a matter of contention. It was a matter of chance that created links between the freed slaves and the Indian labourers. Both were brought to South Africa as indentured labourers; and some of them lived amongst them at King's Rest and later at Chatsworth. They were administered by the same branch of government, the Protector of Indian Immigrants, which conferred upon them a special identity. The freed Africans were compelled to enter contracts of indenture similar to those for Indian immigrants. They worshipped together on Fridays in the same mosque in Grey Street or daily in their own small mosque at King's Rest; joined them in the observance of Prophet

Muhammad's birthday and took part in the *dhikr* ceremonies of their Sufi brotherhoods; and they were buried in the same cemetery. An important role was played by Mustapha Osman from the Comoros who came to Durban in late 1880s. (Oosthuizen 1982: 11-2, 23) According to Seedat (1973: 7-8, 18-22, 31-3), the Juma Masjid Trust (JMT) asked him to live among the "Zanzibaris" and act as their religious guide. In time, he married among them, became recognised as their Imam or Khalifa, and also became famous as a faith healer.

It seems that when the "Zanzibaris" began to complete their contracts of indenture, they began to settle in the Bluff area ten miles South of Durban which was then a fairly isolated dense bushland sparsely inhabited by the remnants of the Zulu Amatuli tribe. The Symallin document states that they settled on the land owned by a British aristocrat and businessman, Benningfield, and paid one shilling per year for the lease. In 1899, seven Indian Muslim merchants bought a 43-acre plot there. According to a report, it was made a *Waqf* (charitable trust), held for the benefit of the poor for eternity, specifically for "the followers of the Sunni Muslim religious faith".[36] Seedat (1973: 26, 29, 32) argues that unlike the Catholic Church, the JMT did not regard the settlement as a centre from which to proselytise among local Africans, but as a means to provide for the material and spiritual needs of Sunni Muslims, including "Zanzibaris". Muslim "Zanzibaris" already on the land and those who were earlier on the Catholic lands and who then moved to this plot were apparently expected to pay one shilling a year per dwelling. Relations have somewhat soured more recently over the ownership of the King's Rest plot which has been restored after the ending of apartheid; and the differing interpretations of the motives of the original protagonists have been put forward, which I am not in a position to go into. But it might not be unfair to say, with Oosthuizen (1982: 25), that despite the absence of any common secular organisation between the two sides, a common religion which was so important to the "Zanzibaris" was a significant bond between them.

iv. The Indian Ocean and Swahili Connection

Islam, however, was part of a larger culture complex that had linked the Makua with the wider Swahili and Indian Ocean worlds. The Makua, especially those living nearer the coast, had been living for hundreds of years in close proximity and intimate social inter-relationship with the Swahili people of the coast, reciprocally influencing each other's society and culture. The closer to the coast they lived, the more their traditional culture had changed in contact with the Swahili. In the littoral region, it was frequently difficult to differentiate between the Makua and the Swahili. As such they could not escape being integrated into or, at least touched by, the wider world of the Indian Ocean, which was maritime, mercantile and, to a considerable extent, dominated by the Islamic ethos.

They had numerous commercial, cultural and religious contacts with the Swahili city states on the coast of northern Mozambique and Tanzania, across the Mozambique channel to the Comoro islands and the North-west coast of Madagascar, and beyond to the North to the Persian Gulf and India. The shining star in that constellation, during the nineteenth century was, of course, Zanzibar, the capital of a commercial empire. One Portuguese source reported that the Sultans of Angoche travelled to Zanzibar for confirmation after they had been installed by the Portuguese. Therefore, the Makua, who were landed on the coast of Natal in the 1870s, were not a homogeneous and static tribal group that anthropologists revel in but a historical entity; nor have they remained so since their arrival.

The Makua, as well as the Swahili, belonged to the Shafe'i school of Islam, which radiated from the famous centres of learning in Hadhramaut via Zanzibar, and contributed to their wider Indian Ocean identity. Proselytisation to a considerable extent was carried out by the Sufi *tariqas* which reached northern Mozambique via Zanzibar, Kilwa and the Comoros. Sons of Makua chiefs near the coast attended Quran schools and wrote in Arabic script; and many adopted Muslim-style clothing. Some Makua, especially those close to the coast, adopted Islam fully and identified themselves as "Maca" Makua, (from Mecca, according to Hafkin (1973: 40, 44, 46, 52-3, 57, 74).

v. Fitting into South Africa's Racist Pigeon Hole and "Zanzibari" Identity.

The community, however, did not develop entirely through its own internal social forces but within a context over which they often did not have control and which imposed labels that may not have been consistent with its own sentiments. To start with, the people, who came to compose the community, were snatched from their families through slave hunting in the hinterland of northern Mozambique, many of them destitute children who had lost their parents, and given the first label of "slave" by Makua or Yao slave hunters and Swahili or Arab slave traders. After they were "liberated" by the British Navy, they were given the second label and even written chits describing them as "freed slaves" or "descendants of liberated slaves" by the British administrators in Natal, a label that stuck to their skins as long as they were atomised as individuals, and long thereafter. Understandably, the "Zanzibaris" detest these labels. The British deliberately sought to keep them apart from the local Africans, legislating that their "lodgings be separate from those of the Kaffir servants of the colony." In Natal, they then became "indentured labourers" or "coolies" like their Indian counterparts, without the freedom to choose their employers for a minimum of three years, or as apprentices until adulthood (Seedat 1973: 15-16,18).

It was only after they had completed the period of their indenture that the individuals began to come together to reconstitute themselves as a community and to develop their own identity. The early differential treatment of the "freed slaves" from the local Africans might have led to some of them to settle together in a separate enclave. The formative period was the last quarter of the nineteenth century when these individuals somehow began to come together at the Bluff to settle on the outskirts of Durban as market gardeners, dockworkers and domestic servants. In this movement, for the first time since their initial enslavement, these individuals were not being driven by an authoritarian hand but were apparently led by their own instincts to find their own mates and to begin to build their new community. They also built their first mosque, which was built of reeds from the marshes across the railway line, and, later, a "new" mosque of wood and iron, as well as their cemetery (Seedat 1973: 26-27; Symallin doc.). It is very likely that, in doing so, they were being guided by their own internal social criteria of a common language and religion, Makua and Islam.

What did they call themselves in those early days? Since the old people of those generations are long gone and they have left no written testaments of their own (or have they?), we might never know, but it is possible that they called themselves Makua or Muslims depending on the context, as they continued to do into the twentieth century. Their Indian neighbours, who were also settling down in the same area and doing the same jobs after they had completed their own contracts, called them "Siddhis", a term by which people of African origin are known in India to this day. In 1899, as we have seen, the JMT purchased the land on which they had built their habitations to give them some security and to bring together people of the same faith (Seedat 1973: 30).

However, the community was growing up in South Africa at a time when the country was crafting its own racial and caste structures long before the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948. In 1925, a Poll Tax was imposed on the "Natives" who were defined as "any member of an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa". For a poor community trying to eke a livelihood under very difficult conditions, which had been treated by the government since they came to Natal as different from the local Africans, and which was just beginning to remould a new society based on their own language, religion and culture, the sudden change to the new label by the same government was naturally unwelcome. It was, therefore, not surprising that they tried to beat the government at their own game by trying to escape being put in the undesirable racial pigeon-hole. For nearly a decade, they could not resist paying the tax while others tried to evade it, some by obtaining an identity card from the Protector of Indian Immigrants describing them as "descendants of freed slaves" (Seedat 1973: 34-35).

In 1938, a "Zanzibari" by the name of Fakiri brought a case to the courts claiming that he was not a "Native" in the legal sense of the word because his paternal grandparents had come as freed slaves from Zanzibar which was outside the territorial waters of the African continent; and that his great grandfather was an Arab, spoke the

Swahili language and was a Muslim. However, the Natal Provincial Court, with its racially-tinted glasses, ruled that "a person whose appearance would enable him to pass anywhere as an African Native, who is living with a Zulu woman, who works among natives and who for ten years, paid without demur the tax", could not claim not to be a Native. Since it was considered an important test case affecting the legal status of all "Zanzibaris", an appeal was lodged with the South African Court of Appeal. However, the court again ruled on the basis of the same racial appearance more characteristic of the more racially inclined western societies, rather than the more integrative social structure in the Indian Ocean region where skin colour is not always the paramount criterion. This ruling meant that these people were now "Natives", and they were shifted to the Department of Native Affairs and had to carry the Native Reference Book (Seedat 1973: 36-38).

Unfortunately, research has not yet been done carefully enough to determine at exactly what moment these people began to identify themselves as "Zanzibaris," in particular. Seedat argues that the confrontation with the White authorities tended to reinforce the "Zanzibari" separate identity, but she has not shown whether that identity had been enunciated by the people themselves before 1938. It is possible, and at this stage we can only speculate, that with the controversy surrounding the case which was going to determine the legal status of the community, and when the exact place of origin had become crucial perhaps for the first time, it was at that time that the old historical and religious links with Zanzibar and the Indian Ocean may have become a rallying point, and may have led to the adoption of the "Zanzibari" identity, although a majority of them may not have originated in Zanzibar itself before being settled in Natal. It was not so much the fact of passage through Zanzibar, or merely an opportunistic exercise to gain bigger crumbs from the apartheid table, but the historical, religious and broader cultural connection with Zanzibar as representing the Indian Ocean world outside South Africa's racial and caste social structure that was probably more important in the minds of the "Zanzibaris" in their search for self-identity.

The court ruling, however, had not resolved the legal status of the "Zanzibaris", and strangely enough, and in a rather cruel twist of fate, it was the Group Areas Act of the Nationalist Government that was to resolve the issue and recognise their identity as "Zanzibaris". The Department of Bantu Administration had already expressed grave doubts about the correctness of their designation as Natives. Under the new dispensation it was initially proposed that they should be classified as Coloureds, but this was opposed by the Coloureds themselves on the grounds of race, because they were not of European descent; on the basis of religion, because they were not Christian; and in any case, they posed an economic threat since they would accept lower wages and impose pressure on Coloured social services. This led to an unexpected announcement from the Minister of the Interior in 1961 that "Zanzibaris" would be classified as Coloureds but under a new "Other Asiatic Group" category. They were thus issued with a "Zanzibari" identity card and could now be legally settled in an Indian area like Chatsworth. However, exposing all the absurdities of the apartheid racial policies, one large family chose to be classified as Indian because the legal father or grandfather was classified as an Indian; some others chose to be classified as Coloureds because their legal fathers or grandfathers were designated in their birth certificates as Coloureds. They therefore had to move to Coloured areas such as Wentworth (Seedat 1973: 46-9).

The rest were forcibly removed to Chatsworth in 1962 which was "horrendous" and "painful" according to the Symallin document. Some community elders lost their lives in the relocation; no compensation was paid for the loss of homes, crops, livestock and poultry. Many "Zanzibaris" regretted the loss of what were dearest to their hearts – their joint family structure and larger homes to accommodate their growing families; their ability to supplement their income through market gardening; their own mosque and cemetery; and above all what had become their home for more than three quarters of a century. After the ending of apartheid, they formed the Zanzibar Civic Association to reclaim their land rights to King's Rest, and in 2004 they at last regained them through the South African Commission on Restitution of Land Rights.[37]

Who then are the "Zanzibaris"? The answer, I suggest, is not for genealogists or geneticists to determine, for we are dealing with a historical community that has come into being within the past century and a quarter. The question is not who they were, but what they have become. It is not enough to conclude that few of the freed slaves, were originally from Zanzibar, or were of Arab stock, but were rather of mainland African origin, particularly from the Makua area of Northern Mozambique. Such a conclusion puts emphasis on tribe and race rather than the complex social matrix and historical circumstances from which the community has emerged. The historical problem is why they identify themselves as "Zanzibaris", and who are we to deny their self-identification?

Notes

[1] "Zanzibaris" throughout this paper is placed in inverted commas partly not to prejudge the historical problem about their identity that is being investigated in this paper, and partly to distinguish them from the ordinary Zanzibaris on Zanzibar islands in Tanzania.

[2] I would like to acknowledge the hospitality shown by the family of Mr. Saleem Symallin who had arranged for me to visit a large number of "Zanzibaris" and their institutions in Durban.

[3] Sulivan to Macdonald, 3.2.1876, 15.4.1876, 21.4.1876, National Archives of Zanzibar (NAZ): BK1/6- Correspondence with British Representatives & Agents Abroad (hereafter Correspondence) 1876, pp.620-1, 643, 645. Kirk to Foreign Office (FO),

15.4.1876, NAZ: AA 1/8: British Consular Records: Foreign Office Correspondence 1871, 1876. s. to s. 26.3.1877, 14.9.1877, NAZ: AA1/20 – Outward 1877; AA1/22 - Correspondence 1877.

[4] Kirk to FO, 13.9.1876, NAZ: AA 1/19 - Outward 1876; s. to s. 28.2.1877, AA1/20 – Outward 1877.

[5] Kirk to FO 20.7.1876, NAZ: AA 1/19: Outward 1876.

[6] FO to Kirk, 22.2.1876, NAZ: AA 1/17: Inward 1876; s. to s. 23.3.1876, AA 1/8: FO Correspondence 1871, 1876.

[7] Sulivan to Macdonald, 18.3.76, Correspondence 1876, p.629. Kirk to FO 20.7.1876, NAZ: AA 1/19: Outward 1876.

[8] Kirk to FO 20.7.1876, NAZ: AA 1/19: Outward 1876.

[9] Kirk to FO, 8.8.1876, 9.8.1876, NAZ: AA 1/19: Outward 1876. Cooper 1977:125.

[10] Frere to Kirk 1.4.1873, NAZ: AA2/8 - Inward, 1868-74.

[11] Political Agent (Zanzibar) to Colonial Secretary, Natal, 29.4.1873, NAZ: AA2/12 – Outward 1873 – I.

[12] Elton to Wilhelm, 5.5.1873, NAZ: AA2/12 – Outward 1873 – I. Wilhelm to Elton, 16.6.1873, NAZ: AA2/8 – Inward 1869-74, Misc.

[13] Colonial Secretary, Natal to Kirk, 16.6.1873; Governor (Cape) to Kirk, 9.7.1873; Lt. Governor, Natal to Kirk, 4.8.1873; NAZ: AA2/8 – Inward 1869-74, Misc.

[14] Government Notices 142 of 11.7.1873 and 177 of 22.8.1873, NAZ:AA 1/17. Seedat 1973: 6-7.

[15] Government Notices 136 of 14.6.1873, 142 of 11.7.1873 and 177 of 22.8.1873, NAZ: AA 1/15 & 1/17. Seedat 1973: 6-7, 19.

[16] FO to Kirk, 7.2.1876; Colonial Office to FO, 28.1.1876, NAZ: AA 1/17: Inward 1876. Seedat 1973:16-7.

[17] Kirk to Colonial Secretary, Natal, 28.6.1873; Kirk to Governor of Natal, 29.8.1873, NAZ: AA1/12 – Outward, 1873 – II.

[18] FO to Prideaux, 31.12.1874, NAZ: AA 1/8: British Consular Records: FO Correspondence 1871, 1876. Kirk to Derby, 21.9.1876, NAZ: BK1/6-Correspondence 1876.

[19] Kirk to Salisbury, 16.9.1879, NAZ: BK1/11 – Correspondence 1879.

[20] Kirk to Foreign Office, 29.8.1873, NAZ: AA1/12 – Outward 1873 – II.

[21] Elton to Kirk, 18.8.1873, NAZ: AA2/8 – Inward 1869-74, Misc. Natal Government Notice 177 of 22.8.1873, NAZ: AA 1/17.

[22] Kirk to Foreign Office, 24.9.1873, NAZ: AA1/12 – Outward 1873 – II.

[23] Elton to Kirk, 19.8.1873, NAZ: AA2/8 – Inward 1869-74, Misc. The wife of Bishop Colenso informed her friend Elton had found that 'some of the women had their upper lip pierced for a circular lip ring of ivory, which was removed on their being taken as slaves, as it was regarded as a horrible disfigurement in the slave market.' Seedat 1973:10.

[24] Elton to Kirk, 19.8.1873, NAZ: AA2/8 – Inward 1869-74, Misc. Elton 1879:115-18.

[25] FO to Prideaux, 31.12.1874, NAZ: AA 1/13: Inward 1874.

[26] Elton to Smith, 21.5.1875; Kirk to Derby, 4.10.1875, NAZ: BK1/5: Correspondence 1875, p.162.

[27] Kirk to FO, 6.4.1876, NAZ: AA 1/8: British Consular Records: FO Correspondence 1871, 1876. Kirk to FO, 7.3.1876, NAZ: AA 1/18. Ward to Secretary of the Admiralty, 24.4.1876, Macdonald to Secretary of the Admiralty, 4.5.1876, NAZ: BK1/6-Correspondence 1876, p. 628, 631.

[28] Lt. Gov. Natal to Carnarvon, Natal, 28.8.1876, NAZ: BK1/6- Correspondence 1876. NAZ: AA 1/17: 1876. The letter written several months after the event is a bit confusing since it seems to be talking about 94 slaves referred to by Kirk in his despatch of 6th April but associates it with HMS *London*, whereas Kirk was referring to the capture by HMS *Thetis* mentioned above. The captures by the boats of HMS *London* seem to refer to the 128 freed Africans mentioned in this batch, but the matter has to be cleared by reference to the Register of Liberated African Slaves in the records of the former Department of Indian Affairs in Durban.

[29] Sulivan to Macdonald, 15.4.1876; s. to s. 18.3.1876, NAZ: BK1/6- Correspondence 1876, pp. 629, 643. Kirk to FO, 23.3.1876, NAZ: AA 1/8: British Consular Records: FO Correspondence 1871, 1876.

[30] Kirk to FO, 26.3.1877; 14.9.1977, NAZ: AA 1/20 – Outward 1877.

[31] FO to Kirk, 7.2.1877, NAZ: AA 1/21 - Inward 1877; Kirk to FO, 7.3.1877; Sulivan to Kirk, 10.3.1877, NAZ: AA1/20 –Outward 1877. FO to Kirk 8.3.1878, NAZ: AA 1/25-Inward 1878.

[32] One of them is mentioned as a Nyasa freed slave Sevenje in the Register of Freed Slaves Landed in Zanzibar, 1866-1888. NAZ: ARC.3/39.

[33] Quoting the Register of Liberated African Slaves – R 125, in the Indian Immigration Papers, Department of Indian Affairs, Stanger Street, Durban. It gives the following details of freed slaves: No., Name, Sex, Age of the slave; Name of the ship on which s/he arrived in the colony; Name of the employer; Date of assignment to employer; Period of employment; Date of discharge.

[34] Personal observation at the cemetery, July 2005. However, Oosthuizen 1982: 24 notes that despite the close contact, only about three marriages had taken place between Indians and "Zanzibaris" over a period previous to his research.

[35] Probably prepared by Mr. N. R. Symallin, sometime Chairman of the Zanzibari Civic Association. Hereafter referred to as the Symallin document, a photocopy given to me by Mr. Symallin in my possession.

[36] Symallin doc. quoting an 1877 document in the Immigration papers. Jabu Mzaliya to Grant Weston & D. K. Singh, Re: on "Preliminary Negotiations: Zanzibar Civic Association and the Juma Masjid Trust", 19.4.1999, a photocopy given to me by Mr. Symallin is in my possession.

[37] Even at this stage a journalist could not resist the temptation of taunting them as the "Lost Tribe". See, Grant Clark. 2004 South Africa: "Lost tribe" Gets Land Back. In *Mail and Guardian (South Africa),* 10. 01.

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34

A Glimpse of Indian Merchant Communities in Zanzibar During 1800: the Topan Family Through British Archival Sources[1]

Beatrice Nicolini

Introduction

The role of Indian merchant communities was one of the essential and deciding factors in the extraordinary development of East African Slave trade, mainly due to the expansion of the caravan trade with the interior of East Africa, and to the invitation by the Omani Sultans to finance, help administer the state apparatus, and collect customs dues, which occurred in Sub-Saharan East Africa and also on the island of Zanzibar during the nineteenth century, where they were extremely active. Obviously, the term "Indian communities" is an ambiguous term; within Gujarati merchants in East Africa there were merchants coming from Kutch, Kathiawar and Gujarat proper, who were again from different religious backgrounds like, Hindu, Jain, Parsi/Zoroastrian, Shia and Sunni Muslims. Through available English sources, they were called *banyan*[2] (Allen Jr. 1978: 18; Bhacker 1992: 209; Lodhi 2000: 52-55). During the nineteenth century, most of the tax collectors in Zanzibar were "Indians"; they rented African ports from the Omanis under five-year contracts, paying annual fees. The tender for the contracts, on their expiry, were renewed and assigned to the highest bidders. While land represented the main form of security for Swahili and Omani leading family groups, Indian immigrants depended mainly on money and family or blood relationships (Glassman 1994: 40-54).[3] And here the distinction between Indian migrant merchant families who were active in their business in India before travelling to Sub-Saharan East Africa, and those, who left from western India ports in search of new opportunities, is important with the Topan family in the second category.

According to Paroo, a majority of the early Ismaili, like the Topan family, originally came from the Northwest Indian regions of Kutch and Kathiawar. Approximately 80 per cent of them were subsistence farmers or farm labourers, while the remaining 20 per cent worked in business, construction or transportation industries. In the nineteenth century, most Ismaili migrants set off from the Indian ports of Mandavee, Surat, Porbander and Bombay (Paroo 2005; Remtulla 1974: 21). Moreover, a majority of the Indian merchants were male, which had heavy consequences on the social level in Zanzibar. The Indian family concern, becoming increasingly complex as the volume of its business increased, was the economic model enjoying most success along the Sub-Saharan East African coasts. In this regard, the Indian Topan family in

Zanzibar, which was given the role of Masters of Customs or tax-collectors by the Omanis, was defined in British sources as one of the most powerful families. The Topan family came from Lakhput in the Kutch region of western India. The financing of caravans directed towards the African interior to deal in slaves and ivory trade, together with providing unlimited credit at low interest rates, gave this Indian mercantile community considerable control, not only economically but also politically. The few merchants belonging to the Topan family have been vividly described by European explorers of the nineteenth century. We will see, through some testimonies, the nature of the relationships between different communities in Sub-Saharan East African Islands and their role within the slave trade.

Among the many "Indian" merchants trading in the western Indian Ocean during the nineteenth century there were the *Bhatias*, who originated from Bhatti, Subhatta regions of Rajasthan and were Hindu warriors of the Vaishnavite caste. Another group of *Bhatia* was the Kutch, which was again Hindu and which, in the seventeenth century enjoyed great prestige at Muscat and was exempted from taxation by the Omanis. Together with these groups of merchants, there were also the *Khoja*, who were Ismaili. In foreign and sea-going trade, mainly Muslims were employed (*Bohra and Khoja*) while Jains and Hindus (*Banya and Bhatia*) were dominant in the banking and financial fields (Allen Jr. 1981: 39-53; Daftary 1990).[4] Nevertheless, the introduction of the Indian system of weight and measures and the Indian rupee as currency was mainly conducted by the *Bohras* and the *Bhatias*. The *Bohra*, or *Bohora* (from the Gujarati *vohorvu*, "to trade") were all belonging to the Da'udi sect (Amiji 1971: 603-16; 1975: 34). They worked as merchants, clerks, financiers in the great commercial houses of Zanzibar, and provided banking facilities to the wealthy Arab landowners.[5]

The wealthiest among Indian merchants[6] were vividly described by British explorers of the nineteenth century, who took note of their complexion, which was fairer than that of the Omanis, their fine features, with long moustaches without beards and with a Chinese pigtail at the base of a shaved head. Stress was also laid on the elegance and sumptuousness of their attire, consisting of silk tunics with long, ruffled sleeves, which was a clear sign that they were not involved in any form of manual labour. There were, moreover, "money tasters" and *sarruf*, i.e., moneychangers (from whence we have the English term *shroff*), called *mushrikun* by the Ibadhi Omanis, easily included in the Islamic institution of *aman* (protection) (Blanchy 1995). In the accounts and the reports of the East India Company representatives, as stated above, the English used the term *banyan* to identify both the Hindu castes and the Indian Ismaili communities (this mix up being quite frequent).

Throughout the nineteenth century, discriminations and prejudices were often suffered by the "Asian" communities - identified as a racist term - in Sub-Saharan East

Africa either with the "Arab" or the African leaderships and the European presence. In the first case, while the choice could be often of joining either with the "Arabs" or with the "Africans", on some occasion exponents of the Indian communities strongly supported both "Arabs" and "Africans". In the second case, the Indians "Were quick to learn English, adopt European dress even for women, live and eat in European style". And within this process described by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) as the "invention of tradition" some of them became more British than the English (Gregory 1981: 261; Pearson 2000: 37-59).

The presence of the Ismaili *Khoja (khwajah)* communities in East Africa goes back around the fifteenth century. Socially cut off from the "Arabs", strictly endogamous but occasionally intermarrying with the autochthonous populations, and mainly involved in boat-building, in the nineteenth century the Indian Ismaili formed one of the largest groups, numerically, in East Africa. However, from the start of the nineteenth century, it was the Hindu *banyan* who attained and held an uncontested financial superiority.

The Omani dynasty of the Al Bu Sa'id emerged at the end of the eighteenth century into this already fully-functioning system, with its wide range of links and connections and enjoying the mediating roles and receiving loans from the various Indian communities present in Zanzibar. The traditional mercantile relationships between those Indian communities fully integrated into Swahili reality, and the Omanis were destined to develop new trade patterns (Ghazal 2005). Consequently, during the nineteenth century the growth in the volume of trade managed by the Indian mercantile communities, with the consent and support of the Omanis, inevitably led to a gradual but progressive weakening of the Swahili groups. These saw decreasing their trade monopolies, and their most deeply-rooted social and cultural traditions underwent traumatic changes. Among them the magical elements, the traditional cults and witchcraft, which were blatant symbols of the traditional system of wielding power were, at varying times, deprived of their forcefulness in the political and social fields (Nicolini 2006: 115-26).

On Zanzibar, instead, a gradual process of osmosis occurred which often linked magical practices with the precepts of the Koran, resulting in a political-social mix and management of power that reflected a multiplicity of cultural and religious roots. This intermingling also gave impetus to commercial activity, to the point that during the second half of the nineteenth century the connections between the Swahili coast and its hinterland were innumerable (Burton 1872: 102-03; Rockel 2006). Within this framework, the vast network, run by the "Indian" mercantile communities, of international trade links, stretching from East Africa, Arabia, the Gulf and India as far as Southeast Asia, Indonesia and even China, was further consolidated. It was only from halfway through the nineteenth century that this network began to feel the effects of a European impact, the European ships before this time being inferior in both size and capital investments.

Nineteenth Century British Accounts

On the 10th December 1810, two cruisers of the Bombay Marine the *Ternate* and the *Silph* under the commands of Captain Smee and Lieutenant Hardy, sailed from Bombay with orders to inspect the entire coast, from Cape Guardafui as far as the Island of Zanzibar. The two British explorers provided a typically Eurocentric picture of local life, personalities, trade and corruption. Alongside this picture, however, we can set another, that of European competition for control and dominion over the eastern seas (Nicolini 2004: 35-47).

The description furnished by Smee and Hardy paint a far from attractive picture of the African coasts, mainly as a result of the hostility of their inhabitants: "From the treachery of the natives who are invariably inimical to the Europeans and their desire to plunder".[7] Smee and Hardy made gifts, to the peoples encountered along the African shores, of "cloths, beads, cutlery, rings and buttons to the amount of about 1,000 rupees". Nevertheless, they concluded, "The inhabitants of the African interior were cruel cannibals and thieves". On the 23rd December 1810, they sent the following word to W. J. Hamilton, Government Secretary of the Marine Department in Bombay: "The whole extent of the African Coast, from Cape Guardafui to Zanzibar does not produce one good harbour, that would afford security to shipping".[8] Once in sight of Zanzibar, Smee and Hardy immediately realized that "The Island was more or less defenceless" (Gray 1962: 1-9).[9] On the subject of imports, they reported as follows: "Cloths are imported from the Gulf of Kutch; and from Muskat, Mocha, Mukulla and Judda, dates, rice, cotton cloths, jin, tobacco, copper, ghee, myrrh, coffee, gum, frankincense, benjamin and elephant tusks, are brought from the country of Hurhur to Burbureca upon camels, the distance between the two places being 15 days journey."[10]

According to English accounts, the natives of Zanzibar fed on rice from India and a kind of flour made from a plant imported by the Portuguese called *pao de farine* (in kiswahili *mahoga*), which formed the basic diet of the Africans, while not much fish was eaten, despite the abundance of fish in the waters around the island. In the city of Zanzibar, Smee and Hardy also noted that the only buildings in stone and Madre Pore belonged to the Omani Arabs and to the richest Indian merchants. These, who were the wealthier and most influential people of the island, formed a small community compared to the great number of slaves, a group which accounted for roughly 5/6 of the overall population. The two explorers estimated the population to number 200,000, taking into account the temporary presence of many members of the "Arab" and "Indian" communities.

At the beginning of January 1811, Smee and Hardy were met at the port of Zanzibar by a representative of the Omani sovereign, Saiyid Sa'id bin Sultan Al Bu Sa'id.[11] This man, *Yacoud* or *Yaqut* – "a person of small stature, not very dark, (and) about thirty years of age" – was a former slave of Saiyid Sa'id bin Sultan Al Bu Sa'id. He was born in Asmara. When, one day, he was found in the company of a young female slave belonging to the uncle of Saiyid Sa'id bin Sultan Al Bu Sa'id, he was castrated as a punishment. Yaqut governed Zanzibar, making 15,000 Maria Theresa Thalers a year, of which only 6,000 reached Muscat (Semple 2005).[12] He was helped by an assistant, three Arab officers who commanded a small garrison, and five hundred slaves under the orders of these officers, although the English explorers saw no evidence of any military force based on the island.

In 1819, the representative Yaqut was succeeded by the Topan family, given the role of Masters of Customs or tax-collectors by the Omanis who were much indebted to the Indian merchants. An example of these frequent situations may be seen in the document in which Lt. Emery, on 17th October 1824, reported that the political representative of Saiyid Sa'id bin Sultan at Zanzibar, *Sulayman bin Ally*, was in debt to an Indian merchant to the tune of 12,000 Maria Theresa thalers.[13]

In effect, about halfway through the nineteenth century, "Jairam Topan was even more powerful than the ruler himself and he had a coastguard of some 150 "Arabs" armed with matchlocks" (Naseem 1975). Jairam Topan had succeeded in uniting the trade with Arabia, Africa and India into a single economic-financial organization, firmly and capably run by himself in person.

Among the many trading activities of the Topan family in Zanzibar, the slave trade was one of the most important. In this regard, it's worth noting the description made by the two British explorers Smee and Hardy. The appalling and humiliating sights of the slave markets in the main square of Zanzibar made a strong impression on the two Englishmen, who furnished a crude but realistic description: "The number of slaves sent annually from Zanzibar to the Île de France, Muscat and India is computed at about 10,000 of all ages and both sexes."[14] The slave market opened at three or four in the afternoon. The slaves were washed and oiled, then the sellers painted their faces with red and white stripes and sometimes they were covered in a yellow powder considered aesthetically pleasing, and given bracelets and a plain or striped cloth to wrap around their bodies. The youngest slaves were sold first, the ages ranging from six to sixty. Buyers checked for physical imperfections, inspecting the slaves' mouths, teeth and sexual organs, and would make them run to make certain they were in good health. Children of about six were sold for four to six dollars; a girl could fetch sixty, and women with children fetched the lowest prices. When they died, their bodies were left on the beach, which was one of the main reasons for the spread of serious diseases.

On 8th September 1811, Smee and Hardy, having obtained information indispensable to the East India Company, left the island to return to the port of Bombay.

The key factors in the new strategic approach adopted by the Anglo-Indian Government was precisely the need to establish a juridical-international order for British subjects on Zanzibar so as to achieve abolition of the slave trade. In 1837, Saiyid Sa'id bin Sultan Al Bu Sa'id requested that an English advisor be assigned for his personal assistance. The Court of Directors of the East India Company agreed since the volume and the importance of Zanzibar's trade in the western Indian Ocean had faced a new competition with the United States of America. American whalers sailed to Zanzibar carrying muskets, dollars and cotton cloth, far superior, to that furnished by the English, and bought ivory, tortoiseshell, copal and rhinoceros horn from the Indian merchants there (Bennett 1984; 1986). On 21 September 1833, Saiyid Sa'id bin Sultan Al Bu Sa'id signed a treaty of amity and commerce with the United States, according the new American state the privileges of the "most favoured nation" (Hurewitz 1956: 108). This implied the right to trade in ivory and copal resin, the products most in demand by the New England merchants mainly from the Marine Society in Salem. Whilst the English were obliged to pay between 50 and 60 Maria Theresa Thalers for copal, the Americans could purchase this same substance for a mere 16-20 Thalers.[15] On 17 March 1837, Richard Waters was appointed American Consul to Zanzibar and began great business with Jairam Topan, the powerful Indian merchant.

Status of Asian Communities in Zanzibar

On 2 October 1845, Saiyid Sa'id bin Sultan Al Bu Sa'id signed a treaty with Great Britain for the abolition of slave trade, to enter into effect on the 1st January 1847. This also foresaw the seizure and confiscation of any ship belonging to the Sultan found to be transporting slaves, with the exception of any in the East African ports of Lamu, Kilwa, Pemba, Zanzibar and Mafia. Another far from negligible detail was that, in the future, British subjects would *also* be prohibited from trading in slaves and this, obviously, included the Indian merchants belonging to those subjected regions in the Indian Subcontinent.

Thus, the fundamental question arose of the juridical status of the "Indian communities" resident in East Africa, who refused to agree to such orders. And, yet again, the articles of the treaty were expressed quite differently in the Arabic and English versions. This discrepancy would enable Lord Palmerston (1784-1865) to send a dispatch in which he specified the fact that the slave trade was prohibited *throughout* East Africa.

The profit margin was, however, too great. A slave bought on Zanzibar for 5–10 thalers could be sold in Muscat for 25 and, at Bushire or Bassora, for 40. The reality of the situation was such that the treaty was totally ineffective.

On 19 October 1856, Saiyid Sa'id bin Sultan Al Bu Sa'id died on a ship that was taking him from Muscat towards Zanzibar.

The Al Bu Sa'id's dominions in Muscat and on Zanzibar were divided under the terms of the settlement of 13 May, 1861 (with Zanzibar having to pay 40,000 Maria Theresa thalers to Muscat annually) and formalised by the Canning Award, confirmed by the Anglo-French Agreement of 1862. With this division, the possessions were assigned to the sons of Saiyid Sa'id bin Sultan Al Bu Sa'id, Majid Bin Sa'id Al Bu Sa'id (r. 1856-70), of an Ethiopian mother (possessions in Zanzibar), and Thuwayni bin Sa'id Al Bu Sa'id (r. 1856-66), of Georgian mother (possessions in Muscat). The gradual and progressive process of eroding Omani Arab power in Sub-Saharan East Africa had begun and British predominance was to increase still further. But how about the "Indian power"? It was a sea-board as well as a long-distance trade, and a financial power which consolidated throughout the nineteenth century in most ports of Sub-Saharan East Africa and in Zanzibar, and was often a personal power.

Sir Tharia Topan (1823-1891)

Among the greatest Ismaili protagonists of Zanzibar history was Varas Sir Tharia Topan, one of the descendants of Seth Topan, who coming from India as a small boy and working for the firm, Jairam Shivji for 6 shillings per month, rose to be known to the British as The King of the Ivory Trade (McDermott 1893).[16]

Tharia Topan was born on Wednesday, September 21, 1823 in Lakhput, Kutch and was the son of a small vegetable seller. No facility for formal education subsisted in Lakhput, which made him unlettered. He worked with his father as a helper. One day he escaped from his hometown on a vessel which landed him in Zanzibar, where an accountant, who was working with the prominent Indian firm of Jairam Shivji of Mundra, Kutch and knew his father, gave him the job of a garden sweeper in the house of Ladha Damji, the owner of the firm. Many Ismailis came from India to East Africa with business in their brains and immense calibre to labour in their muscles, but with empty pockets (Lobo 2000: 56). And this evocative illustration richly emanated in the personage of Tharia Topan.

Tharia Topan was well set on the high road to fame and fortune. Stanley described him in *Through the Dark Continent* as "One of the richest merchants in town" (1878: 63). He also opened his office in Bombay, operating his business and also appointed his agents almost in all the European ports.

Frere wrote in "The Khojas: The Disciples of the Old Man of the Mountain" that, "A leading member of the community of Khojas accompanied Saiyid Bargash Al Bu Sa'id of Zanzibar (r. 1870-1888) in his late visit to England. He was a tall, stout, good-humoured, elderly man, whose fair complexion, red-dyed beard, and light-blue dress handsomely embroidered, were in strange contrast to the spare, wiry figures, bronzed features, grave expression and plain sombre garments of the rest of the Sultan's suite. He spoke Hindustani fluently, and a little English, and made friends wherever he went. Nor was the interest he incited lessened when it became known that he was Tharia Topan, the Khoja merchant of Zanzibar" (Frere 1876: 342).

Topan had generated a close relation with Sir John Kirk, the British Consul, and Henry Morton Stanley, so that "Commerce in every branch, the development of agriculture, the supervision of works of public utility, the higher forms of skilled labour, the exercise of no insignificant share of political influence amongst the chieftains – all these were in Indian hands for many a decades before Europeans began to work off thorough and scientific exploration of the East African mainland. And the pioneers of these great enterprises, Stanley, Kirk and others were definitely indebted to Indians, such as late Sir Tharia Topan, for the organization of their expeditions into the interior" (Shah 1918: 117). He as well received knighthood by the Crown for his outstanding public service. One of these services was represented by the Tharia Topan Jubilee Hospital. The foundation stone of the Jubilee Hospital was laid on 8th July 1887, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's reign. In 1885, at the age of sixty-two and already ailing, Topan travelled to Bombay to make the necessary arrangements for the construction, but was never to return to Zanzibar. The foundations of what was to become the Old Dispensary were laid by his nephew, Hashem Virjee Patel, and left to weather and consolidate for two years, following local practise. During this time, the Bombay-based firm of Gostling and Morris completed the design of the building and supervised production of all the joinery, which Patel brought to Zanzibar in 1885. After a dispute between Topan and Patel, a new foreman, Haji Mistry, was appointed, and he travelled to Zanzibar in 1890 with a crew of Indian craftsmen and masons from Kutch to complete the building. But Sir Tharia Topan was seriously ill, and his death in 1891 resulted in further interruption of the construction. Haji Mistry sent his crew home to India pending the outcome of a dispute over the terms of Topan's will. Due to the personal initiative of Sir Gerald Portal, the new British Consul who was eager to maintain and enhance Zanzibar's urban heritage, Topan's widow, Lady Janbai, decided to resume the works, and in 1892, Haji Mistry was again sent out to Zanzibar with his crew of craftsmen. The budget set aside by Lady Janbai was exhausted in 1893, before completion of the building. Yet, the workmanship was excellent (Battle and Siravo 2007). Last but not least, thanks to the observations of his descendant, Farouk Topan, according to Kirk's documentation, Tharia Topan was identified by the British Consul as a personality influential enough to contributing to the banning of slavery; certainly a hard role for him (Caplan and Topan 2004; Clarence-Smith 2006: 222)!

Conclusion

The Topan family in Zanzibar did certainly play a fundamental role within the history of the north-western Indian Ocean interconnections; this family, in this particular case, was highly recognised through available British sources as representing a considerable social and political role in trade, industry and within the Ismaili communities of Sub-Saharan East Africa. Nevertheless, Tharia Topan, a born-trader, was but a representative of an exceedingly small minority.

On the other hand, the slave trade - partially managed by the Topan family members during the nineteenth century - was undoubtedly one of their major concerns. On 24 August 1841, Captain R.B. Norsworthy wrote to I.R. Richmond, Chairman Chamber of Bombay that: "The Indian banyans are the principal merchants and dealers in slaves."[17] The "Indian" merchant communities in Zanzibar were represented in British historiography as a fundamental force. Nevertheless it must be remembered that it was a small minority, where the bulk of the society was and remained a much stratified and complex slave society. There is certainly a need for a better understanding of why adherents of different belief systems accepted slavery for so long in this part of the maritime world (see, Clarence-Smith 2006: 223), we also agree with the flexibility and mobility of slave labour described by Ewald as a partial explanation to the continuity of slavery despite abolitionist British policies in the western Indian Ocean (Ewald 2000: 90).

Notes

[1] I dedicate this humble contribution in homage to Professor Farouk Topan, whom I have the honour to appreciate for his outstanding competence and high human values.

[2] *Vaniya*, in Gujarati *vaniyo*, man of the merchant caste, from the Sanskrit *vanij*, merchant, later anglicized as *banyan*. The term was used to indicate Hindu as opposed to Muslim merchants.

[3] Glassman (1994) affirmed that any description of nineteenth century concepts of land tenure and kinship had to be extremely tentative.

[4] Zanzibar had a prosperous *Khoja* community and the *Kuwwat Jamaat* (communal society) of Zanzibar became the first ever *Khoja Shia Ithnashri Jamaat* in the world in 1882 when the *Khojas* elsewhere including the subcontinent were still facing opposition to establish their separate identity. There were stirring events and emotions got roused as the dissidents fervently built up their mosque. Initially, the connection between the two *Khoja* groups hanged on for a while and even a couple of *dhegs* (large pots) used to be dispatched to the *jamatkhana* from the mosque during *jaman* (feast). Social traditions also prompted the two counterparts to meet each other. Later restrictions became severe and even family members separated disconnecting ties between each other or the two met in hiding at a secret place.

[5] The Dau'di *Bohras*, and they were not the only group, which practised female circumcision (genital cutting/mutilation). These practices have been denounced today by Da'udi women. Communication by W.G. Clarence-Smith, 6/10/2007.

[6] It's worth noting that the "great richness" of nineteenth century Zanzibar, as well as the legendary wealth of its traders, was essentially a myth. Reflection by Jan-Georg Deutsch: 2004.

[7] Smee and Hardy sent their report to Bombay, which was then sent to the Board of Control. In 1844 the report was published by the Bombay Geographical Society in its *Transactions*, thus greatly adding to the knowledge of these areas. Along with topographical details, Smee and Hardy also provided information regarding politics and trade, together with a dictionary of terms in Swahili, Somali and the Galla dialects. India Office Records (hereafter I.O.R.) L/MAR/C/586, f. 98.

[8] I.O.R. L/MAR/C/586, f. 100.

[9] I.O.R. L/MAR/C/586, f. 102.

[10] I.O.R. L/MAR/C/586, Extract of Paragraph 12 of a Memoir from Ibrahim Purkar, dated the 21 Sept. 1800. Marine Cruizer *Ternate*, Document 2. Translation of a paper from Ibrahim Purkar to the Honorable Jonathan Duncan, Esquire, Governor of Bombay, dated the 10 Mohurrum 1224 Hijree, 26th Feb. 1809. Marine Cruizer *Ternate*, Document 3, f. 162.

[11] Yaqut b 'Ambar al-Habashi, was appointed governor at Zanzibar for the loyalty he showed to Sultan bin Ahmad of the Al Bu Sa'id (1792-1804), and also because he owned property in Oman, which would have guaranteed his political integrity in the eyes of the Omani leadership.

[12] The Arabs imposed a tax of 5 per cent on every article exported from Zanzibar.

[13] Public Record Office (P.R.O.), Admiralty Records, *Journal of Lieut. Emery, who was in Mombasa from 1824 to 1826*, f. 52/3940.

[14] I.O.R. L/MAR/C/586, f. 170.

[15] I.O.R. F/4/1475, *Bombay Political Department, Board Collection 57973, Capt. Hart's Mission to the Imaum of Muscat, Letter from Capt. Hart to the Hon.ble the Court of Directors for Affairs of the Hon.ble the East India Company*, dated 30th Sept., 1834, n. 26, ff. 1-11.

[16] See the case of late Sir Tharia Topan of Bombay in I.O.R. L/PJ/6/308, f. 1849, and material on Tharia Topan in the Imperial British East Africa Company Collection held by the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. Thanks to Mr. H. Sutton, O.I.O.C. Reference Services.

[17] Foreign Office (F.O.), Muscat Papers, F.O. 54/4, ff. 97-100.

Picture of T. Topan and the Omani Sultan by the author. Zanzibar National Archives, Zanzibar, Tanzania.

Archival Documents

Foreign Office, Muscat Papers, F.O. 54/4, ff. 97-100.

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I.O.R. L/MAR/C/586, f. 100.

I.O.R. L/MAR/C/586, 102.

I.O.R. L/MAR/C/586, f. 170.

I.O.R. L/PJ/6/308, f. 1849

I.O.R. F/4/1475, Bombay Political Department, Board Collection 57973, Capt. Hart's Mission to the Imaum of Muscat, Letter from Capt. Hart to the Hon.ble the Court of Directors for Affairs of the Hon.ble East India Company, dated 30th Sept.,1834, n. 26, ff. 1-11.

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35

Slaving in Madagascar: English and Colonial Voyages in the Second Half of the 17th Century A.D.

Liliana Mosca

Introduction

By the early 1990s, archaeologists had excavated a small sector of the African Burial Ground in Manhattan which was in use from the late Seventeenth Century until 1794 and the DNA tests of some of the skeletons indicate a possible Malagasy origin.[1] Since the 17th century, the island of Madagascar was a major area for slave trade in the south-western part of the Indian Ocean. The Anglo-American slavers rounded the Cape of Good Hope in order to exploit the island and introduce Malagasy slaves into the colonies of the New World.[2]

Graham Russell Hodges has recently remarked that the British-American colonies, particularly New York and New Jersey, were able to send ships on slaving voyages to Madagascar, because the New York merchants " learned that government officials were less concerned with controlling the slave trade than with suppressing foreign imports"(c 1999: 38).[3]

By 1600, Madagascar emerged as the Garden of Eden of Africa for its excellent harbours, natural advantages[4] and its commercial and cultural linkages across the Indian Ocean due to the Austronesian expansion to the West.[5]

The paucity of archival records for earlier times on slaving voyages to Madagascar makes us only to presume that Malagasy were taken to some areas of the Indian ocean.

The shortage of documents ends with the tenth century. Several medieval texts, mainly in Arabic, reveal the presence of people from the Southwest Indian Ocean in the Arab-speaking world like the Arab Peninsula, the Persian Gulf Area and maybe somewhere else (Mosca 1999a; Rakotolahy 2000:132-34).[6]

Beginning with the sixteenth century, the human traffic from the Great Island increased (Mosca 2001a) and most of the Malagasy were bought and sold mainly by the Arab and Swahili traders that in Madagascar were known as *Antalaotra* (Vernet 2003; 25a).

With the arrival of the Europeans, Portuguese, French, English and Dutch, in the Indian Ocean, the Malagasy slave trade consolidated and was one of the factors that directly or indirectly contributed to conflicts between the natives, as well as to the centralisation of power in various regions of the island (Mosca 1999b).[7]

In this context, we should consider the role of the Anglo-American colonies, with their interlopers and pirates, an important element in the Malagasy society (Mosca 1987:8) and possibly there is some truth in this statement: "Colonial pirates and privateers became important transcultural brokers in the Indian Ocean region, spanning the globe to form an Indo-Atlantic trade network between North America and Madagascar" (McDonald 2005: 1).[8] This is something like a prototype of contemporary global integration.

Malagasy Slaves in the New World

The earliest data on Malagasy presence in the New World refer to a boy about six years old, taken from Madagascar and brought to New France (now Quebec) in 1628 by David Kirke, later, Sir and Governor of Newfoundland. Kirke sold the boy to Olivier Le Tardiff, head clerk of the French Colony, who, in 1632, presented him to Guillaume Couillard, a Quebec resident. The boy was educated and, on May 14, 1633 was baptized. "Kebec, baptism, a Negro slave from Madagascar" (New France 1633-1634 Quebec Cultural Roots) by Paul Le Jeune, a Jesuit priest as Olivier Le Jeune. He died as freeman on May 10, 1654 (Hardyman 1963: 505; Winks c.1997: 1-2).[9]

A Dutch account from November 1664 states that two British ships, the vessel *de Leeuw* (Lyon), whose Captain was Jan Houwaert, and the pinnacle *Den Aernt* (Eagle), whose Captain was Robert Houwaert, had taken 335 slaves from Madagascar destined to Barbados. Even though most of the slaves in the *de Leeuw* were very young, quite naked and already lean as skeletons, Captain Houwaert refused to sell anyone to the Free Burghers or to the Company's officials at the Cape, explaining them that he would sell each slave at 50£ in the West Indies (Leibbrandt 1901: 127-28; Grandidier and Grandidier 1985: 331-32; Moodie 1960: 283; Boeseken 1977: 65-66; Armstrong 1984: 218).[10]

The presence of the English-American slavers on the Madagascar coasts greatly increased in the 1670s.[11]

In 1670, Captain South of the English ship *Catherine* or *Katherine* obtained 200 Malagasy. The ship sailed then from Madagascar to Johanna's Island, where Captain South, seeking more slaves, inflicted some damage to the Sultan of Johanna by seizing six of his subjects. Captain South sold his cargo of Malagasy and the six Johannes at the Barbados.[12]

The fluyt[13] ship *Johanna Catharina,* from London, in 1672, embarked 270 slaves in the Mathelage Bay (Armstrong 1984: 218, 226) destined via Mozambique to Barbados (Leibbrandt 1902: 116).[14] Nevertheless the vessel's slaving voyage ended at St. Helena, where the Dutch captured *Johanna Catharina.*[15] The prize and what remained of her human load (some slaves had in the meanwhile died) arrived at the Cape on March 12, 1673. The Malagasy, according to the Dutch authorities, were very skeletal and "outbacken (suffering from eating stale ships' stores)" but nonetheless they judged them as "useful people" (Leibbrandt 1902: 117; Moodie 1960:324; Boeseken 1977: 36-37; Bozarth 1987: 153).

"On December 1675, Peter Blake, Captain of the James, a Royal African Company ship, while at anchor at Cape Corso [Cape Coast], recorded:

> *"Friday 24 ... Capt. Migham who was bound for the byte is arrived at Cape Corsoe and hath brought with him a ship w'ch he supposes to be prize... bound for Madagascar there cargo consisting of p'es of 8/8 iron barrs and brass manilas"* (Donnan 1930-35:201-02).[16]

The presence of Malagasy slaves in the British-American plantations of the New World is attested by several official documents of the time. For example, for the colony of Barbados: "Negro slaves brought from the coast of Guinea, Cormatin, or Madagascar." (Sainsbury 1893: 349); and for the territory of New England:

> *"Not above 200 slaves-reported the Agent Edward Randolph-and these brought in their own ships from Guinea and Madagascar.... Some ships lately have been sent to Guinea, Madagascar, &"* (Sainsbury 1893: 405).[17]

The earliest shipping record related to a direct voyage from the British-American mainland colonies over the Atlantic and Indian Ocean to Madagascar is that of the Boston's ship *Society*, commanded by Captain Edwards. The vessel was not at all new to distant expeditions, at least across the Atlantic Ocean.[18] The *Society* was of about 60 lasts and had a board for 17 men. The vessel had left Boston harbour "on the 29th December 1675 for Madagascar, to buy slaves" (Leibbrandt 1902: 249)[19] and cast anchor at the Cape on April 18, 1676 for water and refreshments (Leibbrandt 1902: 249).[20]

Five days later, on April 23rd, the *Society* set sail for Madagascar, (Leibbrandt 1902: 280) calling at St Augustine Bay. From there the ship went to the coast of Malindi and once more to Madagascar, calling first at Mathelage Bay and for a second time at St Augustine Bay. The *Society* was again at the Cape on December 15, 1676 for water and refreshments with 61 Malagasy on board destined to Barbados (Leibbrandt 1902: 303). During her stay at the Cape, Captain Edwards,

> *"Presented the Governor with 6 assegays (which ... we [the Cape's Authorities] accepted with pleasure in order not to offend the giver by a refusal) so that we could do no less in return than by presenting him with some trifling articles .... We accordingly made him a present of some earth fruit which he thankfully received"* (Leibbrandt 1902: 306).

The *Society* left the Cape on December 21st via St. Helena for Barbados (Leibbrandt 1902: 306).[21]

Meanwhile, another colonial vessel, the *Rebecca* of Barbados, with 12 men on board and of about 20 lasts had proceeded for a slaving voyage to Madagascar

(Leibbrandt 1902: 251-52). The *Rebecca* dropped anchor at Mathelage Bay with the *Society*, while two other two English ships, probably the *Bristwater* and the *Sea Flower* (Armstrong 1984: 219) called there. The four Anglo-American vessels, in exchange of Mexican dollars, obtained slaves for the colony of Barbados.[22]

The increasing number of American and English ships and interlopers engaged in the slave trade to Madagascar caused a great disappointment to the Royal African Company, whose privilege trade in the New World plantations was dangerously injured. The Company requested the co-operation of the East India Company in order to bring to end the slave trade from Madagascar towards the New World colonies. In April 1677, the Company suggested to the East India Company to deny water supply at St Helena to the ships returning from slaving voyages to Madagascar (Donnan 1930-35: 94). We understand that the reply was negative. Few months later, the Royal African Company, advised that the ships *Greyhound* and *Coroner* were ready to sail for a slaving voyage to Madagascar and from there to the colonies, reported the information to the East India Company and asked them to "consider what is necessary to be done" (Sainsbury 1938: 109; see also, Donnan: 1930-35:94) for arresting slaving voyages to Madagascar.

Once again the East India Company did not approve any measure against slaving voyages to Madagascar[23] and the Malagasy kept on being taken to the British colonies in America. In March 1679, 700 Malagasy disembarked in the island of Barbados (Donnan 1930-35: 549).[24] A colonial report of 1679 reported the arrival in the port of Boston of a ship coming from Madagascar:

> *"Here is just now a ship returned from Madagascar, by the way put several Negroes on shore at Jamaica. She touched I hear at several parts of East India and, besides hath brought Elephant teeth. Where she got them knows not, she hath been a year and half out"*(Saunders 1886: 245-46; see, also Sainsbury and Fortescue 1896: 373).[25]

From another colonial document of 1680, we are informed of the landing in the colony of Massachusetts of a number of Malagasy and of the enormous profits made by the owners of the ship:

> *"One small Vessel- we read- about two yeares since after twenty month's voyage to Madagascar[r] brought hither betwixt Forty and Fifty Negros most women and Children sold here for ten, 15£ and 20£ apiece, which stood the merchants in neer 40£ apiece one with another"* (Sainsbury and Fortescue 1896: 528 ; see, also Mosca 1971: 10).[26]

In April 1681, two agents of the Royal African Company at Barbados reported that between 900 and 1,000 Malagasy had been imported in the island in two months, with severe economic damage to Company's monopoly (See, Donnan 1930-35: 549). Sir

Richard Dutton, Governor of the colony, in June 1681, confirmed the account, declaring that many Blacks brought to Barbados had indeed come from Madagascar.[27]

In the years, the participation of English and American colonial vessels in the Madagascar trade strongly expanded. The ship *Daniel and Thomas* is recounted to have loaded from 200 to 300 slaves at St Augustine Bay (Armstorng 1984: 214).[28] The ship *Robocq* spent eight months near Terra del Gada and the crew was able to buy 330 slaves at the average price of 6 to 8 Rds paid in gingham, patterned cottons, guns and muskets. Sailing back, the *Robocq* stopped at the Cape in February 1681.[29] In distress for supplies the *Robocq* called in April at St. Helena and the Authorities "notwithstanding the Company's resolutions against all trade with Interlopers" allowed the provisions (Janisch 1885). The English ship the *Philip*, under the command of Captain Denis Barre, called for slaves at St Augustine Bay and Morondava. She obtained a load of 130 Malagasy "bartered very cheaply for guns and gunpowder and trinkets from Nuremberg" (Boeseken 1977: 70; see, also Armstrong 1984: 220).

On January the 24 or the 25, 1683, the English ship *Charles*, bound for Bombay, anchored in Saldinia Bay and there she found the *Firebrass* and *the Loveing Friend*. The first under the command of Captain Golam and the second, of Captain White. The two ships were filled with Malagasy destined to Barbados (Raven-Hart 1978: 243-44; Armstrong 1984: 219).

From Barlow's *Journal* we learn that in 1684 a pink, bound to Barbados, cast anchor at St. Helena after a slaving voyage to Madagascar (Lubbock 1934: 364). Barlow also narrated the capture of an interloper, by the English frigate *Phoenix*, Captain John Terrell. The interloper was probably the *Bristol*, Captain John Hand, (Keay 1991: 175) *en route* to Madagascar "to trade for niggers" (Lubbock 1934: 370).

The English vessel *John and Mary*, under the command of Captain William Deeron, after slaving in Madagascar, dropped anchor at the Cape, where Deeron, from December 1683 to January 1684, sold some of its slaves to the Authorities and the Freeburghers.(Boeseken 1977: 70 ; Armstrong 1984: 220).

The same occurred on January 1684, with the *Francis*, commanded by Captain Steven Bradley or Bradly (Boeseken 1977: 70-71; Moodie 1960: 390; Armstrong 1984: 219) and the *Tonquen* (Armstrong 1984: 219; Molet-Sauvaget 1988: 80) as well with the *Margaret* in 1685 (Boeseken 1977:143 ; Armstrong 1984: 219) while the *Good Hope* of London direct to Madagascar for slaves to take to Jamaica sank on the Rio de Natal on 1685 (Moodie 1960: 419).

Captain William Deeron returned once more to the Cape in April 1686 in the *John and Mary* with cargoes of slaves (Boeseken 1977: 71).[30] In July 1686, William Wolliford, master of the ship *Mariner Adventure*, after a slaving voyage to Madagascar, found it safer to disembark his cargo of Malagasy in the New Jersey, in the harbour of Amboy, than to go to the port of New York.[31]

In analysing the existing documents, we know that, on March 24, 1687, the English ketch *Providentia* of London, 50 tons, 15 men and six small guns, that had lost captain, surgeon and men in the Struys Bay, arrived at Cape on her way to Madagascar to get slaves in exchange of arms and other articles for Barbados. The *Providentia* was a licensed ship (Moodie 1960: 420; Raven-Hart 1971: 313-14).[32]

The following year, specifically in August 1688, the aforesaid *Margaret* cast anchor again at the Cape. The ship of 90 lasts and of 90 tons, commanded by Captain Oliver Crainsbourgh or Cransborough,[33] had left New York, her port of loading, in November 1687 for St Augustine Bay, where she had embarked 140 Malagasy (Salwey: 219). Her owner was Mr. Frederick Philipse, a member of the governor's council in New York and one of the most famous and wealthiest merchants of New York, to whom I will refer later on.[34]

In 1689, Ovington, a Chaplain of the East India Company, while at anchor with his ship at St. Helena, recorded:

> *"There came into harbour, a ship laden with Negroes from Madagascar, belonging to New York[35] who acquainted us with three pirates which she left rendezvousing in Saint Augustin, a Port belonging to that island. Two of the ships were English, and the other Dutch, and were all richly laden with store of silks, which they had taken in the Red Sea from the Asian Merchants that traded from Mocha to Suratt and other Coasts of Indostan"*(Ovington 1696: 102-03).

From other sources we may speculate about name and origin of the three pirate ships[36] lying at St Augustine Bay: one was from New York (Masefield 1906 : 493) and of the other two: one was the *Little England,* formerly the *Cygnet* (Masefield 1906: 493; Hill 1923:92; Rogozinski 2000: 6-7) and the other the *Batchelor's Delight*, formerly a Danish ship (Masefield 1906: 533; Grey 1933: 112; Rogozinski 2000: 6-8, 10).

Purchasing slaves easily on the one hand and getting large profits on the other [*e.g.*, a Malagasy was bought for 10 shillings (Platt 1969: 549) and sold for 30 pounds in the colonies (Judd 1971: 357-58)], proved sufficient reason to trade in Madagascar with no consideration for the possible risk of lives and money (Ritchie 1986: 37-38).

The trade activity to Madagascar from the British-American colonies, either on the mainland or in the Caribbean, increased, as we have reported, with the arrival in large numbers of European and American pirates in the Indian Ocean from the late 1680s.[37] The pirates, whose nickname was "Red Sea Men" (O'Callaghan 1849: 223; see, also, Fortescue 1904: 504) sailing back and forth the Indian Ocean attacked and robbed ships. The pirates were also very active in the slave-trade selling their living cargoes to the regular traders as well as slavers who were particularly keen to be connected to this valuable trade.

From the 1690s numerous ships were "on account" (Pringle 1933: 106) in the Indian Ocean. Many of them were sailing from the ports of New York, Boston, Newport, Charleston, Bridgetown, Philadelphia, Port Royal, etc. under British colours,[38] encouraged and protected by colonial governments[39] and using Madagascar as their base for cruising in search of Arab and Indian coasters filled with Oriental goods: spices, perfumes, silks, shawls, rugs, pearls, golden coin and jewels.[40]

In 1691, for example, the above mentioned ship *Batchelor's Delight* raided a Moors ship and shared the booty valued at 1,100£ a head (Jameson 1923: 181). The ship then went to rest at Sainte Marie, a little island, lying 9 miles off the East Coast of Madagascar, where an American, Adam Baldridge[41] had engaged himself in a "mischievous trade" and for this crime the Lords of Trade ordered that he should "be prosecuted and punished so far as the law will permit"(O'Callaghan 1854: 412). Baldridge supplied the mariners of the *Batchelor's Delight* with provisions in exchange of "five great Guns for a fortification, some powder and shott, and six Barrells of flower, about 70 barrs of Iron" (Jameson 1923: 181). From Sainte Marie the pirate's ship set sail via Fort Dauphin to the colony of Carolina (Jameson 1923: 181; Rogozinski 2000: 14).

In this context, it is worth considering the *entrepôt* created by Adam Baldridge, who for the Council of Trade and Plantations "was at the head of a disorderly rabble of Europeans and natives".[42] Baldridge arrived at Sainte Marie on July 1690 on the ship *Fortune*, Captain Richard Conyers, and, on January 1691, he decided to settle there (Jameson 1923: 180; Bialuschewski 2005: 406).[43] Pretty soon he gained the friendship of the natives taking part in their wars on the mainland of Madagascar. His prize was "70 heads of cattel and some slaves"(Jameson 1923: 181). He built for himself a house with seven, eight guns (Jameson 1923: 181; Fortescue 1906: 108) or rather a fort with twentytwo guns.[44] He also married a Malagasy woman "to ingratiate" the inhabitants with whom he regularly went to war against other Malagasy. From the wars he obtained "half of the slaves" (Fortescue 1905: 108) that were taken. Baldridge decided to make Sainte Marie a smuggling *entrepôt* from where pirates could easily smuggle to the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and other remote destinations.[45]

In this project he was fully supported by Frederick Philipse,[46] who since the 1680s, as we said, had discovered the importance of Madagascar as a place of profitable business.[47] Baldridge promised to ship slaves to Philipse at a cost of 30 shillings "apiece" (Judd 1971: 357) that the American merchant would sell in the New York market at "thirty pound and upwedard the head" (Judd 1971: 358; Ritchie 1988: 119).

Philipse connection with Baldridge began with the arrival of the ship *Charles*, commanded by Captain John Churcher, on August 1693. Philipse loaded two cargos on the *Charles* one destined to Baldridge composed of assorted merchandise like shoes, stockings, shirts, hats, tools, rum, Madeira wine, cannon powder, books, Bible, etc., in return, Baldridge sent to Philipse " 1,100 pieces 8/8 and Dollars, 34 slaves, 15 head of Cattel, 57 barrs of Iron" (Jameson 1923: 183). The second cargo was for the Captain, who presumably could dispose of it when and where he judged opportune and to the advantage of the owner (Jameson 1923: 182).

In the following years Philipse sent more of his ships to Baldridge. On August 1695, the ship *Katherine*, commanded by Captain Thomas Mostyn, called at Sainte Marie (Jameson 1923: 183-84). On July 1696 the *Margaret*, under the command of Captain Samuel Burgess (Judd 1971: 360-61; Ritchie 1988: 119-20) with a commission from Governor Fletcher pulled in (Hill 1923: 105) and on June 1697 the *New York Marchand*, Captain Cornelius Jacobs, called there as well (Jameson 1923: 186).[48]

Besides Sainte Marie, we have notice of other places on the Malagasy coasts where Anglo-American merchants and pirates regularly sheltered and traded: Ambonavola [Fenerive], Matitana, Fort Dauphin, St Augustine Bay, Tulear Bay and according to Captain Charles Johnson on the island's northernmost peninsula.[49] The *Charles*, already mentioned above, went to Matitana to embark slaves and the *Katherine* also stopped at Matitana for trading slaves. The same occurred to the *Charming Mary*, commanded by Captain Richard Glover, with a commission of Governor Fletcher of New York (O'Callaghan 1849: 304, 433) and fitted out from Barbados. The ship arrived on the 1st July 1695 at the Cape and left on the 17th July for Sainte Marie. She arrived there in August 1695 where it remained for a few months to load slaves. Then the *Charming Mary* proceeded to Matitana to procure more slaves. She arrived there on November the 19th and while at anchor she was seized by the crew of the pirate sloop *Amity.*[50] The sloop was then given to Captain Glover to return home (Leibbrandt 1896a: 5-6; Jameson 1923: 183-84).[51]

On the same account was the *Loyal Russel* from Barbados, which, on her way to Madagascar, arrived at the Cape in January 1697.[52] So was the *Fortune*, from New York,[53] the *Swift* from Boston and the *Fidelia* from London in 1697. The *Swift* headed to Madagascar to get slaves for the colony of New York (Leibbrandt (1896a); Jameson 1923: 186) while the *Fidelia* for the West Indies (Headlam 1910: 257-58). In the summer of 1698, four ships fitted out from New York: the *Prophet Daniel*, the *Peter*, the *Nassaw* and the *Margaret* (O'Callaghan 1854: 323; Fortescue 1905: 270, 403).[54]

On slaving voyages to Madagascar went the English ship *Beckford galley*, seized by the pirates while at anchor at Tulear Bay (Headlam 1910: 236; Grey 1933: 186-87; Donnan 1930-35 I: 95n, 103) the *Rising Eagle* from New York (Leibbrandt 1896b: 212-13) and again the *Swift*, commanded by Captain Christoffel Buskel, 8 guns and 25 men. The *Swift* arrived at the Cape on April 1699 from "Madagascar with Negroes for Jamaica"(Raven-Hart 1971: 448, 450).

Some of these slaving voyages are well documented like that of the ship *Margaret* of the 1695-1697 mentioned above and that made by the same ship on 1698. On the 1695-1697 voyage, the *Margaret* had as Captain Samuel Burgess an old pirate originally from New York (Mosca 1987: 17-18).[55] He proceeded to Sainte Marie and then to the mainland where he collected Black people and returned to New York in May 1697 (Judd 1971: 360-61; Ritchie 1988: 121).[56] On the second voyage, accurately prepared by the owner Frederick Philipse for a slaving expedition,[57] the *Margaret* set sail in June 1698 directly to Sainte Marie where she arrived on January 11, 1699 (Judd 1971: 369; Ritchie 1988: 123). The ship spent two and a half months at Sainte Marie then it sailed for St Augustine Bay[58] and from there, it headed toward the north-western coast where she loaded 114 slaves (Ritchie 1988: 123-33).[59]

The slave trade from Madagascar, being a legal activity,[60] was regarded as part of the foreign trade and was carried out on a large scale with a considerable number of vessels. As we have seen, it was exceedingly beneficial, even if dangerous, due to pirate adventurers which "followed [the vessels] into their remote trading places and often ... robbed them of their stores and the money needed to purchase slaves" (Wakeman 1914: 10).

In 1698, the British Parliament decided a concerted action against the pirates in the East and adopted the East India Act (England and Wales 1700) which indirectly engendered a reduction of the slaving voyages to Madagascar (Hardyman 1963: 512). Negroes were considered some form of "Goods Wares Merchandise and Commodity's so they could no longer be brought to the colonies directly from Madagascar" (Platt 1969: 553).

Conclusion

With the East India Act and the Piracy Act of 1700, the Crown tried to curb the network of piracy that, with the support of colonial officials, linked British America with the Indian Ocean and particularly with Madagascar. These measures did not end the slave trade from Madagascar and, in the early years of the 18th century, the Malagasy entered Virginia,[61] Barbados, Jamaica, and to New York between 1717 and 1730.[62] In later years when British American merchants considered Madagascar outside "the usual course of the trade" (Platt 1969:576), virtually no Malagasy entered American colonies and the "Madagascar connection"[63] no longer existed.

Notes

[1] The human remains of more than 400 Africans were unearthed in 1991 but it was estimated that perhaps 20,000 remain *in situ*. In April 1993, the African Burial Ground was granted national landmark status. See, Sherrill D. Wilson and M L Blakey 1999: 3-6; Medford *et al* 1999: 8; Harris 2003.

[2] According to Armstrong (1984: 218), between 1675 and 1700, more than 40 Anglo-American slaving vessels were dispatched to Madagascar.

[3] This hypothesis concerns other plantations like Barbados or Jamaica. In Barbados, the richest colony in British America in the 1680s, the colonial authorities ignored

the Navigations Acts. In the case of Jamaica, her development was mainly due to the contraband and the selling of Negroes to the Spanish-America colonies. Cf. Dunn 1969: 4-6; Zahedieh 1896: 570, 590-92.

[4] Niderst 1999: 25-26; Mosca 2003 :366 ; Barendse 1995: 139-40; 2002. M.E. Sharpe, pp. 263-64. From the 1500s Portuguese, French, Dutch and English mariners visited Madagascar for supplying their ships and also to experiment colonial ventures. This was the case of the English colony at St. Augustine Bay in 1645-1645 and of the English colony on the island of Assada (off Madagascar's Northwest Coast) in 1650; of the French colony at Fort Dauphine in 1644-1674 and of the Dutch settlement in the Antongil Bay. All the colonial enterprises failed until the French conquest in 1895.

[5] The island of Madagascar participated in the Indian Ocean trade network and the Malagasy has "an admixed population derived from two ancestral populations, one African and the other Indonesian". Cf. Hurles *et al* 2005. On the Austronesian expansion and the Indonesian presence in Madagascar as well in Africa, Cf. Mosca 1994: 11-12; Dick-Read 2005.

[6] On the African diaspora across the Indian ocean cf. Mosca 2001b.

[7] Mosca L. 1999b. The Hoogcaspel had left [Mauritius] on the 15th September for St Augustin Bay (Madagascar), reaching it on the 26th following, where they were unable to obtain a single grain of rice or a single slave, so much required here [Cape Town], the inhabitants saying that they are in violent warfare with their neighbours like last year, so that they were mutually ruining each other, and destroying everything .... The three principal chiefs with whom Sieur Blanck had conducted the greater part of his barter in 1663...had been killed by the Lapahoutis [i. e. Lahafouty, Lahifotsy]; and further, as in consequence of the continual wars, in which they are daily engaged, they set fire to each other's cattle, and completely destroyed everything, so that they are obliged to seek their food by the way, and which mostly consists of a piece of sugarcane and a small fish, whilst for bread they eat a withered (dorre) fruit = which grows at the way side, and on which they are obliged to subsist" cf. Leibbrandt 1901: 200-01; also Grandidier and Grandidier 1905: 333-36. For the Europeans's influence in Madagascar we may take into consideration this report: Their design [of the pirates] in marrying the country woman - narrated Dr. Watson - is to ingratiate themselves with the inhabitants, with whom they go into war against other petty kings. If one Englishman goes with Prince with whom he lives to war, he has half of the slaves that are taken for his pains." Cf. "Narrative of Henry Watson, who was taken prisoner by the pirates 15 August 1696, Feb. 14, 1698." In Fortescue 1905; Mosca 1987: 14-15. In 1709, the association of the pirates with the natives was still very alive: "It seems morally impossible to reduce them [the pirates] by force, for the pirates have, by their liberality in bestowing part of their booties on the inhabitants so gain'd their love and esteem that, should any superior force be sent to reduce them, they might readily march up far into the country and be safe." See "Reasons for reducing the Pirates at Madagascar and proposals humbly offered to the House of Commons for effecting the same. Dec 15, 1709." (In Headlam 1922: 553). The best account, fact or fiction, of

how the Europeans intermingled in the Malagasy political affairs, is about the conquest of the Mathelage's region by the Sakalava King Tsimanato - Andriamandisoarivo: "They took a Town and a great number of slaves, out of whom he (Chimenatto) ordered the Captain to pick and cull what they pleas'd; they asked the price, he said, he required nothing, if they would let their men go out once more. They went on a second Expedition, took several towns, and brought down some thousand slaves, beside great droves of cattle. The two ships took their choice of about 6,000 Slaves, which with fresh provision, and provision for their Voyage, cost them only 2 or 3 barrels of powder, and a few arms." Cf. Schonhorn 1972: 603; See, also, Mosca 1971: 14; 1987: 8. d. : La traite, p.84

[8] (AFA 1977: 263; Gillard 1998) Bialuschewski considers the pirates and slavers's influence on Malagasy society ephemeral and a "tremendous cost for countless men, women and children". Cf. Bialuschewski 2005: 425.

[9] Gillard 1998. Canandian documents confirm the presence of Malagasy in the territory. For example, in 1692, two Malagasy living in Quebec on May 24 were baptized at Montreal: "May 24: Montreal, baptism, Pierre Celestin Negre, a native of Madagascar, b-1668, a slave of Pierre Leber, a merchant. May 24: Montreal, baptism, Louis Negre, a native of Madagascar and slave of M. Dupre married this date." Cf. New France 1690-1693 Quebec Cultural Roots, at www.telusplanet.net/public/dgarneau/french24.htm.

[10] We do not know if the *de Leeuw* and the *Den Aernt* that, according to the Dutch account, had left England fifteen months before were British private or chartered ships. In any case, we know that on June 1663 the merchants Samuel Higginson and Trustrom Miner asked the East India Company a "licence to trade for blacks to Madagascar" to the East India Company. A Company's Committee examined the request and declared: "It will not be to the Company's interest to allow others to trade within the limits of their charter, but that they themselves should send a ship thither and keep all others out; the Court approves, and desires the said committee to treat with Higginson for his ship". Later, the said Committee reported: "An agreement has been made with Higginson for his ship, the African, to go to Madagascar for 60l. a month, the Company to man and victual her, the Court approves". On August, the East India Company furnished the *African* ship with goods and instructions. Cf. see, Sainsbury. 1922: 323-24, 330, 333; Donnan. 1930-1935: 93-94.

[11] English and colonial vessels began importing Malagasy in the northern plantations not just because the Royal Africa Company ignored the British-American plantations but mainly because a Malagasy could be bought for 10£, while on the West African Coast a slave was paid from 3£ to 4£. See, Mosca 1987: 11-12.

[12] "The Complaint of Abdell Shaw, merchant sent over for England by the King of the Island of Johanna." See, Sainsbury 1893-149; Temple 1911: 236. Abdullah Shaw, envoy of the Sultan, arrived in London in June 1676 to testify to the East India Company about the frauds and the injuries done by Captain South. The English

Captain was condemned to pay 40£ to the East India Company for the ransom of the subjects of the Sultan of the Johanna. See, Sainsbury 1935: 378-79, 386, 394-95.

[13] Merchant ship of Dutch origin with the maximum of space and crew efficiency.

[14] In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, this bay was spelled in a variety of ways: Nova Mazalagem, Magelage, Mathelage, Massailly, etc. See, Armstrong 1984: 213; Wright *et al* 1996: 63-64. On the exact location and toponomy of the north-western Madagascar slave's ports, see, Hebert 1999: 11-60.

[15] March 5 [1673] : A small vessel was seen decked in a variety of flags in token of triumph, entering the bay [Table]; they fired seven guns. Soon after we found that it was the Flying Swan, from St. Helena with intelligence of the conquest of that island by our arms, after a slight resistance…and of the capture of a prize, the Johanna Catharina, from Madagascar, bound to Barbadoes, with a cargo of 240 slaves, which vessel had touched for refreshments, thus bringing into our hands here, beyond all expectations of those useful people." See, Moodie 1960: 324; Armstrong 1984: 226. The Dutch occupation of St. Helena occurred on the 1st January 1673, An English naval force recaptured the island on 15 May 1673.

[16] In a note Donnan 1930-35: 202 published: "A marginal note here which reads: Minghambro[ught] a Bostonian to Cape Corso." According to Barendse 2002: 470, the ship in question was the *Royal James,* Thomas Edwards Captain.

[17] Due to the scant information, we cannot say how and when the 200 slaves living, according to Edward Randolph in 1676, in New England, arrived in the territory. It is worthy of notice that Randolph informed his superiors that some of New England slaves were Malagasy and imported on British American vessels.

[18] "Whitehall 11 June [1675]: Edward Sanders of London merchant setting forth that Peter Lidget of New England merchant did lade for the accompt of the Petitioner on the Shop Society of Boston Thomas Edwards master a parcel of Provisions." See, Grant and Munro 1908: 624. Peter Lidget was a prominent merchant of Boston, see, Winsor 1880: 324, 582.

[19] In a personal communication (February 6, 2006), Dr. James Armstrong informed me that the Society sailed from Boston 27 August 1675 and not 29 December 1675. See, also, Barendese 2002: 470. It's possible that the Society is one of the ships that according to Randolph left for a slaving voyage to Madagascar.

[20] The Society could not get rice at the Cape (Leibbrandt 1902: 249). See, also "Extracts of Despatch from the Chamber XVII to the Governor and Council 1677 May 11…. The English vessel, the Society of Boston in New England having touched at the Cape on her way to Madagascar to trade in slaves. You acted quite right in refusing to supply her with rice, in the plea of your own necessities." See, Moodie 1960: 350. National Archives Den Hag, *Zen Gehounden Journal of Thomas Edwart*: K. 4012, ff. 746-788.

[21] The success of the British-American merchants in their slaving voyages to Madagascar was, during the years, motive of serious consideration for the Cape's authorities. For example, in a letter of November 1665, the Lords XVII wrote: "We hope that the *Voorman*, on her return from Mauritius, has procured you some slaves from the Bay of Antongil, in Madagascar, where you state that the English have

procured two cargoes"; and again in a Dutch document dated 1676 we read: "The slave trade at Madagascar is of great importance not only to the Cape and Mauritius but to India also…. The English appear to be well versed in this trade, and to be in the habit of supplying Barbadoes from that island; it is strange that we, who lie so much near, should still be unacquainted with it; it would be a most desirable thing could that trade be conducted by way of barter for merchandise, for Spanish dollars are here very scarce and dear" see Moodie 1960: 286, 344. In May 1677, the Cape's Authorities despatched the ships *Quartel* and the *Voorhout* to St Augustine Bay, after the Captain Edwards revealed that there he "obtained each year a large number of slaves for little money" see, Boeseken 1977: 67. The two ships were back to the Cape on December 1677 with "77 live slaves; all the said slaves were under 16 years of age, a time of life which experience, and the English have taught us to be the best: for those who are older take to fretting, when they but think *Westerwijch* of their country, and soon die; whereas the young are light-hearted and frolicsome, and thus preserve their health better" see, Moodie 1960: 363. In the following years the Cape's Authorities continued to direct slaving vessels to Madagascar emulating in their slave transactions the British-American merchants. In October 1685, the *Westerwijch* left the Cape for Madagascar with orders to "buy as many slaves as possible between the ages of eight and fifteen, as experience had taught that older slaves fined and died when taken in captivity. This…they had learned from the English slave traders" see, Moodie 1960: 71. The *Westerwijch* headed for the Bay of Mathelage to trade but there was captured by an English pirate, Raven-Hart 1971:314. For a very remarkable description of several Western Malagasy slave ports and Dutch slave transactions there in 1715 cf. Westra and Armstrong 2006.

[22] A Dutch report tells us that at Mathelage Bay, in addition to the four English vessels, were at anchor "three Arabian vessels" taking slaves for the Arab markets. Leibbrandt 1902: 301.

[23] In 1683, the Company finally imposed some restrictions on the vessels returning from slaving voyages to Madagascar and entering at St. Helena : "In the year 1679, restrictions were laid upon the further importation of slaves…in four years after, permission to renew this traffic was granted…and, in addition to other duties, every Madagascar ship that touched for refreshment, was obliged to leave one Negro, a man or a woman, at the Governor's election, for the service of the Company's plantations…. Besides the Negro which every English vessel trading to Madagascar was obliged to leave on the island, each ship paid a duty of two shillings and six pence for every ton of her admeasurement; and, in common with all others, the sum of five shillings anchorage…. According to orders, sent out in the year 1683, the ships of interlopers were not to be supplied with water or refreshment, until they paid, in money or goods, to the value of twenty shillings per ton" see, Brooke 1808: ch. III.

[24] The Barbados received from December 1678 to January 1680 a total of 1909 Malagasy. See, Dunn 1969.

[25] On the presence of Malagasy in Jamaica cf. Kopytoff 1973: 19,44. A Malagasy slave, in 1720, led a band of Maroons cf. Kopytoff 1978: 293.

[26] From Randolph's report of 1676, we have understood that Malagasy slaves were already imported in the New England plantation and the first were brought in well before the year 1678. We know that tracking the origins and experiences of individual slaves prior to their arrival in the American colonies is very difficult. There is scant information in local historic records about where the slaves may have originated. In our case we do know the story of one of these Malagasy brought into New England around 1677. His name was Joseph Hanno and he was sentenced to death in 1721 for the murder of his wife Nanny Negro. Joseph Hanno has been faithfully narrated by Professor Mark Weiner (2004: ch.I) in his remarkable and fascinating book. "Chapter One: Let Us Make a Tryal (Joseph Hanno and Cotton Mather)", Boston 1721: 33-50.

[27] "Sir Richard Dutton's Answer to the Heads of Enquiry respecting Barbados, June 11, 1681" Fortescue 1895: 71; Donnan 1930-35: 94).

[28] Armstrong (1984), in his inventory of English ships trading to Madagascar, lists the *Sea Flowers* and *Bridgwater merchant*. The first traded at Mathelage and at St Augustine Bay in 1679 and the second at St Augustine Bay in 1680. But the *Bridgwate*r on her return voyage incurred in some problems : "Feb 12th, 1681.— "*Bridgewater* ship with slaves arrived from Island St. Lawrence beyond the Cape— much sickness on board—all trade forbidden with her but considering distressed condition of these our countrymen allowed to stay four days" see, Janisch 1885.

[29] While the *Robocq* was at the Cape, the Governor Simon van der Stel questioned the Captain and thus discovered why the English merchants were so capably in the slave trade at Madagascar: they exchange "gingham and patterned cottons, and various types of guns and muskets" for slaves Boeseken 1977: 70.

[30] Captain Deeron came again to the Cape with a cargo of Malagasy in 1690. In 1694, he was returning there on the ship *Josiah* in 1694 but died en route, (Armstrong 1984: 219).

[31] "Samuel Winder to Governor Dongan, Chesapeake, July 23, 1686", In Fortescue 1899: 220. The rest of the cargo was landed in New York after an affidavit "Affidavit of William Wolliford, and of his crew, that he had traded in no port belonging to Royal African Company. Sworn before Lucas Santen Collector July 23 1686 New York" (Fortescue 1899). A month later the New York's authorities ordered: "That all the goods in the Mariner's Adventure that come to the Custom House are to remain there until security has been given to answer any claim of the Royal African Company". On October it was reached an agreement for the transfer of the goods of the *Mariner Adventure* to England, where her captain would "give satisfaction to the East India and African Companies that he had not encroached on their privileges". Idem 232, 253.

[32] According to Virginia B. Platt, in the years between 1682 and 1687 "eleven vessels… coming from Madagascar brought in 1741 Malagasy" at Barbados. See, Platt 1969:549. Professor Hall assess that from 1681 to 1718 21 ships with Malagasy entered at

Barbados. See, Hall. n.d. : 21-22. In one of Professor Hall's latest publication we read: "A substantial number of voyages from Madagascar to Barbados and Virginia between 1675 and 1724 have been documented.... A census in Barbados at the end of the seventeenth century counted 32,473 slaves, half of them from Madagascar. Some of these Madagascans were surely transhipped from Barbados to Carolina, accompanied masters who were relocating there, or arrived directly on voyages of the many English and American pirates actively trading for slaves in Madagascar between 1688 and1724,"see, Hall 2005: 66-67.

[33] Captain Crainsbourgh died at Port Royal. He had arrived from New York to Jamaica in August 1688 and from there he went to trade to Rio de la Hacha. He returned to Port Royal in October 1688. His death probably occurred at the end of 1688 or early 1689. See, Zahedieh 1896: 578; Cransborough 1969.

[34] In 1674, Frederick Philipse (Flipsen) (b: Mar 1627 at Bolsward, Friesland, Netherlands d: 24 Dec 1702 at New York), a former carpenter of the Dutch West Indian Company, was listed as "the richest man of his time" in New York. Philipse acquired his largest fortune through his partnership with his wife, Margaret Hardenbroeck, a very powerfu merchant-trader. They owned, at least, several ships: the *Charles*, The *Duke of York*, the *Frederick*, the *Katherine*, the *Margaret* and the *New York Marchand, The Jonker and the Unity* engaged in transoceanic voyages: Europe, West Africa, East Africa, Madagascar and Mascarene or in the trade with the Caribbean, particularly with Barbados, where the family owned the Springhead Plantation at St. James. Philipse had also a partnership in other merchant vessels. His connection with slave trade goes back to the early 1680s. The first slaves who worked at his Manor at Yonker may have arrived on the *Margaret* or on the *Charles* from a slaving voyage from Amsterdam to Angola in the mid'1680. According to a deposition, the Philipse's ship went from Angola to Barbados and from there back to Rye, New York. In the homeport, nine Negroes disembarked and eight marched overland to Philipse Manor, a colonial estate of 90,000 acres at Upper Mills, North Tarrytown, N.Y. Philipse's trade with Madagascar also goes back to the 1680s, see, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections 1838. *Higginson Letters*. Vol. II, Third Series, Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, p.209; Astley 1894: van Laer A.J.F. ed. 1902: 23. "Journal of Trade and Plantations Feb. 18, 1698" in Fortescue J.W. ed. 1905: 109; Hall 1912: 74 ;Bartlett and Jameson 1913:5, 252; Donnan 1934:444; Bonomi 1971: 60; Gherke 2001: 158-63; Williams-Myers 2002; ZImmerman 2006: 111-13, 148, 157-60.

[35] Hill believed that the ship in question is the *Margaret*, Frederick Philipse's owner see, Hill 1923: 927. We may also speculate that this "New York ship" is the same mentioned in the *Barlow's Journal*. Barlow arrived at St Helena in September 1689 and recorded that the ship *Rochester* "had met an English ship belonging to New York near New England, which was bound to the Island of St. Laurence for niggers to carry to the island of Barbados" see, Lubbock 1934: 403. The *Rochester* had called at St Helena on July 1689: "July 24, 1689—The *Rochester* arrived on the voyage from

India and had met a small ship from New York in America bound for Madagascar". See, Janisch 1885.

[36] "The pirates in the Eastern Seas - we read in a pamphlet - began their barbarous trade soon after the year 1690. The news of the rich booties taken by the East India Company in their private wars from the year 1686 to 1690, stirred up by the old buccaneer gangs, who now found it more difficult to rob the Spaniards than it had been formerly…so they directed their course to the East". See, Grey Ch. 1933: 11; Hill 1923; Masefield 1906.

[37] At various times the island played host to many of the most notorious pirates of the time: Henry Every, William Kidd, Thomas Tew and many others. They are numerous books on the Golden Age of Piracy but the traditional one is Daniel Defoe *A General History of the Pyrates*. See, also, Deschamps 1972.

[38] "You cannot," wrote Governor Basse, "be insensible of the dishonour as well as damage suffered by this nation through the increase of piracies under the banner of England in any part of the world" see "Jeremiah Basse to William Popple Jul. 18, 1697" in Fortescue 1904: 551. On the connection we read: "Dec. 7 [1696]—Examination of some sailors brought from Madagascar by the *Mary* concerning the Madagascar Traders of New York and of the Pirates who generally harbour there—they mention the celebrated pirate Avery and his having gone to the Red Sea with four ships—on their return to Madagascar that Avery went away with all the treasure which had for safety been put on board his vessel." See, Janisch 1885.

[39] The encouragement to the illegal trade, that was highly profitable for all parties, especially merchants, was originated by the many Navigation Acts that Britain imposed on the plantations. Among the colonies the most notorious for sheltering pirates was New York during the Governor Benjamin Fletcher; the others were Carolina, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, etc. See "Memorial of Sir Thomas Lawrence 6 June 1695", in Fortescue 1903: 519. "An Account of several things whereby illegal trade is encouraged in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania with methods for preventing the same, submitted to the Commissioners of Customs (Aug. 17) 1696", in Fortescue 1904: 71-74; " Memorial of Sir Robert Robinson to the King Nov. 23 1696", in Fortescue 1904: 222; "Secretary to the East India Company to William Popple December 18 1696." In Fortescue1904: 259; "Jeremiah Basse to William Popple Jul. 26, 1697", in Fortescue:1904: 563; "Governor Basse to William Popple April 30 1698", in Fortescue 1905: 186; "Edward Randolph to Council of Trade and Plantations, Boston May 30, 1698", Fortescue 1905: 256; Leamon 1963: 536-37;. Bradley, 1978: 205. About the New York connection with piracy, Governor Earl of Bellomont in 1699 wrote: "They write from New York that Arabian gold is in great plenty there…. When Fred. Phillips' ship and the other two come from Madagascar, which are expected every day, N. York will abound with gold. Tis the most beneficial trade, that to Madagascar with the pirates, that ever was heard of, and I believe there's more got that way than by turning pirates and robbing" in Headlam 1908: 360-61. In

an additional document we read: "piracy and illegal trade were the 'belov'd twins' of New York". See, Guttridge 1922: 161.

[40] T. South to the Lord of Justices, Dublin, 15 Aug. 1696, in Fortescue 1904: 259; "Letter from Surat dated 6 February 1696-7½, in Fortescue 1905: 97; Molet-Sauvaget 1991: 12-13; Rogozinski 2000: 18; Chase 2003 :98; Notice of the connection between the British American merchants, pirates and the Madagascar island arrived also at St Helena: "Dec. 7. [1696]—Examination of some sailors brought from Madagascar by the *Mary* concerning the Madagascar Traders of New York and of the Pirates who generally harbour there—they mention the celebrated pirate Avery and his having gone to the Red Sea with four ships—on their return to Madagascar that Avery went away with all the treasure which had for safely been put on board his vessel." See, Janisch 1885.

[41] Adam Baldridge had apparently killed a man in Jamaica in 1685 and then turned pirate. See, Mosca 1987: 15; Rogozinski 2000: 12-13.

[42] "Council of Trade and Plantations February 26, 1698", in Fortescue 1905: 121.

[43] Later on, Laurence Johnston, a pirate, settled in Sainte Marie and worked with Baldridge. Cf. in Fortescue 1905 : 108. In November 1697, an insurrection of the natives in Sainte Marie obliged Adam Baldridge to return to New York. Captain Kidd told the Colonial authorities that Baldridge was the source of the natives's uprising because he enslaved some of them for selling at the Mascarene. See, Jameson 1923: 187; Mosca 2001a: 409.

[44] "Deposition of Samuel Perkins of New England August 25, 1698" in Fortescue 1905: 403-04; Jameson 1923: 176.

[45] In Sainte Marie, McDonalds suggests that developed a "complex trans-cultural" habitat see, McDonald 2005: 13. Of a different opinion is Bialuschewsi. See Bialuschewski 2005: 409.

[46] Like Philipse many other colonial merchants were attracted by the Indian Ocean's trade: Nicholas Bayard, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, Robert Livingstone, Peter Schuyler, Stephen Delancey *et al*. For example, Robert Livingstone was linked with Frederick Philipse in the trade to Madagascar, Barbados and Virginia see, Kierner 1992: 39; Dugdale *et al* 2001: 3.

[47] Frederick Philipse and his second son (the eldest son Philip after a good years of work as a captain settled down in Barbados and married Mary Spark (e) s. Philip took over the family business and the Spring Head estate. Adolphus, who also owned in whole or in part many vessels: *The Abigail, Diamond, Eagle, Phillipsburgh, Charles, Hopewell and Mayflower*, and other New York merchants sponsored pirate ventures. Men just like them lived in Philadelphia, Boston, Newport, and Charleston. They behaved as legitimate importers and merchants, but also brokered of booty and this of course, was possible with the tacit approval of the colonial governors, who allowed the pirates and privateers open access to the ports see, Bonomi 1971: 62. Adolphus Philipse continued to trade in slaves probably until 1721 and one slaving voyage in 1717-1718 was to Madagascar see, Donnan 1930-35: in 466, 471-72. Platt 1969: 564-

65; Chase 2003: 104-05; Maika 2004, Zimmerman 2006: 144. Philip Philipse and his wife both died of yellow fever in 1700 and their son Frederick II, two years old, was adopted by his grandparent Frederick and went to live in New York. The Springhead estate, Frederick II was co-heirs with Thomas Foulerton, was in 1710 leased to the greatest landowner of Barbados Samuel Osborne who later bought it. Sanders 1982: 85; 1979-81. *Records Wills and Administrations*, Volume 3, *1701 – 1725*. Zimmerman 2006: 144-45; 193-95.

[48] In her return voyage off the coast of New Jersey, the *New York Marchand* transferred her cargo of Oriental goods on the *Frederick* ship and then she headed for her homeport New York. See, in Fortescue 1905: 413; O'Callaghan 1849: 816; Judd 1971: 367-68.

[49] The northern tip of Madagascar, in the bay of Antsiranana, an area with fertile soil, fresh water and friendly natives, hosted, as we read in Defoe, a utopian community: "Libertalia" or "Libertatia". The founders were a Provençal's captain: Misson and an Italian Dominican priest: Caraccioli. See, Schonhorn 1972: 417-20.

[50] The *Amity,* a former privateer against the French, had been previously commanded by Thomas Tew. This pirate, originally from Rhode Island, captured in 1693 in the Red Sea a rich Mogul ship and the crew shared £1200 each. In 1695, Tew, with a commission of Governor Fletcher of New York, returned to the Red Sea, where he died while, with other pirates, was chasing Moors vessels. See, McDonald 2005: 18-19.

[51] According to William Willock, the capture of the *Charming Mary* occurred at Fort Dauphin. See, in Fortescue 1905: 366; Rogozinski 2000: 75.

[52] Raven-Hart called the brigantine *Royal Russell* and *Royal Dutch.* See, Raven-Hart 1971: 424-25.

[53] The *Fortune*, Captain Thomas Mostyn, dropped anchor at St Mary on June 1697. From John Paintree, the sailor of the ship *Fortune* we know: "We traded at Madagascar for negroes and also with a vessel formerly commanded by one Hore (who was then dead) for East India goods. We brought the said goods to Long Island Sound, where they were taken off by two New York sloops". See, Fortescue 1905: 286; Jameson 1923: 186; Leibbrandt: 1896a: 374.

[54] 'O' Callaghan 1854: 323. Of the four vessels only the *Nassaw* returned to New York: the *Prophet Daniel,* as was lying in the harbour of Fort Dauphin, was captured by the pirate Evan Jones and his crew. The same fate occurred to the *Peter* while the *Margaret* as we will see was seized at the Cape by a Company's ship. See, Headlam 1910: 171-73; Hill 1923: 125; Ritchie 1986: 84-85, 121, 270.

[55] Mosca 1987: 17-18; Burgess, during his incursions in the Indian Ocean, had the opportunity to circumnavigate Madagascar and to spend some time at St Augustine Bay from the summer of 1691 to the spring of 1692. He then boarded the *Jacob*, a ship fitted out in New York, and sailed back to the colony in April 1693 with a considerable fortune. Cf. Fortescue 1905: 227; Ritchie 1988: 115, 117-18.

[56] The arrival of two Philipse's ships loaded with c. 400 Malagasy precipitated the selling of slaves in the New York market. See, Goodfriend 1992: 112; Foote 2004: 64; Gomez 2005: 137.

[57] The cargo destined to the natives was: various coloured pearls, brass collars, wrist bracelets, the goods for the Europeans were weapons, knives, flints, clothes, mirrors, scissors, combs, tobacco, etc. Cf. Judd 1971: 363; Ritchie 1988: 121.

[58] According to Hill, when Burgess left Sainte Marie the New England vessel *German Mary*, Captain Mayes, was at anchor. See, Hill 1923: 127.

[59] But actually the *Margaret* as already known never returned to New York. On her way back the ship stopped at the Cape, where Captain Matthew Lowth of the East India Company on the suspicion that the vessel was a pirate ship seized her. Burgess was judged for piracy by the Court of Admiralty and condemned to death in 1702 but then he received the royal pardon. In 1707-1708 he returned to Madagascar and engaged himself in the slave trade and in piracy until his death. See, Judd 1971: 369-71; Ritchie 1988: 123-33; Rogozinski 2000: 198-202; Mosca 2001a: 88-89.

[60] The slaving voyages to Madagascar were legal at the time: "The trade for Negros to Madagascar was not under a prohibition, not until the E. India Act passed in England" O'Callaghan 1854: 816. See, also, Headlam 1900: 718; Donnan 1930-35: 442; Platt 1969: 550.

[61] Of the vessels that unloaded Malagasy slaves in Barbados in 1717 and in 1720, in Jamaica in 1717 and in Virginia in 1720 we should mention two: the *Drake* and the *Mercury*. On board of the two slaving ships was Robert Drury, the English sailor that spent fifteen years in Madagascar and was rescued by the *Drake*. Of his fifteen years in Madagascar and of his role as slave dealer. See, Oliver 1969: 301, 304-12; Janisch 1885.

[62] Platt 1969: 571. The South Sea Company's ships in the same years were transporting Malagasy to the Spanish colonies. In 1716, the *Sarah Galley*, Captain Bloom left England for Madagascar and Buenos Ayres to load 400 slaves. The Company in 1725-1726 presented a petition to trade for slaves in Madagascar destined to Buenos Ayres. In 1726, the *Sea Horse* and the *St. Michael*, probably South-Sea Company's ships, traded 1030 Malagasy destined to Cartagena, but lost more than 600 en route. See, Donnan 1934-35 II: 208, 263 n3, 322 n3; Hardyman 1963: 512; Platt 1969: 559-63; Palmer 1981: 31-33; Lloyd's Register 2004.

[63] In 1784, the American slave voyages to Madagascar had a sequel. In that year Maurice Benyowsky founded an American-British company for trading Malagasy to the Cape and St. Domingue. On 21 October 1784 Benyowsky left Baltimore direct to Madagascar on board the *Intrepid* provided by the Swiss-American merchants Zollikofer and Messonier The project failed because the captain Davis of the *Intrepid* dropped Benyowsky at Cape St Sebastian and sailed off, marooning him. See, Mosca 1987: 19-20.

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V

AFRICAN DIASPORA IN THE AMERICAS

36

Descendants of Enslaved Africans in Brazil in the Present Era: Realities and Problems

Kabengele Munanga

The ideology of Brazilian racial democracy has had a long career both internally and externally. In the domestic scene, the Brazilian racist culture was characterized by the negation of the existence of racist practices. It was put succinctly by the great sociologist Florestan Fernandes, who said that one of the problems of Brazilian racism is "the prejudice of having prejudice". The absence of feelings of hostility and racial hatred in Brazil, which are so manifest, for example, in the United States and South Africa, have led generations of Brazilians and the external world too, to believe that Brazil has a real racial democracy. The Brazilian educational model has aimed at avoiding direct conflicts between Whites and Blacks in a paternalistic approach of a muzzled and silenced kind. This attitude makes us remember that famous phrase of Elie Wiesel, Nobel laureate for Peace, "The hangman always kills twice, the second time by silence."

The concept of Brazilian racial democracy, like all myths, had a well-defined ideological function: to cement the unity of society by disguising, under the garb of miscegenation, the social conflicts, which could threaten that unity, and persuade all White and Black Brazilians to conform to a certain kind of behaviour in order to avoid open conflicts, although the conflicts would still exist in latent and psychological forms.

In fact, an analysis of the discourse of the Brazilian intelligentsia, between the end of the 19th century and the middle of the 20th century, reveals the development of a universal racist model. It is characterized by the search for the assimilation of members of different ethnic-racial groups in "the race" and in "the culture" of the dominant ethnic segment of the society. This model presupposes an absolute negation of difference, that is the negative evaluation of any difference, and suggests an implicit ideal of homogeneity which should be realized by miscegenation and cultural assimilation. The process of the biological and cultural mixing of races would bring about the destruction of the racial and ethnic identity of lower-status, if you like, "ethnocide" and "epistemicide" (Munanga 2004:121).

Thus, miscegenation as a transitory stage in the process of achieving whiteness constitutes the central piece of the Brazilian racial ideology, although one should not assume, of course, the sexual intercourses between Whites and Blacks were informed by this ideology. Some quotations in the work titled, *Preto no Branco* (Black in White) of Thomas Skidmore (1976), elucidate convincingly the idea among the intellectual elite that the Brazilian Black population represented. The process of "whitening" the Blacks would offer the best way to appease the threat to the future of the White race and civilization in Brazil without conflicts (Munanga 2004).

> *"There is no peril that the problem of blacks would cause to emerge in Brazil. Before it could happen, it would be solved by love. The process of the mixing of races has removed the numerical importance of the Negro element, dissolving it in the white population. The mulatto of the second generation would like to be white, and the white in some rare cases takes him, esteems him and accepts him in his environment. As the ethnographers assure us, and as it is indeed possible to confirm at a brief survey, miscegenation is facilitated by the dominance of the superior element. Because of this sooner or later they will eliminate the black race from here. This is evident as it has already started. When immigration, which I think is the foremost necessity of Brazil, will increase, it will, because of the unavoidable mixing process, clear the process of selection"* (Verissimo 1976: 90).

Contrary to the racial ideology practised in the United States, where the White race's supremacy was sought to be guaranteed by imposing a rigid segregationist system, the majority of the Brazilian elite considered the most secure and definitive solution to be through eugenic means only (Munanga 2004). The Brazilian experience, as Thomas Skidmore tells us became familiar to the ex-President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, who records his comments on his conversation with a member of the Brazilian elite:

> *"An opinion so different from ours could best be rendered by the words of one of them, who is pure white, who said to me: Naturally the presence of blacks is a real problem, a very serious problem, as in your country, so in my country too.... But the problem remains, as does the necessity to find another solution other than slavery. You in the United States preserve the blacks as an element completely separated and treat them in a way that will create self-esteem in themselves. They continue to be a threat for your civilization, a permanent threat and maybe, after some time, it will increase as well. Among us this question is disappearing because the very same blacks are disappearing and are being absorbed. The number of pure blacks is constantly decreasing. They may disappear in two or three generations, as far as their physical, ethnic and mental features are concerned. When they disappear, they will continue being present in one third of our population, while the other two thirds will remain pure whites. Admitting that*

> *the presence of a black racial element will slightly weaken the one third of the population, the other two thirds will maintain with their whole strength. And the black problem will thus disappear. In your country, the whole white population maintained their original racial strength, but the blacks remain cast aside, and increase in numbers, ever sadder about their isolation, which will represent a threat in the future. Ido not think that our solution is perfect, but I consider it better than yours. We, you and us, are facing different alternatives, each one with its disadvantages. I think that ours, in the long run and from the national point of view, is less harmful and dangerous than the one you have chosen in the United States*" (Roosevelt. 1976).

Myths, just like the thoughts which create them, are not eternal, and the social facts disguised by them will be revealed by the very dynamics of the society itself with its conflicts and contradictions. This is what happened to the ideology of Brazilian racial democracy. The first attack came from the victims of racism through their organized social movements. They have gone through a long process of becoming more conscious, which has enabled them to unmask the supposed racial democracy, exposing it as a myth with definitive ideological aims that it was, and not the real racial democracy it was considered to be.

In fact, on the eve of the Revolution of 1930, some Blacks made a reunion in São Paulo in order to create the Black Press, whose mission was to denounce the evident discriminatory practices in the labour market, education and leisure. This press contributed to the creation of the *Frente Negra* (Black Front) in 1931, which is considered the major post-abolition Black Movement with a clearly political character (Azevedo 1975: 30). Transformed into a political party in 1936, the *Frente Negra* was suppressed, together with other political parties of that time, by the Vargas dictatorship. But its influence reappeared at the end of the dictatorship in 1945, through the creation of the First Black National Convention (Primeira Convençao Nacional do Negro) with the aim of continuing the repressed anti-racist struggle.

Between 1945 and 1970, a number of Black Movements came into existence and all of them disappeared. Like *Frente Negra*, they wished to create a new image of the Blacks. They had identified schooling and education as the best field for their struggle. They thought that racism originated from ignorance, and would disappear when the poor received their due share in education and when tolerance, until then the privilege of the educated elite, was taught to the masses (Bergmann 1973: 71). The Black, a victim of racism, should transform himself in order to be accepted by the Whites. According to this view, education, training and the "white" model of behaviour represented the keys to integration, because even the most narrow-minded White (it was thought) would not have any reason to close his doors before a qualified, learned and honorable Black person (Body-Gendrot 1984: 22). These views introduced some ambiguity into these movements, since, although they did protest against racial prejudices and discriminations, they also fed feelings of inferiority concerning their own culture.

The organizations of Black Movements that re-embarked upon the anti-racist struggle in the seventies were enriched by the experiences of former movements (*Frente Negra*, *Teatro Experimental do Negro, Pan-Africanismo, Negritude,* etc.). Contrary to former movements, for which salvation lay in assimilation into Whites, that is to say, the denial of their own identity, they invested in the recovery and construction of their collective personality. They understood that their struggle against racism demanded an integral comprehension of their problems, including the construction of their identity and history, which had been told until that period from the dominant Whites' point of view (dos Santos 1983:16).

With the creation of the Unified Black Movement *(Movimento Negro Unificado – MNU)* around 1975, the Black Brazilians, especially those in the big cities, launched a radical discourse, advocating the formerly never heard of *ethnic reclamation* and denouncing racist practices. The pivot of actions of this movement was the promulgation of the Constitution of 1988. Some success has been achieved by putting into the Constitution the description of racism as an inadmissible and punishable crime - and the guarantee of ownership of lands for the descendants of *quilombos*, the so called runaway slaves' settlements. This was the most important point which the Unified Black Movement -MNU and other Black organizations which emerged from the former movements managed to accomplish as tools of mobilization and pressure groups of the masses. Until then, these movements had acted as pressure groups which were independent of state power and indeed almost always opposed to it (Moura 2002).

In 1995, the year of the 300 year anniversary of Zumbi dos Palmares' death, who was the paramount leader of the *quilombo dos Palmares* and an icon of Brazilian Black consciousness, the entities of the Black Movement organized a march in Brasília, capital of the country. Among others, the charter of claims included questions concerning the politics of affirmative action in Brazil: quotas, reparation, legalization of the lands of *quilombos* and the inclusion of Black history and culture in the obligatory school curriculum.

The debate about affirmative action, focusing on the issue of "quotas", started to occupy space in television and the written media. It gained importance in the political debate in Brazil, especially in 2001, due to the preparatory process of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, organized by the United Nations' Organization, in the city of Durban, South Africa, between 31st August and 11th September 2001. The opinions supporting the introduction of quotas received an important boost from the statistics produced by the Brazilian

Institute of Geography *(IBGE -Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Economia)* and by the Research Institute of Applied Economy *(IPEA -Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada)*, both of which are organs of the Federal Government. These organs, especially IPEA, came up with socio-economic indicators which reveal shocking racial inequalities between Blacks and Whites in a most detailed, extensive and complete quantitative research, such as had never been produced before about the effects of racial condition in individual trajectories, like families and collectives in Brazil. It even synthesized a historical series of population censuses of the 19th century (Carvalho 2005: 21). Juxtaposing socio-economic indicators of income, employment, education, class, age, family status and region with the racial factor for a period of 70 years since 1929, the researchers of *IPEA* arrived at the incontestable conclusion that the racial condition in Brazil is systematically a factor of privilege and advantage for Whites and one of disadvantage and exclusion for Blacks and Browns (Carvalho 2005: 21). And now let us see some of those data:

- The Brazilian population is approximately 180 million and 47 per cent of the population (84.6 millions) are Negro (7 per cent Black and 40 per cent Brown);
- 25 million human beings in Brazil live below the poverty line, a condition defined as not consuming the minimum of recommended calories by the Organization of United Nations (ONU). Of these, 25 million people, 70 per cent are Black.
- 58 million Brazilians live in poverty (earning less than 200 *reais* per month); 63 per cent of whom are Black.
- As for the distribution of income, out of the 10 per cent poorest, 70 per cent are Black and 30 per cent, White.
- Of the 10 per cent richest, 85 per cent are White and 15 per cent, Black.

The conclusion that can be drawn from these data is that poverty has the colour Black in Brazil. Furthermore, among the most miserable of the Brazilian poor are the Blacks. According to the measure in which poverty is associated with blackness, wealth is, evidently, linked to whiteness.

Other data show the inequalities between Blacks and Whites from birth to six years of age. Poverty affects 51 per cent of Brazilian children of this age but the rate is higher among Black children (65 per cent) and much lower among White children (38 per cent):

- For every 100 poor White children, there are 170 poor Black children.
- Between the ages 7 and 14 years, the percentage of poor people among Whites is 33 per cent, while among Blacks, it is 61 per cent.
- Between the age 15 and 24 years, the percentage of poor people among Whites is 24 per cent, while among Blacks it is 47 per cent.

These numbers show a chronic situation of disadvantage for Blacks starting from birth into adult age.

This difference cannot just be linked to the level of income; but it has to be linked to racial discrimination as well. To examine this relation between colour and poverty, colour and wealth, the researchers of *IPEA* studied children between 11 and 14 years of age belonging to the group of the poorest 25 per cent in Brazil. Among the white children of this group, 44.3 per cent are studying in the second period of the primary school (from the fifth to the eighth grades) while barely 27. 4 per cent of the Blacks of the same group were studying in this kind of school. The conclusion is clear: to be Black in Brazil means to have less access to education than the Whites have. During the 20th century, according to these data, the education in Brazil was constantly getting better without changing the difference between Blacks and Whites. The question is what to do with this gap, whether to maintain it without any change, or to reduce it, and how?

To demonstrate, even better, the dimension of this gap between Blacks and Whites in the domain of access to education, let us see more figures from the IPEA research.

- 8.3 per cent of the Whites above 15 years of age were illiterate, against 20 per cent of the Blacks of the same age range.
- 26.4 per cent of the adult Whites were functionally illiterate, against 46.9 per cent of the adult Blacks.
- 57 per cent of the adult Whites had not completed elementary school, while 75.3 per cent of adult Blacks had not done it.
- 63 per cent of the young Whites between 18 and 23 years of age had not completed the secondary school, while 84 per cent of young Blacks had not done it (Henrique 2001; Carvalho 2005: 21-27).

These data had a fairly important impact on some sectors of the Brazilian government and state. An anti-racist discourse was slowly adopted and became a political agenda. This debate intensified during the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance in Durban. In the official report distributed by the Brazilian government after this conference, the proposals for the benefit of the Black community included the following:

> *"an adoption of reparatory measures for the victims of racism, racial discrimination and forms related to intolerance through public policy in order to redress inequality. Those reparatory measures based on the rules of positive discrimination prescribed in the Constitution of 1988, should consider initiating legislative and administrative measures in order to guarantee the rights of racial equality foreseen in the Constitution of 1988, with special emphasis on the fields of education, labor, land titles and the establishment of agricultural politics, as well as the development of remaining communities of the quilombos, in addition to the*

> *adoption of quotas and other affirmative measures which help the access of blacks to the public universities."* (Henrique 2001: 28-30).

It can be seen that not only militants of Black Movement or researchers of the agenda of equality between Blacks and Whites were involved, but also sectors of the government, basing their initiatives on quantitative research carried out by the very same government. After the international conference of Durban, the Brazilian government launched some actions in accordance with the content of the above mentioned report.

The Commission of Constitution and Justice of the Senate (Comissao de Constituicao e Justica do Senado) passed a proposed bill to reserve a minimum quota of 20 per cent for Afro-Brazilians for 50 years, quotas for Blacks and Browns in public concourse of the Union, the states, the municipalities and the Federal district and in vacancies in the high level courses in public and private institutions.

This bill was included in the Statute of Racial Equality (Estatuto de Igualdade Racial) approved in 2002 by a Special Commission in the Chamber of Deputies (Comissao Especial da Camara dos Deputados) and in 2005 by the Commission of Constitution and Justice of the Senate. Missing still were the ratifications in the plenary of the two Chambers and the signing by the President of the Republic. On 9th January 2003, the President of the Republic ratified the Law 10.639/03 which made obligatory the teaching of Black History and Culture, including the history of Africa, of African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture, both in primary and secondary education in the whole country, in response to one of the demands of the Black Movement. On the 21st March 2003, the President of the Republic signed a decree to create the Special Secretariat of Policies for the Promotion of Racial Equality (Secretaria Especial de Politicas de Promocao da Igualdade Racial (SEPPER) to articulate, stimulate and monitor the initiatives towards racial equality in different areas to be implemented by various organs of the government (Heringer 2004: 58-64).[1]

Although, the discourse of the necessary inclusion of Blacks has been progressively adopted by different sectors of the government, the opinions are divided concerning the means and strategies to be embraced in order to fight against inequalities between Whites and Blacks. For those faithful to leftist traditions, racism is a question of classes. Racial inequalities are interpreted only as reflections of class conflict, and racial prejudices are considered to be social attitudes propagated by the dominant class. They consider it as a tool for the division of the members of the oppressed classes with the aim of guaranteeing exploitation (Munanga 1996: 80). They are against the implementation of a policy of affirmative action specifically benefiting the Black population, and, favour universal policies of fighting poverty and promoting equal rights. With the Blacks being the majority among the poorest of all skin colours, they will naturally be the greatest beneficiaries of such universal policies.

The adoption of policies of affirmative action is defended by other sectors within the government, among them, the Minister of Education, Tarso Genro, and the members of his cabinet; the Minister Matilde Ribeiro of the Special Secretariat of Policies for the Promotion of Racial Equality (SEPPIR) and the members of her cabinet; and the Front of Black Parliamentarians (Chamber of Deputies and Senate), etc; together with the organizations of the Black Movement, Black researchers and scholars, the Black NGOs, mainly the feminine ones. The affirmative policies are to be concretized in specific actions in the fields of education, health, employment, professional qualification, recruitment into the public service, access to programmes of minimal income and to the public, free and superior education, etc., in addition to the public recognition of the positive collective identity of the Black community, concretized in the Law 10.639/03, which makes obligatory the teaching of Black History and Culture in the Brazilian public education.

Among all the proposals for specific actions being debated or executed, those which cause the most heated polemics and resistance inside and outside of government, in the Press, in political parties, academic and intellectual circles, etc., are exactly those which propose differentiated access to university for Blacks, Indians and the poor through the reservation of vacancies through quotas. The opponents can be grouped into four essential blocs: 1) Those who opine that the measure of quotas just cannot be applied, in consequence of the Brazilian racial classificatory system. It is different from the bi-racial system of the United States; and, because of the intense miscegenation, it is difficult to define who is Black in Brazil. 2) Those who think that the measures are unconstitutional, hurting as they do the precept of equality for all in front of the law, and could actually introduce a kind of counter-racism against poor Whites. 3) Those who consider that the quotas will hurt the sacred principle of academic merit and excellence that are the great virtues both as tools of social justice and as the guarantee for a good university education. In this group, we encounter, first of all, leaders of state-run and federal public universities, professors and students. 4) And finally, those who defend the theory of racial conflicts being an alien imported concept from the bi-racial context of the United States, a context radically contrasted to Brazilian chromatic racial classification, in which racial mixing offers a guarantee for a society without racial consciousness and, consequently, without racial conflicts (Munanga 2003: 115-28).

The Press, informing the public opinion, is a parasite for all sectors and does not conceal its bias against the proposal of quotas.

The defenders of quotas fight head-on against the arguments opposed to the policy of quotas in order to convince the "lords" of power in academy and in political circles (executive, legislative and judiciary) as well. Here are some aspects of this defensive argumentation:

Because of the existence of racial discrimination against Blacks and people of mixed race in Brazilian society, it is doubtful if there is any difficulty in defining who is Black in Brazil because of the intensive miscegenation. It is sufficient to observe how policemen and doorkeepers of all buildings behave so that we could define the victims of racism, and who could benefit, if they wish, from the policy of quotas. If in doubt, a citizen's own declaration will suffice who chooses the differentiated entrance to a public university.

In front of the Law, we are all equals: this is the principle of the formal and substantial isonomy, which does not preclude the search of the material and consubstantial equality guaranteed by the same Magna Charta of 1988 (Madruga 2005: 32). In fact, the unconstitutionality of the policies of quotas is rejected by the personal opinion of various figures of the Brazilian judiciary. For the Minister Joaquim Barbosa of the Federal Supreme Court (Supremo Tribunal Federal (STF), *various devices of the Brazilian Constitution of 1988 reveal the rejection of the constituent for processual equality and opt instead for the conception of "material" equality or the equality of "results" (Rodrigues 2005: 95). Another Minister of the Federal Supreme Court, Marco Aurélio de Mello, taking into consideration the concepts and principles of the Constitution of 1988 regarding affirmative action, assured us thus: "Article 3º clarifies to us sufficiently that imposing affirmative action is the only way to correct inequalities through the weight of the Law with its imperative effect in an unbalanced market, in favour of the discriminated against person who is treated in an unequal way. In this precept, the basic objectives of our republic are embedded: firstly, to construct a free, just and solidary society; second, to guarantee the nation's development, to put an end to poverty and marginalization and reduce social and regional inequalities and, last, to develop for the benefit of all of us, without prejudice of origin, race, sex, skin color, age or any other form of discrimination." The Minister Marco Aurélio added about the reception of affirmative action by the Constitution of 1988: "I can affirm, without fear of any error, that from a static equality, purely negative, in which discrimination was forbidden, we have passed to an efficient, dynamic equalization. The verbs 'to construct' 'to guarantee', 'to eradicate', 'to promote', when they refer to action, all in themselves imply a change of one's point of view. It is not sufficient not to discriminate. It is necessary to make viable the same opportunities to everyone; and as we can actually find the bases for it in the Charter of the Republic, we have to consider the former system, based simply on a principle in a page to be skipped over" (Rodrigues 2005: 99).*

> *In his turn, the President of the Federal Supreme Court (STF), the Minister Nelson Jobim, considers the adoption of affirmative action, although only for a determined period, a basic prerequisite for redressing the social inequalities in Brazil. He underlines that he is not interested in a Manichean analysis of the quotas for Blacks. What is really important is the effectiveness of the measures. "Brazil has been very late to take a clear position about the racial issue and only in 1997 was racism considered as a crime on a large scale. We developed treacherous techniques, separation by segregation and constriction without prohibition", and therefore "the adoption of affirmative action is a historical necessity in Brazil. Racial discrimination in his interpretation is not a by-product of socio-economic discrimination, because the structure of prejudice in Brazil is typically motivated by racial characteristics .... I reject the necessity to debate this issue as good or bad. We have to adopt it as long as it is necessary in order to correct the social inequalities." (Rodrigues 2005:100).*
>
> *The theory of racial conflicts upheld by some anthropologists, sociologists and historians of respectable intellectual disciplines in the field of racial relations found its peak in the recently published book of anthropologist, Peter Fry. He says, "Here affirmative action has not been put in effect only to recompense the Blacks for their past slavery and the present discrimination. It also aimed at finishing the racial mixing in order to produce only two races. Formerly a society of classes which refused to recognize racial identities, Brazil is now understood as a society of different races and ethnicities. The policies of racial affirmative action will have consequences of stimulating racial attributions and to strengthen concepts of races."* (Fry 2005: 336).

First of all, all Whites and Blacks in Brazil believe that the racial "mixing", genetically speaking, is the basis of Brazilian society. The research of the genetist Sergio Danilo Pena shows that all Brazilians, even those who show the European phenotype have, in different percentages, African or Amerindian genetic markers, which confirms the already known principle of the non-existence of a pure or stagnating race. I do not know, apart from the possibilities of a very creative imagination, how affirmative action would be able to destroy "racial mixing", challenging the laws of human genetics and the voluntary action of men and women who will continue to have inter-racial sexual intercourse. If all the racial laws and barriers against inter-racial sexual relationships in the United States and South Africa (apartheid) did not succeed in the destruction of "racial mixing" how would it be possible only in Brazil, due to the quotas? It would mean attributing to affirmative action a magical power which it does not possess in reality. In the second place, we all know that the content of "race" is social and political.

If there is no race for a molecular biologist or a human genetist, it exists in the head of racists and their victims. It would be very difficult to convince Peter Botha and a Zulu of South Africa that Black and White races do not exist, while there is a socio-historical gap which is not filled automatically by genetics. The *Mulattos* of the United States are defined as Blacks on the basis of the principle of "the one drop rule". They accept and assume this racial identity which unifies and mobilizes them politically in a joint struggle in order to achieve all civil rights in American society. However, they are conscious of their blood being mixed and of their Negro identity which makes them discriminated against.

Conscious that, in spite of all the mixing of blood, the discrimination which victimizes Blacks and *Mulattos* is not only an economic question which reaches all the poor in the society, but is a result of a veiled racial discrimination that has been maintained for a long time, the Black Movement has tried to make the Blacks and *Mulattos* aware of their shared identity through the concept of "Negro" inspired by the North American "Black". It is without any doubt a political definition based on the North American bi-racial or bipolar division, and not a biological one. This division is a tentative one which has existed for the last 30 years and goes back to the foundation of Unified Black Movement which had a clear mission to construct solidarity and a sense of identity among those who were excluded through the Brazilian racism. This had happened before the debate about quotas and affirmative action that appeared only 10 years ago. More than that, it went hand in hand with the popular chromatic definition based on the multiplicity of tones and nuances of skin colour of the Brazilians, the result of centuries of miscegenation. To affirm that the bipolar definition of the Black and White races among Brazilians was born of the policies of affirmative action still debated is to ignore the history of the Brazilian Black Movement. To think that Brazil suffers international or multilateral pressures to impose the policy of quotas is to minimize her own national sovereignty and to ignore past and present claims of the Black Movement, which, without using the words "quota" and "affirmative action" always demanded specific policies to reduce inequalities and put Blacks on an equal footing with Whites.

The basic problem is not with "race", which is a pseudo-scientific classification rejected by the biologists. The gist of the problem is racism which hierarchizes, de-humanizes and justifies the existing discriminations. Forty years ago, genetics and molecular biologists affirmed that, from the scientific point of view, pure races do not exist (see, Hiernaux 1969; Ruffié 1976; Jacquard 1974; and F. Jacob; etc.). They stressed the necessity to eliminate the concept of race from the dictionaries, encyclopedias and scientific literature as a measure to combat racism. Very soon, they concluded that this proposal is a scientific naiveté, because they soon had to learn that the racist ideology did not need the concept of "race" to continue and reproduce. Apartheid existed as a demonstration of the rationalization of racism without the use of the word "race". In fact, apartheid is a word of the "Afrikaans", and has, as its ideological definition, a project of separate development with the goal of preserving the cultural richness and ethnic identity of the peoples of South Africa. In the name of respect for identities and cultural diversities, it introduced a segregationist regime in South Africa which for half a century had taken away the fundamental political and social rights of the majority of the population. In the same way, Brazil created its own racism on the basis of negation. Contemporary racists do not need the concept of "race". A majority of the western countries practised anti-Black and anti-Arab racism without using the concept of superior and inferior races, but using merely the concept of cultural and identity differences.

The proposals for struggle against racism should not focus on the abandonment or destruction of "race", which is only a concept, not a reality, nor on the use of such comfortable labels as "ethnic identity", and "cultural diversity", since racism is an ideology able to survive and thrive in all kinds of concepts. Benjamin Isaac (2004), in one of his recent studies based on a 15 years long research, shows the existence of proto-racism among the old Greeks and Romans. However, they did not use the modern concept of "race". They used the concepts of *ethnos* or *natio*, which are not synonyms with race. The law of the purity of blood existed in Portugal and Spain in the 14th and 15th centuries and gave rise to anti-Semitism, which is a sub-species of racism, and yet they did not need "race" in the modern sense of the term. However, the law of the purity of blood in the Iberian Peninsula was not so different from the laws of Nuremberg during the Nazi regime.

Turning to the principles of meritocracy and excellence so important for the academic world, there are some very severe criticisms voiced by some responsible leaders of public universities with the support of some of our colleagues, professors and researchers. They say that the quotas will influence the principles of merit and excellence, protected by the system of examinations for admission which is considered neutral and democratic. Concerning excellence, they say that the admission to University of Blacks and the poor people from public secondary schools through quotas, i.e., reservation of vacancies, would cause the degradation of the quality of education, because they do not have the same cultural qualifications as the students selected by common and traditional exams of admission. What does lowering the quality of education mean? It could mean that the students who were admitted by quotas would not be able to follow the explanations of the professors in the classroom and read and interpret texts, participate in tutorials and work in laboratories, carry out research and present their reports about the results, etc., which would oblige the professor to lower the standards of their classes and consequently hinder the better-talented students selected by the traditional and neutral exam for admissions. However, according to the current practice, the reality is different. There is a system of evaluation to pass the best students and make the bad ones fail. Our universities used to receive, through international agreements, students coming from the African public secondary schools. We have no knowledge of these schools' quality; however, no Brazilian university which received these students has decreased the quality of its teaching! Why should it happen then when Brazilian students, who, though benefiting from quotas, will also have to master the same content of exams for admission to be selected among the best ones from this group? In fact, the same principle of social Darwinism, "In the struggle for life, the best will prevail." will be applied to all, and the difference is due to the fact that the selection is made separately, with consideration for the difference between public and private education. We agree with the principle that there are differences in the level of training between students coming from public schools and those from well-to-do private schools, and these differences interfere with the study and progress of students in the universities. Considering that society does not exist only for highly gifted students who are able to fill quickly the former lacunae and overcome them when they have a unique opportunity, unlike the majority of the population who are not exceptionally gifted. From this point of view, I believe that our public universities, more than any other institutions, have the human resources to be able to minimize the lacunae resulting from the fact that some students come from public secondary schools through the complementary education programmes. Without political will and determination for change, the obstacles cannot be overcome. Otherwise, the persons or social groups opposing any change will do everything possible to defeat the process.

As for the merit, the question is to know which is more correct, to expose those who did not have equal opportunities of access to education to the same demanding initial standards of competition and make an equitable classification among all of them; or to submit them separately to the same selective content? Why should there be sanctions against those who, for socio-economic and racial reasons, did not have access to good quality primary and secondary schools, and why make them compete with others, on the basis of equality,? Finally, what is meritocracy as measured by the tests of examinations for admissions? Does it depend on the natural intellectual potentials of the students or their social backgrounds? In both groups, among the supporters as well as opponents of the quotas, the debates are vivid, hot and passionate. The climate is similar to the pugilists in the ring when one tries to destroy the other in order to receive applauses from one's own fans. The victory of the one or the other would define the future of millions of the Brazilians of African extraction in the public universities. Will they sit together to collect their shared views and negotiate their differences to benefit one community, one society for which they debate? It seems to me those personal vanities and the positions of the "great" and "influential" intellectuals tower above all these considerations.

While the sign for start is awaited (if there is any), some Brazilian universities, committed to bring about change and to the struggle against racial inequalities and for justice, have already started the process of affirmative action with quotas to benefit Black students from public schools. They are not afraid of racial conflicts, of hurting the principles of meritocracy and excellence, and they do not wait for Laws to legalize the policies of affirmative action in their milieu.

In fact, with the exception of the State University of Rio de Janeiro – UERJ, whose quota policy was imposed from above through the Decree of the then Governor of the State of Rio de Janeiro (2002), there are until now a total of 17 public universities which have adopted the policy of quotas on the basis of internal debates among the various members and committees of these universities. Among them there are seven federal universities (University of Brasília – UnB; Federal University of Bahia – UFBA; Federal University of Paraná – UFPR; Federal University of Alagoas – UFAL; Federal University of São Paulo – UNIFESP; Federal University of Tocantins – UFT; Federal University of Juiz de Fora – UFJF) and ten state universities (Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro – UERJ; State University of Norte Fluminense- UENF; State University of Bahia – UNEB; State University of Mato Grosso do Sul – UEMS; State University of Londrina – UEL; State University of Minas Gerais – UEMG; State University of Amazonas – UEA; State University of Goias – UEG; State University of Mato Grosso – UNEMAT; State University of Montes Claros- UNIMONTES).

Despite the resistance, manifested in particular, in the most prestigious federal and state universities in South and Southwest Brazil, this adoption of the quota policy, which is merely three years old and pioneered by the State University of Rio de Janeiro in a country where the myth of racial democracy is still very strong, is very important. The controversy of yes and no has to do with the ambiguities of racism of the Brazilian kind, ambiguities that are present in the veiled, paternalist and silent forms of the manifestations of racism in Brazil; ambiguities that are present in the lack of segregationist and protectionist laws, ambiguities that are projected onto the body of the *Mulatto* men and women who are neither White nor Black. All these ambiguities, which are part of the strategy of Brazilian racism, have their repercussions in the debates about the policy of quotas in Brazil.

Note

[1] The Lula government which came to power in 2003 January and for the 2nd term in January 2007 nominated the first Black minister as a member of the Federal Supreme Court. For the first time, there are four Black ministers, for Culture Ministry, Sports Ministry, SEPPIR Ministry and Ecology Ministry. He promulgated the Law numbered

10.639 in 2003, modified by the Law 11.645 in March 2008, which makes compulsory teaching History of Africa and of the Black Brazilian people in the primary and secondery schools.

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37

Congo Kings, Queen Nzinga, Dancing Devils and Catholic Saints: African/African Syncretism in the Americas

Sheila S. Walker

Pan-African America

Whereas African descendants throughout the Americas are seeking to discover and reclaim elements of their African heritage or are inventing elements of a neo-African present, throughout the Americas the culture of Pan-African origin continues to thrive, as it has for centuries, in more or less obvious and more or less conscious ways.

In the United States, African Americans who say that they, "ain't left nothin' in no Africa" – so need not seek anything there, not even their heritage – eat a dish with the redundantly African name of *okra gumbo,* from the West African (Ghana/Ivory Coast), Akan *nkruma* and the Central African Bantu root *ngombo*, both designating the same vegetable. And in some traditional African American Protestant churches, worshippers dance the "ring shout" in the counter-clockwise turning circle characteristic of many other sacred dances of the African Americas. In some cases these dances occur in ceremonies of obvious African origin, and in others dancing worshippers circle inside or outside Protestant or Catholic churches.

Kings and queens of the Congo also abound in the Americas—dancing during carnival in the town of Portobelo, Panama in Central America and re-enacting the pageantry of nineteenth century African nations and singing the refrain "*Luanda, Luanda, Luando, O*", in Montevideo, Uruguay in South America's Southern Cone.

In the Venezuelan town of Curiepe on South America's northeastern Atlantic coast, in the Barlovento region where Afro-Venezuelan culture is so prominent, people celebrate the mulatto saint *San Juan Congo* on the feast day of Saint John the Baptist. They invite him to dance to rhythms of West African *mina* drums to a song whose refrain is the Central African Bantu "*malembe, malembe, malembe*" , "slowly, slowly, slowly".

In the modern city of Belo Horizonte, capital of Brazil's state of Minas Gerais where culture of Central African origin is most prominent, members of a modest Mozambique kingdom, who have vaguely heard of a place in Africa with a similar name, have a Congo queen and sing songs in a language they don't understand but think to be "something like Benguela".

And in the small landlocked nation of Paraguay in South America's Southern Cone, with its miniscule Afro-Paraguayan population known as Kamba Kua, who see their name as a key to their African heritage, a member of the group also sings a song in a language that he does not understand but believes to be African.

These examples and many others testify to the continued presence throughout the African diaspora in the Americas of culture of African origin – denied in some cases and acknowledged, even celebrated, although, usually with limited historical understanding, in others. These phenomena also highlight the results of the complex meetings between Africans and other Africans that took place in the Americas.

Although there has been much discussion of the syncretism between African and European cultural forms, little attention has been paid to this African/African syncretism, this African/African synergy that is most forcefully expressed in the inseparable combination of music, dance, and spirituality. Ironically, these African/African encounters manifest themselves most obviously in celebrations related to the Catholic church. Because these celebrations are such clear examples of African/European syncretism, the African/African syncretism that is at least as fundamental, and that represents a meeting of a radically different nature, has been overlooked.

African Royalty and Our Lady of the Rosary in Brazil

Brazil, the largest country in South America with more than 90,000,000 Afro-Brazilians (about half the population), has the world's second largest population of African origin after Nigeria. In this most demographically African of American nations, culture of African origin is predictably most fully represented. Brazil has both cultural phenomena whose Africanity is overtly proclaimed, such as the West African (Nigeria/Benin) Yoruba *Candomble* characteristic of the state of Bahia, and cultural phenomena whose Africanity manifests itself within the context of the Catholic Church, such as the *congados* or *congadas* of Central African origin characteristic of the neighboring state of Minas Gerais. Whereas the former have had a century of scholarly attention, the latter are only recently attracting such interest.

The centerpiece of the Mozambique kingdom with the Congo queen is the chapel of their patron saint Our Lady of the Rosary, who is also the patron of the many other *congado/a* groups. The version of the story told and sung in this kingdom is that a statue of Our Lady of the Rosary was seen floating in the sea by enslaved Afro-Brazilians. Their Luso-Brazilian enslavers, after pulling the saint from the water, were unsuccessful in persuading her with their prayers to remain in the chapel that they built for her. She abandoned it to return to the sea three times.

Then, obtaining permission from their enslavers to try to entice the saint out of the water, the enslaved Afro-Brazilians played their drums and sang to her in a language "something like Benguela". In response, the saint came out of the water and sat on their drum that they call by the Bantu term *ngoma*. Seeing how badly the enslaved Afro-Brazilians were treated, the saint cried. Her tears became the seeds that form the rosaries that continue to protect *congadeiros*.

In a version of the story told by a different Belo Horizonte *congada/o* community, a group of Congos tried to entice the saint out of the water with their fast rhythms. But although she approached the shore with interest, she remained in the water. It was only when the Mozambiques played their slower rhythms that the saint came onto the shore and sat on their *ngoma*.

Hence, some *congadas/os* have groups of both Congos and Mozambiques, the former dancing in front of the procession and the latter following carrying the image of Our Lady of the Rosary. And in another celebration of Our Lady of the Rosary in the rural town of Serro, where there are also a Congo king and queen, the Africans who carry the image of Our Lady of the Rosary are known as Catupés, some of whom also sing in an African language that they do not understand.

In Brazil's southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul, where the Afro-Brazilian presence is often denied, the "Maçambiques" of the town of Osorio are led in their celebration of Our Lady of the Rosary by the Congo king and Queen Jinga. Knowing only that the celebration dates from the time of slavery, the current Queen Jinga has never heard of her heroic namesake, seventeenth century Queen Nzinga of Matamba and Ndongo in what is now Angola, or more fully, Ngola Mbandi Nzinga Bandi Kia Ngola, "the queen whose arrow always hits its target". Thus, in popular Afro-Catholic celebrations, seventeenth century African history continues to be re-enacted in twenty-first century Brazil.

All of these celebrations involve meetings in Brazil of Africans with other Africans, of Mozambiques/Maçambiques from the Indian Ocean coast with Congos from the Atlantic coast and sometimes of generic Congo kings with the individualized heroic Queen Nzinga, all in the context of the forced migration and enslavement that transformed Africans into Afro-Brazilians. The African/African dramas centering around Our Lady of the Rosary, as suggested by the relative success of the Africans who became known by the generalized ethnic and regional designations of "Congos" and "Mozambiques" in enticing the saint out of the water and acquiring a privileged relationship with her, allude to some of these formative interactions.

One might wonder how a Mozambique kingdom came to have a Congo queen and to sing in "Benguela", which is not a language but rather a place of departure of some enslaved Africans from southern Angola, and why the royal couple would be in some cases the Congo king and queen and in others the Congo king and Queen Jinga. Practitioners, however, are preoccupied with their devotion, with asking and thanking the saint for her blessings. Quite satisfied with their origin story, they show no particular interest in interrogating what might seem to be geographical and historical anomalies.

The celebrations for Our Lady of the Rosary involve processions with dancing and drumming with the added rhythms of ankle rattles called *gungas*. Our Lady of the Rosary is accompanied in the processions and on the altars of *congada/o* communities by Black saints who are also patrons of Afro-Brazilians. Saint Benedict the Moor, a patron saint of Palermo, capital of Sicily in southern Italy, whose parents were from Ethiopia, is the most common patron saint of Afrodescendents in South America. St. Phigenia, the first African female saint, was also from Ethiopia, a Christian kingdom since the fourth century. And Our Lady of Aparecida, the Black virgin whose shrine is in the town of Aparecida do Norte in the state of São Paulo, is Brazil's patron saint. Found in the Paraíba do Sul River in 1717 during the period of slavery, the saint's colour identified her as a special protector of Afro-Brazilians, although in the congados/as she is less important than the African saints.

Although Ethiopia in northeastern Africa did not contribute to Brazil's enslaved population, it did produce the Catholic church's first African saints whom the church used to attract the Central African royals and their followers who, led by the king of the Congo, had begun adopting in 1491 the religion of the Europeans who would become their conquerors. These African saints also became patrons of many of the millions of Africans in the Americas on whom Catholicism was imposed. Thus, these Afro-Brazilian celebrations for Our Lady of the Rosary represent a Pan-African synergy in the Americas that could not have happened in Africa. Congos, Mozambiques, Catupés, and Queen Nzinga, from not only the West Central African Atlantic Ocean coast from which most Africans came to the Americas, but also from the East African Indian Ocean coast from which few came, find themselves in the company of two Ethiopian saints and one Afro-Brazilian saint, all mediated by a European saint who came to the Americas from Central Africa as a protector of enslaved Africans.

Our Lady of the Rosary and Mamy Wata

An interesting detail in the story of the saint found in the sea is that Minas Gerais is an inland state with no seacoast. Yet songs tell of finding Our Lady of the Rosary "in the middle of the sea" or "at the seashore". When I asked a member of the Mozambique kingdom about this seeming contradiction he said, "I guess it has to do with slavery," referring to the Middle Passage across the Atlantic Ocean.

A member of another *congado/a* community said that Our Lady of the Rosary represents Yemanja, the Orisha, or divinity, of the ocean who has been syncretized with the Virgin Mary in the Yoruba spiritual system that has extended its influence beyond the state of Bahia to most of Brazil, and that has come to be seen by many as the model for Afro-Brazilian religion. Such correspondences between Orishas and saints allowed for the preservation, despite official attempts to destroy it, of Yoruba spirituality. The association of the West African Yoruba Orisha with the Catholic saint venerated by *congado/a* groups whose origins are mainly Central African reflects a further level of African/African syncretism within Afro-Brazil's Pan-Africanist spiritual universe.

This associating of Our Lady of the Rosary with Yemanja led me to reflect on the relative ubiquity of Mamy Wata, the mother of the waters, along Africa's western coast. A female water divinity also exists in much of the Americas. She is Maman Dlo[1] in Martinique, the Merrymaid in Grenada, La Sirène in Haiti, Watra Mama in Surinam, Yemanja/Yemaya in Brazil and Cuba respectively. Knowing that Mamy Wata is typically portrayed as a long-haired light-skinned foreign woman from across the sea, and thinking of the association in Brazil between Yoruba divinities and Catholic saints with similar characteristics, little intellectual stretching is required to imagine that Mamy Wata might be represented in the Catholic church by Our Lady of the Rosary, the long-haired white-skinned saint who was enticed out of the sea not by Euro-Brazilian prayers, but by songs in an African language sung to the rhythms of *ngomas*.

African Divinities as Christian Devils in Venezuela

Elsewhere in the Americas Afro-Catholic celebrations reflect other expressions of African/African syncretism. The widespread presence of devil masquerades in the context of Catholic celebrations in Central and South America and the Caribbean is striking, and suggests the continuation of the masking traditions of some of the African peoples enslaved in the Americas. One is led to agree with the Martiniquan father of *Négritude* Aimé Césaire who, upon seeing a mask in Casamance in southern Senegal that surprised him with its resemblance to the horned and mirrored red devil Mardi Gras masks of his Caribbean island's carnival, observed that, "Of the divinities of Africa, our oppressors have made devils."

In Venezuela, the country in which such devil masquerading is most widely represented, Afro-Venezuelan "dancing devils" are central to Catholic Corpus Christi celebrations. In the coastal village of Chuao, Afro-Venezuelans wear devil masks that identify them with the Christian principle of evil, play an African rhythm on the church bell, and dance steps that they call *mojiganga*, a Bantu term, and *carabalí*, referring to Calabar in coastal Nigeria, a point of departure for many enslaved Africans.

Removing their masks, the devils prostrate themselves in front of and then inside the church in re-enactment of the "surrender" of African spirituality to the Catholicism imposed upon their ancestors. But although their ancestors were forced to surrender to the superior military force of the Spanish colonial power and become what the descendants call "Christian devils", Afro-Venezuelans continue to celebrate the Catholic church's most holy feast day by honouring Jesus with what they call their "strong dances" that have African names and express their sense of Africanity.

The Congo Queen Dances with the Devil in Panama

And in the small Caribbean coastal town of Portobelo, Panama, people whose identity is "Congo," who claim descent from Africans who escaped from slavery and created autonomous maroon settlements known as *palenques*, manifest their identity mainly during carnival. The Congo queen, the king being less significant, interacts with a masked devil as the two traditions intersect both in the Congos' dance space, which they call their *palenque* or *palacio* (palace) and, reflecting the multilayered African/African syncretism of the Americas, in front of the church of *el Cristo Negro de Portobelo*, the Black Christ of Portobelo, to which there is a massive pilgrimage that attracts international participation every October.

In contrast with the Brazilian celebrations of Congo kings and queens, this one does not involve either the veneration of a Catholic saint or any special relationship with the church. With their maroon heritage, the Congos claim no privileged relationship with the Black Christ of Portobelo. They construct their *palenque/palacio* in the centre of the town where they and other members of the community dance throughout the carnival period. One couple at a time dances in the middle of a circle to the rhythms of three drums with other men and women cutting in freely. Some males wear imaginative costumes of inside-out clothes with eclectic accoutrements, and speak a constantly evolving "Congo" Spanish.

At midnight on Tuesday the *diablo mayor* (chief devil) comes out of his house, traverses the town, bursts into the *palenque/palacio,* and dances with the Congo queen. She conquers him by grabbing him and sitting on a drum, which stops the music. The *diablo mayor* runs out into the street and the dancing resumes, continuing until dawn when the Congos and other revellers stop dancing to attend the Ash Wednesday mass at the church of the Black Christ. Leaving their drums beside the church door during the mass, they pick them up and resume their dancing in front of the church immediately afterward. The *diablo mayor* again bursts into the group and dances with, and is again conquered by the Congo queen. In the afternoon, masked devils run the streets intimidating people with whips, then submit to baptism in the evening. The *diablo mayor,* whose house faces the church of the Black Christ, is now mayor of Portobelo.

Diasporic Interpretations

These Afro-Panamanian devils, perhaps representing the divinities of conquered Africans, are eventually conquered not only by the Catholic church, but also by the Congo queen in this unique intersection of the two major Afro-Catholic traditions in the Americas. This may be interpreted as a re-enactment of the voluntary conversion by Congo royals and elites from African spirituality to Catholicism, and more especially of the involuntary conversion of the millions of Africans forced by the slave trade to the Portuguese and Spanish Catholic Americas. The predominance of the Congo queen who defies and conquers the *diablo mayor* perhaps alludes, as in Brazil, to Queen Nzinga, who defied the Portuguese for more than three decades from her ascension to the throne in 1624 until she established a treaty with them acknowledging her sovereignty in 1657. She remains a heroic figure in both Africa and the Americas as a symbol of resistance against European domination.

Although the Portobelo Congos, like Queen Jinga in Osorio, do not have this African historical perspective, they are aware of their own history of enslavement, and in the case of Portobelo, of marooning. The interpretation offered by the Portobelo Congos is that the devils, who embody the principle of evil, represent the enslavers of captive Africans. The Congo queen's conquest of the *diablo mayor* commemorates their ancestors' triumph over their enslavers by marooning and establishing their *palenques*, so is ultimately a pageantry of Afro-descendant triumph over slavery and oppression in the Americas.

Note

[1] Creole Contraction for the French *Maman de l'eau* meaning mother of the water.

38

Angolan Roots of Afro-Brazilian Cults in Sobral, Ceara State, Brazil

Eva Sebestyén

Introduction

As a Visiting Professor of Anthropology and teaching Medical Anthropology and Introduction to African Studies at the State University of Vale de Acaraú in Sobral (Ceará State, Brazil) between October 2000 and December 2001, I conducted a preliminary fieldwork with my students about the African heritage in Sobral. For a short while, I was looking for historical data on the origin of the Afro-Brazilian population in the Diocesan Archives of Sobral, where I had detected a pre-dominantly Angolan[1] slave presence in the 18th century and their socio-cultural activity in the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of Blacks (Irmandade da Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretinhos), which ceased to exist in the second part of the 20th century. Turning to the 21st century, my idea was to conduct an anthropological research about the African presence in one of the most persistent cultural fields, i.e., healing.

After some months of a pilot research at Afro-Brazilian cult houses, I started to pay special attention to the healing activity of the spiritual leader of the cult. The concepts of illness, health, cure and treatment seemed to have different meanings in this fieldwork than in those well-known Medical Anthropology textbooks which form the basis of the discipline. At the same time, the whole Umbanda community health system reminded me of my Angolan fieldwork experience among Mbundu villages in Bengo and Kwanza Norte Provinces made between 1986-89. The participants of a cult form a community, called "aldeia" (village in Portuguese). There was a holistic view about the diseases in these cults. The notion of illness was understood, similar to the Mbundu practice, as a disorder in everyday life, which could be any kind of misfortune in private life like bad luck in work, love, etc., a spiritual disturbance, or physical disease. The restitution of the normal order during the public and private ritual of the religious expert was supported by the active participation of the members of the cult. The healers made a clear distinction between diseases, which they could cure, and others, which belonged to the domain of "official" medicine. They did not deal with cases like pneumonia or AIDS, which they considered as cases for hospital treatment. There was no concrete list of this selection. Another trait, during the healing process, was the effort to maintain a socially correct behaviour. If the patient appeared to be drunk or under the influence of drugs or disturbing other persons' life, he or she would be expelled from the cult house. The significance of the concept of improper behaviour could be another feature of the Angolan tradition, which condemned the recidivous criminal with obligatory exile. As part of our anthropological research on Umbanda cults in Sobral, we were allowed by the healers to tape and make photographs about the whole ritual. and the best among those photographs were deposited at the Secretary of Culture of Sobral. During the process of the text analysis of the rituals, I realized that the African words relating to the healing came from the Kimbundu and Kikongo languages of Angola. Therefore, the focus of this paper would be on the presentation of this Angolan cultural trait in Umbanda. At the same time, it has raised a future research topic, that of whether this African influence came from the written sources and publications of Umbanda or represented a local survival feature of Angolan culture in Sobral.

This work with students and, simultaneously, also on my own, was suddenly discovered and appreciated by the City Health Programme's leaders in order to help start intercommunication among the healers of western and folk medicines. This process was supported by the integrative medicine plans of the State Health Programme to create "the living pharmacies", basing them on the local indigenous knowledge in the Health Centres. The idea of holistic medicine influenced the Western doctors to recognize the important role of the "hidden" healing system of indigenous medicine based on a familiar doctor-patient relation characterized by touching feeling and embedded in the shared socio-cultural background.

This article has based its argument on a research which I had realized among two Afro-Brazilian Umbanda cult houses[2] in Sobral in 2000-2001. The aim was to study the whole process of health care (the use of plants and the treatment during the possession of spirits in the Umbanda session and private consultations) in order to be utilized in the "Living Pharmacy" of local Health Centres in Sobral. After some months of pilot research in order to understand the local system of popular medicine, I could identify three different types of health care. The first and, the most frequented was the popular Catholic-type of prayers, the second was the medicine men of the Afro-Brazilian tradition, and the third happened to be the Umbanda cult houses under Afro-Brazilian and local influences.

The Historical Background

Sobral, a historically important town in the hinterland of Ceará, shares the general history of the African slave trade in the state. Slaves arrived at Ceará from Recife or São Luis de Maranhão, and were predominantly Bantu from Angola[3] or accultured by them. Sobral is a settlement founded in the 18th century which emerged out of a plantation called Caiçara,[4] one of the first plantations in the neighbourhood of the present town. According to the Registers of the Catholic Church in Sobral, the slaves were predominantly Congo-Angolans, and they preferred to marry among themselves. This tendency of the 18th century possibly explains why the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of Blacks[5] became the socio-cultural focus of African descendants from its early foundation in the first half of the 18th century until the second half of the 20th century.[6] The town is distant from the coastal urban area, and proudly conserves its traditions in a conservative Catholic practice among the middle class as well as the Afro-Brazilian and Indian[7] traditions among the lower and déclassé social strata. The Indian presence and influence have been characterizing Sobral and its neigbourhood due to the proximity of Indians living in the Ibiapaba mountain. Although sometimes they were obliged to work for the landowners, they had never adapted themselves to the "Western" way of life and occasionally organized rebellions against them. Only the Jesuit evangelization managed to coexist with them and create there their biggest Brazilian settlement of Indians. The Indian legacy is vivid, until now, in the physical appearance of the lower classes of Sobral; and its religious symbols and practices entered into the Umbanda ritual. The cult houses of Umbanda are based on this historical panorama and have been proliferating enormously in the last decades, due, possibly, to the end of the military dictatorship and the increasing economic, social and, even, psychological necessities of the poor population. According to Pordeus (2000), the tension created among the poor after the dictatorship because of the uncertainties of future lead the larger chunk of the poor population to the Umbanda cult houses, although, I admit that stress was manifested in other social classes as well.

Presence of Africa in the Afro-Brazilian Cults

It is very hard to get the idea of how Africa is represented in the Afro-Brazilian life, like the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of Blacks and similar socio-cultural organizations. Its origin goes back to the missionary work of Catholic priests of the Dominican order at the end of the 15th century in the Congo Kingdom, who created this brotherhood in order to facilitate the conversion of the African population to Christianity. For the maintenance of the religious life of the converted population, they were concentrated in the community around the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, and this system was adopted in Brazil too. On the part of the Catholic Church, it was a way to control African freemen,[8] slaves and their descendants and introduce them slowly to "western civilization."[9] At the same time, paradoxically, this attempt, started and maintained by the Catholic Church, facilitated the preservation of African identity and provided possibilies to conserve and readapt African cultural elements in the community life. The yearly festival of the election of the Congo king and queen and its public ritual served as a social escape. de Souza (2000:11-15), quoting several studies of Brazilian scholars about the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of Blacks, underlines their common point: it was an association whose members had been united on the basis of alliances and solidarities. His own argument about the

Brotherhood presents us an upside-down logic of space originally constructed by civil and ecclesiatical powers for control. This inverted space by the Brotherhood creates a provisional time of autonomy for community life, having meetings of fraternities, celebrating the main cycles of life, first and foremost among them the death of their members, and reaffirming their union with the yearly festival of the "Reis do Congo". From my point of view, this Afro-Brazilian way of life, marked by the activity of the members of the Brotherhood under the disguise of popular Catholic religious life, and, I believe, with some collaboration of Catholic priests, could enact their beliefs and create a syncretic religious system, connecting them to the 20th-century Afro-Brazilian cult houses. The concentrations of African descendants, like Bahia or Minas Gerais, created a special *modus vivendi* in everyday life as well, in food, dress and the way of working, for example, *vissungo*, that is, work songs accompanying their everday activities in the mines.

According to Robert Slenes (1999: 142), the origins of slaves in the first half of the 19th century in the plantations of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and the agrarian regions of Minas Gerais were in Africa, and, in the second half, the majority were first-generation African descendants. This meant that the time span between the arrival of the last African slaves and their descendants covered three to five generations, which implied that they perfectly maintained their vivid memories about African culture, way of life and religious practices. Following this line of ideas, when the urban Umbanda cult was created in the first decades of 20th century in Niteroi and soon transferred to Rio de Janeiro, its direct African influence could be based on the contemporary Afro-Brazilian communities' religious practices.

The African Presence in Umbanda Cults

There is one basic question to ask: In the African memory in the Umbanda cult based on concrete Brazilian practices of African heritage or not? This issue includes the possibility that the most flexible Afro-Brazilian syncretic religious system, Umbanda, absorbes the existing regional experiences of African cultural reminiscences preserved not only by the African descendants, but all other kinds of population which coexisted with African culture during the centuries. The book of Casa Grande and Senzala (Slaves and Masters), on the authority of the sociologist Gilberto Freyre, is an excellent proof of how deeply African culture penetrated all of the social strata of Brazilian society.

In the case of Ceara State, the well-known anthropologist of the Umbanda in Fortaleza, Ismael Pordeus Jr., makes a profound study of how the Umbanda, dominated by the middle class, appears. His argument (Pordeus 2000) clarifies a basic issue, i.e., the survival of black memory and the peril of its suppression by the "white" middle class's Catholic ideology of Umbanda. He makes a distinction between *macumba*, the survival of Afro-Brazilian cults among the urban déclassé population, and the syncretic religion Umbanda which absorbs elements of Catholic religion, Cardecist spiritism and Afro-Brazilian elements. In Fortaleza, the most representative African elements were expelled from Umbanda cult houses and entered into the Quimbanda cult houses.

Sobral, with a small middle class stratum and a large poor class, sometimes on the margin of the society, offers an excellent area for Umbanda for socially declassed people. Here, Macumba is not expelled from Umbanda; on the contrary, its role is relevant and the Afro-Brazilian rituals are preserved through the cult leaders who belong to the same déclassé stratum as their followers and their clients. The necessity of the clients' demand for both white and black magic exists. Therefore, the Umbanda ritual is continuing to be a social escape as it was in its anterior form, Macumba, during the time of slavery and until the creation of Umbanda in the third decade of the 20th century.

1. The Idea of Community Life

According to the concept of community life, the followers of Umbanda form a village called *aldeia*, whose main activity is to re-establish the order damaged by physical or spiritual illnesses of its members. The religious leader, called *mãe de santo* or *pai de santo* (mother of saint or father of saint), is a charismatic figure in this community life who represents the political and religious chief and the medicine man of this community at the same time.

2. The Concept of Health

The Umbanda cult, similar to other Afro-Brazilian cults and African concepts, such as I had experienced among the Mbundu of Angola, considers the lack of health in much the same light as any kind of disorder which occurs in somebody's life, be it physical disease or psychological problem or anything within a huge list of problems of everyday life like conflict in love affair, marriage, with neigbourhood, work, financial problem, alcoholism, the need for consultation or even the requirement of authorization for a trip. The divinities give a recipe for each kind of illness during the possession of the mother of saint. The consulted expert works without any fixed price, the value being defined by the possibilities of the client. Recently, it was defined by the mother of saint as well. The payment is symbolic and personal, wishing to recompense the energy, the force of the mother/father of saint during the work in benefit of the client. There are categories of disorders. Physical illness is considered free of charge, it must be done on the basis of kindness and solidarity with the sick person; although nowadays, when some important person asks help for the success of his work, for example, during the election, they pay a lot of money for it. Advice on love affair costs the most. The restitution of health must follow strictly the words of the divinity uttered during the possession.

3. The African Notion of Divinity in the Afro-Brazilian Cult

The African does not possess theological, "summae". His ideas concerning God emerge during the course of rites, which are often the most soothing ones. The African may use all of the materials which his environment puts at his disposal in order to express his ideas about God. For him, everything which surrounds him exhibits a sort of transparence which allows him to communicate, so to speak, directly with heaven. Things and beings are not an obstacle to the knowledge of God, rather, they constitute signifiers and indices which reveal the divine being (Zahan 1979: 15).

4. African Elements in the Umbanda.

These include the concept of cure as the re-establishment of order in a disturbed situation. The cure happens through the transfer of fluids, which in Candomble is called energy by the Yoruba term, *ashe* during the possession of spirits or, to put it more properly, divinities and their representatives. The ritual of the divinities called *preto velho* (benevolent spirits of old slaves representing benevolent grandfathers and grandmothers who come to help their grandsons), which in some way substitutes the cult of the ancestors, also belongs to the main features of possible African origin in Umbanda. The other main characteristic of possible African influence in the reconstruction of African village life consists of the spontaneous use of all the available cultural elements which Sobral town offers. Among the legions of divinities we find Indians, who are the main figures of world religions like Buddha, Moses and king Solomon; regional historical figures of recent Brazilian history like Lampião and Padre Cicero; and strong figures of urban night life like the prostitute, Pomba Gira and her lover, Ze Pilinta. The ashe of the divinities through whom the cure is done is the *leitmotiv* and link among the divinities of African, Afro-Brazilian, urban and rural origin, and some are representations of the main forces of nature like water, wind, fire, stone, forest, etc. For a foreigner like me, it was astonishing to see that the African origin of the cult participant did not have any special role. The followers of all possible shades of colour between white and black had a common point: they had problems, and, in spite of different previous attempts, they had not been able to solve it so far, Umbanda being their last attempt. Usually, the clients looked for the Umbanda cult house nearest to their dwelling-place, and, with the active participation of its neighbourhood, they hoped to solve their problem. The collective treatment of the problem eliminates the stress and burden caused by illness, and, in a lot of cases, proved to be a good solution, substituting the work of an expensive psychiatrist.

This paper has concentrated mainly on the fact that the most significant Afro-Brazilian cultural elements were not in Umbanda but in Quimbanda. It was a general opinion of Brazilian experts, which they shared with Ismael Pordeus Jr. (Pordeus 2000: 79), the best Umbanda researcher for Ceará, who defended the idea that the black magic represented by Quimbanda was the real field of the survival of African memory through the activities of Exu, the messenger of the divinity of witchcraft. According to his fieldwork experience and interviews with Umbanda leaders, fathers and mothers of the saint, they separated the white magic of Umbanda from the black magic of Quimbanda. The latest cult houses were seeking to solve problems through black magic. Pordeus thinks that the reminiscences of Afro-Brazilian culture were concentrated in Quimbanda only, the terminology and the rituals of this cult being some kind of living museum for African religious traditions.

My fieldwork experience in Sobral resulted in a different approach to magic. The cult leaders were of the opinion that magic was one, and it was nonsense to divide it into white and black magic. They were prepared to work with all kind of magic, the important consideration being its aim, which helped their clients or worked for a charitable purpose. But when it was necessary, they used black magic for protection or for solving problems. They condemned those cult houses which practised only black magic to ruin people's life. For them, Quimbanda was part of Umbanda. Exu was the most energetic divinity which helped them to chase away any external peril and protect their cult house, and they started their work by satisfying Exu. They also maintained a separate altar for the divinity, Exu and its different representations in the very same cult house or its attachments.

It seems to me that both the fieldwork experiences are valid. Umbanda has been conquering all of the social strata of Brazil. Therefore, some cult leaders consider it convenient to expel Quimbanda, the so-called "black magic" from their cult houses, transforming Umbanda into an exclusive cult of charity through "white magic". From the point of view of the presence of Afro-Brazilian elements, the African ritual is diluted here. There is an increasing tendency to introduce representatives of world religions and cultures like Buddha, Moses, the Chinese emperor and contemporary Brazilian historical figures. At the same time, black magic is really getting separate cult houses.

Congo-Angolan Terms in Umbanda Cult

The chants of the spirit possession of the divinity, Preto Velho, are full of Congo-Angolan references. The spirit of the legion which belongs to this divinity is identified as Angolan and uses Portuguese first names, while the second name is a geographical name of the whole country like Angola, Congo or the name of an important seashore city such as Benguela, Cabinda. This name-giving habit is identical with that of the slaves in the 18th century records in the Diocesan Archive of Sobral.

In the case of African terms, used in the chants of Umbanda, we can say that all of them have a Kikongo-Kimbundu origin. Although some belong to everyday use too like *maravu* and *diamba*, there are terms which are used in Angolan rituals as well.

Aruanda

The most referred term is *Aruanda*, which comes from Luanda, originally Loanda, the colonial, Portuguese capital of Angola which was encapsuled in the memory of African descendants as the last place at which they left Africa for Brazil. This historical record of slave-trade port got the meaning of the place of origin first[1]and then the meaning of some kind of paradise where the divinities of Afro-Brazilian cults live (Cossard 1979: 156).

Ganga

Nganga comes from Kikongo, Kimbundu, and is a general Bantu word for "magician", including the meaning of sorcerer, medicine man (Ribas 1994: 108-09, Castro 2001: 240). According to Ribas (1958: 137), the origin of the term is "kunganganjana", which means " to go in different directions" referring to the busy life of the *ganga* to go to the fields in order to look for medical plants or to go to the house of his clients. It occurs in the chants of Preto Velho (old Black man), who is one of the most beloved and respected divinities in Umbanda and who cures the sick person.

Calunga

According to the famous Brazilian folklorist Mário de Andrade, the main meaning of Calunga (Andrade 1934: 40), in Brazil is a wooden doll carried by the main female dancer in the Maracatu feast in Recife. He tries to account for the change of the original Kimbundu meaning "sea", for "an important person who carries a stick decorated with an idol on its top". Yeda Pessoa de Castro in his book *Falares Africanos na Bahia*, re-confirms these meanings (de Castro 2001: 192). The Angolan Óscar Ribas stresses the meaning of "spiritual entity" or "God" (Ribas 1994: 140). In Cuba, according to Lienhard (1998: 140), the term "Kalunga Munanzambe" refers to a spiritual entity as well. This name was given to a palo monte cult house in Carlos Rojas Matanzas province.

Conga, Gonga

This is the altar of Umbanda, where the cult leader puts the Catholic saints who are the equivalents of the Afro-Brazilian divinities.

Maravu, Malufo, Maluvo, Malavo

It is the juice of the palm tree and comes from Kibundu *"kulufuka"*, which means "blow up", referring to the vessel which can be broken during the process of the fermentation of the juice. In Angola this is a very popular beverage for women and children when it is fresh, and a very appreciated one for men in its fermented form when it gets its alcoholic content (Ribas 1994: 163).

Milonga, Mironga

It means magic in Kimbundu, and usually refers to the black magic exercised, sometimes, in Umbanda and, always, in Quimbanda cult houses.

Diamba, Liamba

An Angolan type of marijuana which was used in a waterpipe made of a cocoshell to relax the nerves.

Conclusions

My working hypothesis was based on the fact that Umbanda being the only genuinely Brazilian religion, created in Brazil and serving as an active reservoir of different religious influences due to its flexibility, could be modelled according to the local necessities of its regional cult house clients.

Sobral, a distant and conservative town with its own tradition offered an excellent place for the preservation of the different cultural elements of its past, namely, the proximity of the Ibiapaba mountain and the biggest Jesuit settlement of Indians, an early and continous Congo-Angolan slave and free African population and the influence of Catholic Church from the middle of the 18th century, continued to create a living museum and a natural syncretism of religious practices.

The 20th-century Umbanda, which arrived to Sobral around fifty years back, met already living religious practices of the Afro-Brazilian tradition. Their disguised survival was possible thanks to the popular Catholic Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of Blacks, whose members immediately entered the recently founded Umbanda cults and strengthened the African elements of this cult. Due to the strong Indian influence in Sobral, which also affected and shaped the cult's ritual, I believe that this dual system of religious survivals dealing with cure mutually strengthened both heritages, and quickly found its common feature in Catholic saints. Sobral Umbanda is the result of a process of local syncretism which is a living process and opens its doors to contemporary history and its heroes.

The Afro-Brazilian presence in Umbanda provides an outlet for the poor and désclassé social strata which need support for the solution of their physical, psychological, economic and social problems. Lacking social recognition by the local society, the Afro-Brazilians are recognised and considered as worthy persons in their own right by the community of Umbanda and the protective divinities.

Notes

[1] In the Diocesan Archive of Sobral I have seen several slaves of Angolan origin registered in the birth, marriage and death records during the whole of 18th century,

but from the 19th century onwards the origin of the slave has not been registered anymore. They usually had a Christian first name, while the second name was Angola, Congo, Benguela, Cabinda. The dominant Angolan origin was confirmed by Souza (2000: 55-56) in the inventories of properties of the deceased landowners of Sobral. This author reproduces one list of slaves for the will of José Monteiro de Melo who was a free Afro-Brazilian. " Francisco Angola and the other person with the same name, crioulo, Lino crioulo, João Angolla, the other person with the same name, Manoel Angolla, Antonio Angolla, Mattheus Angolla, Estevão crioulo, Ignácio Angolla, Antônio Caxeo, Bernardo cabra, Valentim cabra, Joaquim Angola, Manoel Crioulo, Pedro Angolla, Severino crioulo, Antônio da Costa da Mina, Francisco Angola ladino, a younger one with the same name." The last two were runaway ones. The females were the following: Angela Crioula, Florinda cabra, Catharina Benguella, Vicência crioula In Irmandades e Confrarias-Ceará (1814-1821) cx.293,pac.3 Fundo: Mesa de Consciência e Ordens. Cod. do Fundo 4J.Secção de Guarda:SDE. Souza (2000: 56).

[2] One cult house is called Ogum Marinho, its religious leader is Zé Maria Mulher; and the other one is called Rei Sibamba of Dona Branca.

[3] Bezerra 1999: 25, using mainly the argument of the historian Oswaldo Riedel for the Congo-Angolan origin of the African slaves in Ceará State.

[4] The first Portuguese settlers who received allotments of uncultivated land were Leonardo de Sá and Antônio da Costa Peixoto and Bento Coelho in 1702 which were utilized for gado vacum employing Africans, Indians and poor Whites. Souza 2000: 21 cit. Araújo (1974 I: 38). Due to its quick growth, Sobral received the title of "vila" (small town in Portuguese) in 1773, with 12 streets around the Cathedral, and its population consisted of 11.317 inhabitants in 1782. Souza (2000: 27-28).

[5] Souza (2000: 2), underlines in his M.A. dissertation that 1884, the year of abolition in Ceará generated important changes in the life of this Brotherhood with the insertion of ex-slaves into the society of Sobral. Firstly a chapel was constructed in 1759, and after different reconstructions it received its present form of Church still in the second part of 18th century.

[6] I agree with the recent arguments of Brazilian historians about the socio-political importance of this Brotherhood (Souza 2000); Campos (1980). I share the opinion that behind the cultural manifestations (the fervent devotion to the Catholic saints, the festival of the " kings of Congo" we find an organized social stratum based on identity, shared cultural values interlinked with social actions, aids, etc. giving support to its members. They had lived their communal life in which their religious life, characterized by Afro-Brazilian religious practices and popular Catholicism, was "the visible iceberg" for the other social strata of their society. When this Brotherhood ceased to exist, the different religious cults, in particular the Umbanda, continued not only their religious but social role as well. Therefore, I think, in Brazil, there is a basic social role played by the Umbanda cults, with or without the former existence of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of Blacks. My supposition is that in Sobral

the present religious cult houses, and the most widespread among them, the Umbanda, directly or indirectly utilizes the legacy of the Brotherhood and continue to play its social role in their present religious communities.

[7] "The Jesuits lived in the Ibiapaba mountain between 1656 and 1759" Souza (2000).Araujo (1991: 35). The enormous Indian settlement was organized by them in Viçosa, based on - besides cca. 5,000 Indians who arrived with them in 1721 - the Indian populations of neighbourhood.

[8] Free Africans and Afro-Brazilians

[9] According to Souza (2000: 2), the abolition caused a more intensive control of the Catholic Church over the Brotherhood with its Afro-Brazilian Catholic practices, for example, in the devotion of saints and the carnivalization of the feasts.

[10] Cossard (1970) quotes a small old song of Candomble of Angola „ O Loanda, O Loanda, Loanda e terra de caboclo, O Loande" which transforms in other chants of Afro-Brazilian cults into Aruanda.

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39

Comparative Aspects of the Traffic of Africans to Brazil (18th–19th Centuries)

Manolo Florentino,
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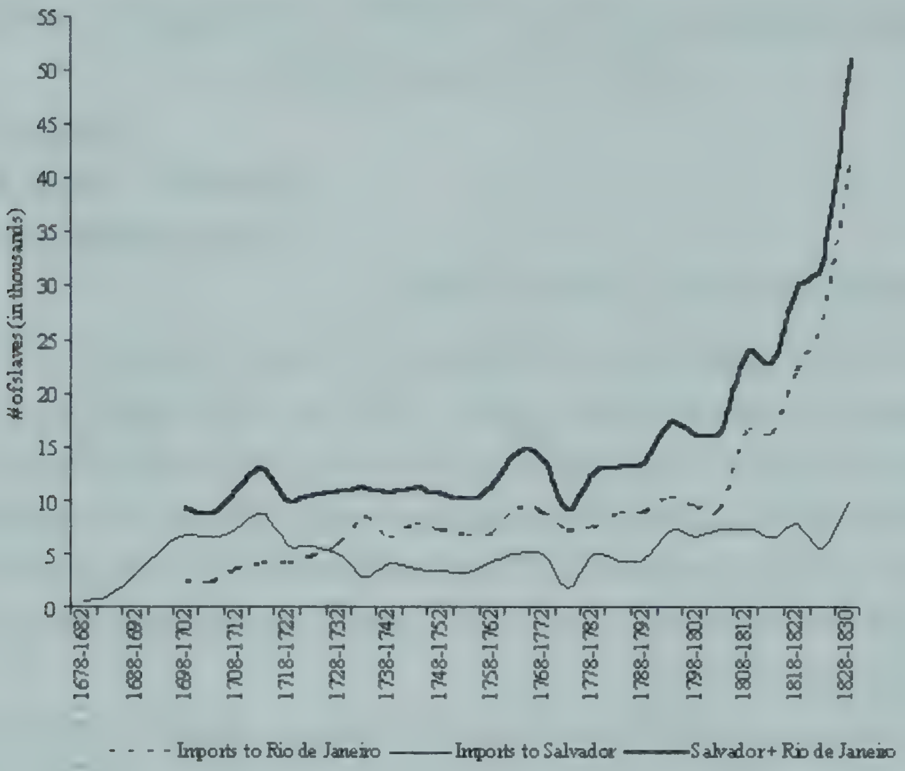
Conjunctures, Volume, Routes (c. 1700-c. 1830)

The *Paulista* discovery of gold in the backlands of Brazil between 1693 and 1695 increased the demand for slaves in that colony. This, in turn, resulted in a significant jump in the number of Africans brought into the port of Salvador (Boxer 2000: 61). From Bahia, these slaves were distributed inland to Minas Gerais via the São Francisco and Velhas rivers, traveling upwards of 1,200 kms to their final destinations (Antonil 1976: 186-87). Until the beginning of the 18th century, Bahian slave traders were the mines' principle suppliers of labour.

Ready access to gold inflated the price of slaves, which increased by 400 per cent over three decades. Before the gold boom, a captive could be acquired for something between 40 and 50 *mil réis*. In 1730, the same slave sold for upwards of 200 *mil réis.* Given this situation, the traders were able to accumulate considerable profits, often receiving payment in gold dust. Meanwhile, the great Bahian sugar planters were only able to pay for their labour force in product and often had to borrow promissory notes against future harvests. It is thus not surprising that the 1701 Decree banning the sale of slaves from Bahia and Pernambuco to the *Gerais* soon became a law more honoured in the breach than in the letter.[1]

The trade in slaves between Africa and the port of Salvador increased, with the *Costa da Mina* being the principal region on the continent from which the slaves were embarked. The African ports of Greater Popó, Ajudá, Jaquim and Apá were especially active during this period. Throughout the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, the Bahian mercantile community reinforced its commercial and political ties with the *Costa da Mina*, an alliance which sometimes created friction in Lisbon with these men's commercial rivals. Numerous disputes sprang up between Salvador and Court based merchants, such as that begun at the beginning of the 18th century, when Bahian traders petitioned to found a company which would hold a monopoly over the purchase of African slaves and their sale in Brazil. The Crown denied authorization for this scheme, claiming that it would cause the price of slaves to increase even more, thus ruining the colony's sugar plantations and mills.[2] But not even Royal decrees could prevent the tightening of ties between Bahia and Western Africa, connections which would persist even after slavery was banned North of the Equator in 1815.[3]

Graph 1: 5 Year Averages of Slave Imports into the Ports of Salvador (1678-1830) and Rio de Janeiro (1700-1830)[4]



Sources: Arquivo Nacional (RJ), *Códice 141, vols. 1,2,3,7,15,16*; Biblioteca Nacional (RJ), *Documentos Históricos da Biblioteca Nacional*; Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia, *Códices 439, 440, 443, 449, 456 e 626-3*; Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Salvador, *Códices 178.1* (1780-1798) e *182.1* (1803-10) *e 56.3* (1822-24); F. M. G.Calmon, *Ensaios sobre o fabrico do açúcar*. Rio de Janeiro,1834; *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: a database on cd-rom*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999; Nireu Cavalcanti, "O comércio de escravos novos no Rio setecentista", in Manolo Florentino (org.), *Tráfico, cativeiro e liberdade (Rio de Janeiro, séculos XVII-XIX)*. Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2004, for the period running from 1789 to 1792; and Manolo Florentino, *Em costas negras: uma história do tráfico de escravos entre a África e o Rio de Janeiro (séculos XVIII e XIX)*, São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 1997, p. 51, for the period running from 1793 to 1830.

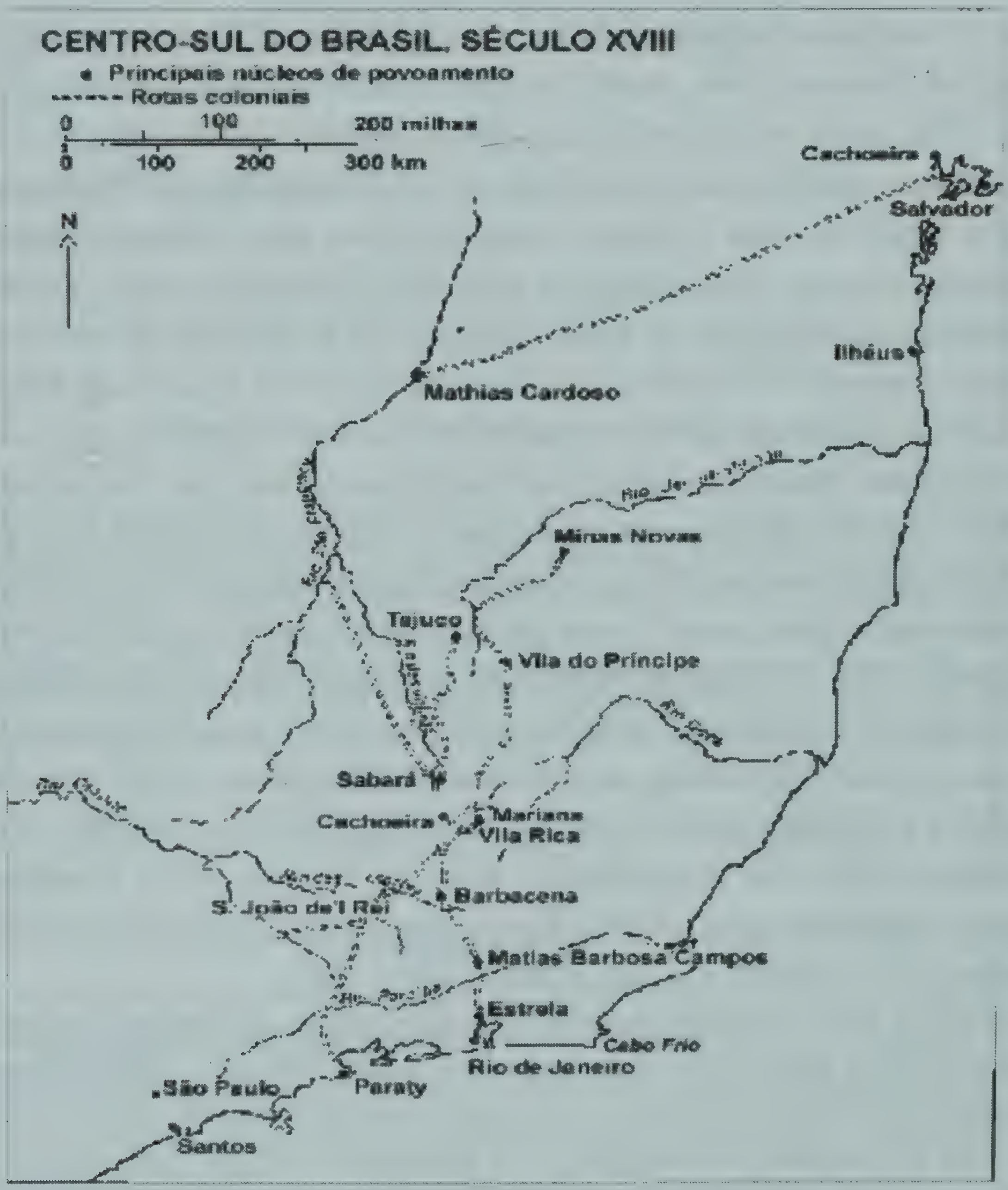
The Atlantic traffic into Salvador began to encounter serious difficulties towards the end of the first decade of the 18th century (cf. Graph 1). High prices for slaves in Brazil led many Bahian merchants to dedicate themselves exclusively to the African trade, generating competition and inflating the value of the captives for sale in African ports. The demand for slaves in the sugar producing regions of the Caribbean, an area undergoing economic restructuring after the European wars of the 17th century, had already contributed to boosting the price of the human merchandise for sale in African markets. Furthermore, a series of incidents between the Dutch West Indies Company and Bahian merchants had soured commercial relations between Bahia and the *Costa da Mina*. Brazilian ships were being seized and sacked by Dutch galleons all along the African shore, increasing the risks of the trade and leading to a decrease in profits for the companies involved in it. As a result, foreign sales of Brazilian products plummeted. In the 1630s, some 80 per cent of the sugar traded in London came from

Brazil; by 1690, Brazilian participation in the London sugar market amounted to only 10 per cent, a level at which it was to remain until the middle of the 18th century (Schwartz 1995: 162; Klein 1987).

Internal events in Africa were to make a bad situation even worse. In 1724, a series of conflicts began among the kingdoms of the *Costa da Mina* which culminated in 1727 with the invasion and conquest of the port of Ajudá by Agaja, King of Dahomey. In an attempt to obtain tribute and guarantee its access to the coast, Oió, a kingdom which had dominated the backlands slave trade throughout the first decades of the 18th century, intervened against Dahomey from 1726 to 1730. In response, the *Dadá*, as the kings of Dahomey were called by 18th century authors, conquered the port of Jaquim in 1732, a city which was within the Kingdom of Oió's sphere of influence. Because of these conflicts, the ships which set out from Bahia and Pernambuco had to increase the length of their voyages, some of which were extended upwards of 16 months when, normally, they shouldn't have lasted more than six.[5] Throughout the 1730s, commerce in the region of Ajudá continued to deteriorate, culminating in 1743, in the razing of the port of Jaquim and the Portuguese fort in Ajudá (see, Ribeiro 2002).

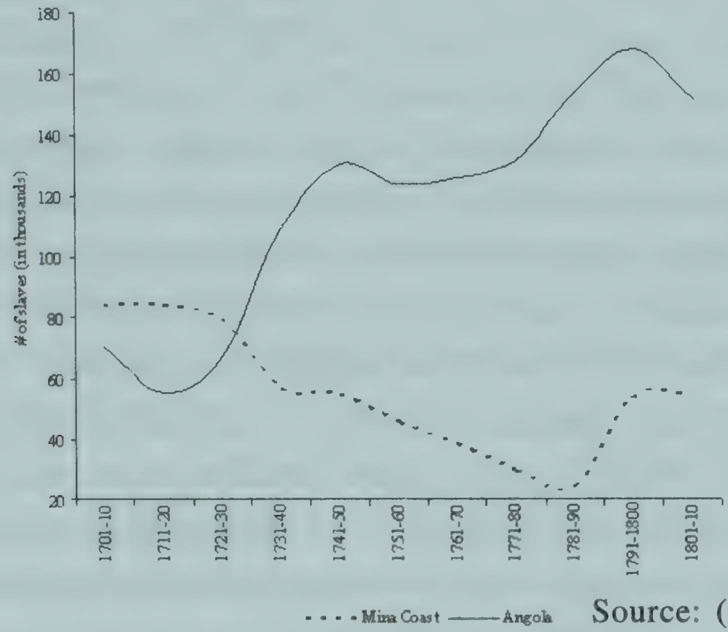
Bahian merchants also encountered difficulties regarding the sale of slaves in the mining zone. These, however, were more easily resolved. The price for slaves was usurious and the payments by the miners in gold guaranteed high profits and continued liquidity. However, Bahian dominance in this market began to be challenged by merchants coming up from Rio de Janeiro on the newly opened *Caminho Novo* (New Highway).[6] Via the *Caminho Velho* (Old Highway), which linked Rio to the mines through the port city of Paraty, a merchant caravan would spend anywhere from 43 to 99 days on the road, depending on the number of layovers. This made such trips uncompetitive when compared to commerce through the São Francisco River route, which connected Salvador to the *Gerais*. With the opening of the *Caminho Novo* in 1711, however, the 80 leagues between Rio and the mines were covered in only 10 to 12 days (Antonil 1976: 184-86; see, also Frankca 2000: 135).

Graph 1 shows that the movement of African slaves through the port of Salvador began to decline precisely at the moment in which the slave traffic through Rio de Janeiro began to pick up. Already in the 1720s, Rio's imports of 3,300 slaves per year accounted for 20 per cent of the total of 15 thousand Africans received in the colony annually (Goulart 1975: 154-55; Curtin 1969: 207). The shortcut to the mines through the port of Rio made possible further reductions in costs by cutting money spent on slave maintenance. It also diminished the number of escapes and deaths suffered along the route to Minas Gerais. For the *carioca* slave trader, the increasing speed of capital turnover created greater possibilities for reinvestment which, in turn, increased the profits of the Rio de Janeiro based slave trade. This is the reason why, throughout the 1730s, the slave trade through that port continued to grow. In the first five years of the decade, over 7,400 Africans were annually disembarked in Rio, 2/3rds of these coming directly from Africa, an increase of over 40 per cent in relation to the imports of the two previous decades. As the colony brought in around 16,000 slaves a year, we can thus say that the movement of African slaves through Rio accounted for a third of the total annual influx of slaves to Brazil. On the African side of the equation, the increase in the Rio based traffic corresponded to greater exports from the Congo and Angola, which began to supplant the *Costa da Mina* trade in the 1730s. (cf. Graph 2). Between 1723 and 1771, Luanda, the largest African slaving port South of the Equator, exported 204,000 slaves, with over half of these going to Rio de Janeiro (Klein 1978:32-253).



Throughout the 18th century, then, it is quite obvious that the economic development of Minas Gerais transformed that region into one of the great centres of demand for African slaves. This contradicts the views of such classic authors Roberto Simonsen, among others, who insisted that a strong economic crisis rocked the colonial economy beginning in the middle of that century (see, for example, Simonsen 1978). Brazilian exports did indeed fall some 60 per cent between 1760 and 1776, but the performance of the slave trade indicates that the crisis in the mining region was not

Graph 2 – Import Estimates for Slaves Coming to Brazil from the West Central Africa and the *Costa da Mina*, 1700-1810



Source: (Curtin 1969:207).

followed by general decadence throughout the Southeast, or even throughout the economy of Minas Gerais, suggesting a re-allocation of the means of production. Thus, what has hitherto been called a "false euphoria", a positive interval towards the end of the 18th century in the midst of generalized recession, represents, in fact, a significant economic tendency which was sustained well into the following century.

In Rio de Janeiro, the demand was also pushed up by the sugar producing complex, especially that around the region of *Campos dos Goitacazes*. The mercantile centre consisting of the colonial capital and its immediate periphery constituted another great centre of demand for Black slaves: from 1760 to 1780, the slave population of this region increased by 29 per cent, a rate that later grew to 160 per cent during the period stretching from 1799 to 1821. Finally, a third centre of demand for slaves sprung up in the 19th century in the region of the Paraíba Valley, where an explosion in coffee production occurred in the first years of that century, exports increasing from 160 tons in 1792, to 318,000 tons in 1817 and to 3,237,190 tons in 1835. Aside from its own internal consumption of slaves, Rio's role as a distribution centre for the internal slave trade transformed the city into a central node for the reproduction of the slavocratic system throughout the Brazilian Southeast. Through the port traveled a large proportion of the slaves sold in Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Paraná and São Paulo, then a mere captaincy, as well as Espírito Santo and the northern and southern parts of Rio de Janeiro captaincy itself.

Though Bahia was already on the decline by this time, its African trade had not been completely eliminated. Smaller shipments of slaves still came into Salvador and a portion of this commerce continued to be passed along into the interior and the mines, which were always avidly seeking new labourers. In other words, while Bahia was no longer the preferred market for the re-sale of captives into the backlands of Brazil, a role in which it had been supplanted by Rio de Janeiro, it still exercised a complimentary role in this trade. Part of the captives sent from Salvador to Minas Gerais ended up, in fact, in the villages, farms and backlands of Goiás and Mato Grosso where, from the end of the 18th century to the first decades of the 19th, the greater part of the African slaves in these regions came from Western Africa.[7] Furthermore, as Graph 2 shows, the last years of the 1780s saw a recovery in the slave trade between Brazil and the *Costa da Mina* impelled by importations to Salvador and, secondarily, to Recife.

In terms of supply, political changes were occurring in that part of Africa more strictly linked to Salvador, resulting in the opening of new export ports beginning in the 1760s. On the other hand, European instability generated by the Seven Years War (1756-1763) and further increased by the French Revolution (1789), led to the abandonment of certain Caribbean colonies, resulting in an increase in the slave traffic between Salvador and Africa. Finally, in 1791, the Dutch ended their 10 per cent tax on Brazilian shipping, a direct result of the decadence of the Dutch West Indies Company (Verger 1987: 228).

In Brazil, the rise of the Marquis of Pombal permitted Portuguese America to experiment with reforms which sought to refurbish the colonial economy. During the first years of Pombal's government, the Bahian slave trade continued moribund, undermined by *carioca* competition and the retreat of agriculture in the colony. Though the Bahia-Sergipe region contained more than 146 sugar plantations in 1710, 172 in 1755 and 180 in 1758, the average production per plantation did not increase and total sugar production, in fact, dropped from 507,697 tons in 1702 to 400,000 in 1758.[8] During the Pombaline period (1750-1777), the end of the squadron system in 1756, which liberated slave commerce, did not achieve the desired results, at least as far as Bahia was concerned. The fleet system was also abolished in 1765, a measure cheered by Salvador's mercantile community as it was supposed to stimulate colonial commerce with foreign markets. There were also attempts to reform taxation, with the elimination of several tributes and, in 1776, freight costs were lowered in an effort to increase trade and reduce landowners' production expenditures.

Though these measures did not generate immediate positive change, the general scenario of sugar production in Brazil continued to be transformed during the 1780s with the economic crisis in the Antilles. The readjustment of the slave trade permitted a rebirth of agricultural and stock-herding activities in Bahia, not just in the sugar sector, but also in terms of the production of leather and tobacco. An extremely important factor in this rebirth was the 1791 slave revolt in Santo Domingo, a French colony in the Antilles and, up until then, the largest sugar producer in the world. The resulting civil war, which ended with Haitian independence in 1804, removed the island from sugar production for almost a decade.

Bahian landowners were quick to take advantage of this situation. With slave prices at a new low, it was possible to buy large numbers of captives and expand sugar production. It's not for nothing, then, that Stuart Schwartz has characterized the period from 1780 to 1830 as the rebirth of Bahian agriculture as the number of sugar plantations in the captaincy rose from 400 in 1798 to 583 in 1834. Annual sugar production, estimated at 10,000 boxes in 1770, increased to 16,300 per year during the period running from 1796 to 1811. In the five year stretch from 1788 to 92, the annual average of ships leaving the port of Salvador for Africa was ten, while in the following five year period, this number stood at 16. From 1808 to 1812, the average annual number of ships embarked for Africa out of Salvador reached 30.

The Bahian recovery implied a consequent tightening of relations between Salvadoran merchants and the *Costa da Mina;* and trade between the two regions only began to decline again in the second decade of the 19th century, with the signing of the 1810 treaty between Portugal and England restricting the slave trade in Portuguese possessions, which laid the base for the future abolition struggle. This agreement resulted in a large number of Bahian ships being seized along the African coast between 1811 and 1812, a fact which created friction between Lisbon and London and generated extreme nervousness among Bahian merchants. Table 1 shows the effects of the 1815 treaty signed between Portugal and England which abolished the slave trade North of the Equator. From 1776 to 1810, Western African trade amounted to some 71 per cent of Bahian commerce, but, between 1811 and 1824, this fell to 40 per cent. However, it's quite likely that even though they declared their trade as taking place below the Equator, many Bahian merchants surreptitiously continued to bring slaves out of the *Costa da Mina.*

Table 1: Origins of the African Slave Ships Docking in the Ports of Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife, by Region and African Port of Embarkation, 1776-1830

Region /Port of embarkation	Rio de Janeiro				Salvador				Recife			
	1795-1811		1811-1830**		1776-1810		1811-1824		1813-1814		1819-1830	
	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%	N°	%
Western Africa	13	3.5	18	1.5	378	70.6	99	40.3	15	45.5	2	1.1
"Costa da Mina"	3	23.1	3	16.7	352	93.3	85	85.9	-	-	-	-
"Guine"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6.7	-	-
Bissau	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-	-	-	-
Bonny	1	7.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bay of Benin(d)	-	-	1	5.6	2	2.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Camaroon River	-	-	5	27.8	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	-	-
Calabara	4	30.8	2	11.1	1	0.3	3	3.0	1	6.7	-	-
Island of Sao Tome e Principe	5	38.4	7	38.9	24	6.4	6	6.1	13	86.6	1	50.0
Lopo Goncalves Cape	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.0	-	-	1	50.0
West Central Africa	346	92.5	931(a)	79.0	156	29.2	131	53.9	17	51.5	176	93.6
Loango	-	-	1	0.1	-	-	1	0.8	-	-	-	-
Molembo	1	0.3	26	2.8	-	-	59	45.0	-	-	18	10.2
Cacongo	-	-	2	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cabinda	11	3.2	330	35.5	-	-	37	28.2	6	35.3	16	9.1
Zaire River	-	-	34	3.7	-	-	9	6.9	-	-	-	-
Ambriz	-	-	81	8.7	-	-	1	0.8	-	-	5	2.8
Luanda	164	47.4	300	32.3	98	62.8	23	17.5	11	64.7	131	74.4
Benguela	169	48.8	156	16.8	58	37.2	1	0.8	-	-	6	3.4
Novo Redondo	1	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mocombo	-	-	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastern Africa	15	4.0	234	19.5	1	0.2	14	5.8	1	3.0	10	5.3
Isle of Mozambique	15	100	129	54.9	1	100	10	71.4	1	100	7	70.0
Quilimane	-	-	89	37.9	-	-	4	28.6	-	-	2	20.0
Inhambane	-	-	8	3.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lourenco Marques	-	-	8	3.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	10.0
Total	374	100.0	1183(b)	100.0	535	100.0	244(d)	100.0	33	100.0	188	100.0

* to March 12th, 1811
** from June 26th, 1811
(a) includes a ship from the "Western East Coast", without a specified port of origin
(b) includes a ship from "África"
(c) includes four ships from the "African Coast"
(d) includes ships from Onin, Porto Novo and Badagri

Sources: For Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional (RJ), *Termos de contagem de escravos vindos da costa da África*, Códice 242; and, in the Seção de Microfilmes da Biblioteca Nacional (RJ), the following periodicals: *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* (for the period from 01/07/1811 to 31/12/1822), *Espelho* (from 01/10/1821 to 31/6/1823), *Volantim* (from 01/09/1822 to 31/10/1822), *Diário do Governo* (from 02/01/1823 to 20/5/1824), *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (from 02/12/1825 to 02/12/1827), *Jornal do Commércio* (02/10/1827 to 30/06/1830) and *Diário Fluminense* (from 21/05/1824 to 31/12/1830). For Salvador: AHMS, *Códices 178.1 , 182.1 , 56.2 e 56.3* ; BNRJ, *Idade d'Ouro do Brasil* (from 21/05/1811 to 29/06/1819). For Pernambuco: APEJE, *Códice 04.06.18 vol.1* and BNRJ, *Diário de Pernambuco* 1827 a 1830.

Another important aspect of the slave trade, revealed in Table 1, was the growing movement of ships between the Congo-Angolan zone and Salvador and Recife. It is wise to remember the changes in the patterns of this trade, with the northern ports of Cabinda and Molembo taking the place of traditional sources in Luanda and Benguela as slave suppliers. Possibly, a similar affirmation can be made regarding the resolution, in favour of Portugal and Brazil, of the so-called "Northern Question", which removed the French, English and Dutch slave traders from the region of North Luanda (Brimingham 1966: 131-61).

Yet another factor making itself felt at this time was the consolidation of East Africa as a significant supplier of captives to Brazil following the opening of colonial ports to international commerce. The first contingent of slaves to arrive in Rio de Janeiro from Mozambique disembarked in 1645. However, the trafficking of Eastern African slaves to Brazilian ports was very irregular until the end of the 1700s (Rocha 1992). Even during the last decade of that century and up until 1808, slaves from the Indian Ocean coast of Africa were a very small part of the Brazilian trade. As Table 1 shows, between 1795 and 1811, few ships arrived from the Island of Mozambique, only 4 per cent of the total number of ships with African origins, in the case of Rio de Janeiro. The opening of Brazilian ports, however, increased slave imports from the Indian Ocean region and these grew at a rate that outstripped that of the Atlantic Coast. In the case of Rio de Janeiro, the fifteen expeditions to Eastern Africa between 1795 and 1811 grew in number to 234 from 1811 to 1830, a stupendous rate of growth of almost 1,500 per cent. This can be favourably compared with the 173 per cent rate of growth in exports coming from West Central Africa. A comparison between the number of arrivals of ships from Mozambique in the port of Rio de Janeiro and the total number of departures from Mozambique to the Americas, the islands of the Indian Ocean and India suggests that Rio received around 7 per cent of the slave ships departing from Eastern African ports between 1795 and 1811, and 60 per cent from 1812 on to 1830 (Capela 2002: 308-54). East African trade with Salvador and Recife also increased during this period, though less dramatically, especially after 1808, with ports from the south of the Island of Mozambique taking the lead, especially Quilimane. It is possible that the growth in Eastern African exportation of slaves denotes the Congo-Angolan zone's relative incapacity to produce enough bodies for export, given the rapidly increasing demands of Southeastern Brazilian markets within the economic conjuncture which developed after 1808.

After a certain point during the 19th century, demand in Rio and Bahia began to increase due to political and not just market considerations. With the independence of Brazil in 1822, Britain attempted to tie the recognition of the new country to its abolition of the slave trade, formulating a treaty to this effect, which was finally signed on November the 23rd, 1826. According to the first article of this treaty, three years after its ratification by the British government, the African slave trade would become illegal for all subjects of the Brazilian Emperor. With the end of the trade on the horizon, the slave-holding elites of Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife, demonstrating a great capacity for the mobilization of resources and capital, began buying up all the Africans they could, even before the treaty was ratified. In the rush to acquire slve labourers, the commerce in human beings conducted by these ports grew as never before (For Recife, see, Carvalho 2002).

We estimate that around 790,000 slaves were received by the port of Salvador from 1678 to 1830,[9] with another 1,262,000 being imported into Rio de Janeiro between 1701 and 1830. When we consider the fact that Portuguese America, as a whole, imported almost 2,500,000 African slaves during this era (fully one third of the total of 7,000,000 Africans disembarked in the Americas), we can begin to see how great the relative imbalance was between the *carioca* and bahian slave trades. In this period, Rio de Janeiro was responsible for fully half of the Brazilian imports and Salvador around 30 per cent. Together, both ports were responsible for almost a third of the African slaves brought into the Americas during the 18th century and the first three decades of the 19th century.

The Slave Business in the Markets of Rio De Janeiro, Salvador and Recife Concentration and Specialization

The parallels between the concentration of the slave trade in the markets of Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife are strong, indeed. Table 2 was elaborated using contemporary newspapers and customs records. It shows the very selective nature of the African slave trade, revealing, as expected, that few merchants possessed enough capital to engage in the commerce of human souls and reap the immense profits that could be made in this trade. The reader must be cautioned, however, that the numbers presented in Table 2 are merely an outline of the trade, as it is certain that many slaving expeditions which appear in the records under one merchant's name were, in fact, consignments purchased by groups of partners.

Table 2* : Concentration of Slaving Firms Functioning in the Ports of Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife, 1788-1830

Africa - Rio de Janeiro, 1811-30 Number of Companies	%	Total number of entries	%
19	10.2	624	57.1
27	14.5	223	20.4
140	75.3	245	22.5
186	100	1.092	100
Africa - Salvador, 1788-1819			
16	9.8	177	35.6
28	17.2	146	29.3
119	73.0	175	35·1
163	100	498	100
Recife – Africa, 1808-1830			
14	11.5	146	48·7
14	11.5	44	14·7
93	77.0	110	36·6
121	100	300	100

* In the case of Recife, we worked with the number of slaving expeditions departing from that port with destinations in Africa as, in this case, the data utilized covered a longer period of time than that relating arrivals.

Sources: 1. For Rio de Janeiro: in the Seção de Obras Raras da Biblioteca Nacional, the perdiodicals *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* (for the period between 01/07/1811 and 31/12/1822), *Espelho* (from 01/10/1821 to 31/6/1823), *Volantim* (from 01/09/1822 to 31/10/1822), *Diário do Governo* (from 02/01/1823 to 20/5/1824), *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (from 02/12/1825 to 02/12/1827), *Jornal do Commércio* (02/10/1827 to 30/06/1830) and *Diário Fluminense* (from 21/05/1824 to 31/12/1830); 2. for Bahia: Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Salvador, *Códices 178.1* and *182.1* and, in the Seção de Obras Raras da Biblioteca Nacional, the newspaper *Idade d' Ouro* (from 31/05/1811 to 29/06/1819); for Pernambuco: Arquivo Público Estadual João Emerenciano (APEJE), *Diversos I / Termos de despachos de navios, 1808 a 1818* D.I.-9-1808/1818-v.1 and *Registro de Passaportes/ Passaportes de Embarcações 1811 a 1868* R.P.2.2/1–1811-1814, R.P.2.2/2–1814-1817, R.P.2.2/3–1817-1819, R.P.2.2/4–1819-1822, R.P.2.2/5–1822-1824, R.P.2.2/6–1824-1827, R.P.2.2/7–1827-1830.

The development of demand in Rio de Janeiro (and it must be remembered that the port concentrated between two thirds and three quarters of the Brazilian demand for slaves between 1808 and 1830) created a greater level of selectivity among traders than was the case in Salvador and Recife. However, in general terms, one tenth of the slaving companies in these cities was responsible for 35 per cent to 60 per cent of the Africans sold, indicating a high degree of market concentration. On a more general level, this monopolization was an effect of the weak social division of labour in the slavocratic Brazilian economy, a situation which resulted in little circulation of capital, with liquidity being concentrated in, relatively, a few hands. This was especially true in the case of slaving expeditions, which required high levels of capital outlay and continuous attendance to market demands. The level of funds necessary to outfit a slaving expedition can be perceived when we consider the fact that during the 1810s, the average value of the hulls and fittings of the ships leaving Rio for Cabinda, Ambriz, Luanda and Moçambique was around 7 *contos de réis* (Florentino 1997). With only two *contos* more, in 1800, one could acquire a farm with a square league of land in Iguaçu (RJ), complete with sugar mill, flour mill, distillery, 44 slaves, 17 bulls, horses, houses with tiled roofs, slave barracks, orchards and plantations (Fragoso and Florentino 2001). In Bahia, with the 10 *contos de réis* employed in outfitting the voyage of the brigatine *Ceres* to the *Costa da Mina* in June 1803, one could buy the Macaco Plantation, in the parish of São Gonçalo da Vila de São Francisco da Barra, with all its houses, tools, cattle, horses, wagons, cane fields and mills... and one would still have three *contos de réis* left over.[10]

In other words, with the funds necessary for the mounting of even part of a slaving expedition, traders could easily transform themselves into lords of land and men. If they didn't do this, though in many cases they did and also continued to invest in the traffic, it was because the returns from the African trade were immensely superior to those to be had in growing and processing sugar cane. Furthermore, as is the case in all economies where forced labour regimes predominate (inevitably leading to a much undifferentiated social division of labour), poor circulation of money led to few investment opportunities. In this context, monopolization of wealth meant that there were few economic agents with liquidity sufficient to insert themselves in economic mechanisms stretching beyond purely localized spheres. For this reason, merchant commerce and especially, the trade in Africans became one of the era's most privileged means of concentrating wealth.

As *wholesale slave dealers*, the merchants of Africans were men whose wealth gave them an important role in the economy, politics and society of Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife. The slave trader João Rodrigues Pereira de Almeida, for example, was the deputy of the Royal Junta of Commerce during the first decade of the 19th century. In May of 1810, he received the Order of Christ, a clear indication of the close relationship maintained between men like him and the Luso-Brazilian State.[11] Through their control of the traffic, men, like Almeida, could demand the sale of their human goods in bulk lots, undercutting small traders in the receiving ports and in the interior. A similar advantage was also in evidence when it came to negotiating with metropolitan authorities in colonial ports or in Africa. These men were eager to close deals quickly, guaranteeing a quick turnover of capital. They thus found it beneficial to deal with the large traders, the only colonial agents who could guarantee liquidity. Slave dealers in Rio, Salvador and Recife thus had a certain amount of status, which enabled them to define their relationships with both the internal and external markets. It's not an exaggeration to suppose that, in a context where mercantile capital maintained an absolute hegemony, slave trading capitalists composed the most select group of Portuguese America's mercantile elite.

The monopolists described in Table 2 resided in Brazil's great mercantile centres and, aside from being specialists in the human trade, also tended to specialize geographically. In the Brazilian sphere, they rarely traded outside of the city in which they were based, though some Bahians could be found in the Pernambucan market and vice-versa and, occasionally, a few slave dealers were active in both Rio and Recife. Table 3 shows that though these men rarely trafficked solely along a single transatlantic route, they did tend to frequent clear commercial spheres within Africa, centralizing their affairs in one macro-region (Western Africa, West Central Africa or Eastern Africa) and, within this, in a given port. On an average, nine out of ten of the slaving trips conducted by the great merchants of Rio de Janeiro, Recife and Salvador went to one macro-region, almost always the Congo-Angloan zone in the first two cases and, until 1816, Western Africa in the case of the Bahian traders. Two out of three of the Rio based expeditions and three out of four of those setting out from Recife went to the same African port, generally Bengala, Luanda, or Cabinde. One of the few exceptions was Francisco José dos Santos, a Rio de Janeiro based trader, who, while mostly sticking to Eastern Africa, also had, as his partners, the slave merchants of the port of Cabinde. Though the brusque nature of most of the records registering voyages between Salvador and Western Africa lead them to list only "Costa da Mina" as an embarkation point, without specifying a port, we can suppose that most of the Bahian slavers also had one Western African city as their principal port of call, probably Ajuda up to 1800 and Onim from thereon. More concretely, the Salvadoran slavers who traded in the Congo-Angolan region did so mainly in either Luanda or Bengala and rarely in both ports.

Table 3 – Regional Specialization in Africa Among the Major Slaving Enterprises Operating Out of Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife, 1788-1830

Port	% of trips to the company's principal African macro-region	% of trips to the main port in the principal African macro-region	No.of companies	No. of trips
Rio de Janeiro	87.7	63.0	19	624
Salvador	90.5	-	16	177
Recife	92.8	77.6	14	146

Sources: 1. for Rio de Janeiro: in the Seção de Obras Raras da Biblioteca Nacional, the periodicals *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* (01/07/1811 to 31/12/1822), *Espelho* (01/10/1821 to 31/6/1823), *Volantim* (01/09/1822 to 31/10/1822), *Diário do Governo* (02/01/1823 to 20/5/1824), *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (02/12/1825 to 02/12/1827), *Jornal do Commércio* (02/10/1827 to 30/06/1830) and *Diário Fluminense* (21/05/1824 to 31/12/1830); 2. for Bahia: Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Salvador, *Códices 178.1* e *182.1* and, in the Seção de Obras Raras da Biblioteca Nacional, the newspaper *Idade d' Ouro* (31/05/1811 to 29/06/1819); for Pernambuco: Arquivo Público Estadual João Emerenciano (APEJE), *Diversos I / Termos de despachos de navios, 1808 a 1818* D.I.-9-1808/1818-v.1 and *Registro de Passaportes/Passaportes de Embarcações 1811 a 1868* R.P.2.2/1–1811-1814, R.P.2.2/2–1814-1817, R.P.2.2/3–1817-1819, R.P.2.2/4–1819-1822, R.P.2.2/5–1822-1824, R.P.2.2/6–1824-1827, R.P.2.2/7–1827-1830.

On the other side of the monopolistic equation, Table 2 shows that 75 per cent of the slaving enterprises of Rio, Salvador and Recife organized from a third to a fourth of all the voyages. These were occasional dabblers in the Atlantic trade in men, owners of companies with only enough resources to organize one or two trips during the period under consideration. This data permit us to conclude that, though the Brazilian trade was highly concentrated, it was also a privileged field for the action of speculators who played a structural role in the Brazilian economy. Without them, the demand for slaves in the colony would certainly not have been met. Like the monopolists, these men were also generally established within the cities of Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife and they also followed preferential routes to given ports within Africa. Their more marginal position within the market, however, gave them a greater degree of leeway when it came to operating outside of the cities in which they were established. Certain Salvadoran speculators, for example, traded along the routes linking Africa with Alagoas and Paraíba.

Often, the slaving captains would play an important role in the trade, underwriting trips themselves. Setting sail for African ports under more or less precise orders expressed in the so-called *Cartas de Ordens*, these men were often the most important links with African merchants. Their knowledge, experience and accumulated resources could lead them to mount independent expeditions in which they would act as slave dealers in the strictest sense of the term. Between 1811 and 1830, 43 of the slavers, who made only one trip to Africa from Rio de Janeiro, were masters or captains of slaving vessels. Together, they accounted for some 5.5 per cent of the slave ships entering that port. In Bahia, between 1788 and 1819, 14 per cent of those men, who mounted only one trip to Africa, were ships' captains while in Recife, they amounted to 9.2 per cent of this total.

In theory, the same factors which led to concentration also underwrote the structural role of speculation. Weak social division of labour and little trade made for a situation in which those who had some degree of capability to extend credit tended to involve themselves in several different enterprises. Because they were functioning in a restricted market with few options for investment, slavers sought to diversify, not only to protect their investments (after all, slaving was by definition an insecure market) but also to guarantee the largest amount of profits possible. This was obviously true of both the occasional traders and the monopolists, though this second group, through their control of a major part of the liquidity of the regional slave-based economies, also controlled both the physical reproduction of the slave population and of the slavocratic means of production. In Rio de Janeiro, Recife and Bahia, the power stemming from this position was the key to understanding one of the meanings of the idea of a *community of slavers*, defined not only as a type of commercial activity, but as a structurally atrophied market, which created strong ties of personal dependency between the men who operated along the transatlantic circuit. This is the reason why the slavers tended to confine their activities to certain geographic regions within the Brazilian and African spheres

"Losses in Transit" (Refer to Table 4 for deaths on slave ships)

Risk was one of the enduring characteristics of the intricate business of selling human souls. From the purchases made in Africa to the final sales in Brazil, the escape, theft and, above all, death of slaves were constant dangers. Slaving vessels were attacked by Moorish pirates and the French, English, Spanish, Dutch and North American corsairs, who robbed millions of tons of sugar, leather, tobacco, cotton and amber as well as thousands of slaves, who were then taken off to ports in the Americas, in Africa and even in the Mediterranean.

Bahian slavers were constantly attacked while awaiting shipments. In Ajudá in August of 1797, for example, two French ships and two sloops flying the English flag sacked two Bahian slave vessels, the *S. João Nepomuceno e S. Francisco de Paula* and the *Nossa Senhora da Graça*. Soon after, one of the French ships showed up at the port of Apê, where it captured the *Zabumba*, a vessel out of Bahia under Master Raimundo Justino da Graça, and later on the sloop *Paraíso* in Porto Novo.[12] Obviously, these attacks against slavers were more frequent upon their return journeys from Africa, such as those which took place at the beginning of 1811 when, shortly before entering the port of Rio de Janeiro, a corvette out of Bengala was set upon by three French frigates some 15 degrees South of the Equator, between Bahia and the Abrolhos archipelago. 61 slaves were lost along with a load of wax and the ship was only able to free itself through the extreme efforts of its crew.[13]

The pirating of slave ships obviously increased in accordance with the demand for African slaves. In 1820, for example, carioca newspapers registered 3,000 Africans as having passed into the hands of pirates, without counting the losses incurred among the crewmen of the slaving ships as well as the vessels themselves. If we estimate the value of each slave as somewhere around 200 *mil réis* and include the value of the ships, it's quite possible that during the last decade of the legal trade, piracy cost carioca merchants anywhere between 700 and 800 thousand *mil réis*, given that each slaving expedition cost around 16,000 *mil réis*, on an average.

But it wasn't only the pirates and corsairs who captured slave ships. In 1811, the brig *São Manoel Ativo*, under Master José Bento Davi, was on route to Havana when, some eight leagues off the island of Santo Domingo, it encountered a Haitian war brig. Upon finding 400 slaves on the Brazilian ship, the Haitians "escorted" it into port. The Haitian government was quickly apprised of the situation and its representatives immediately ordered the disembarkation of the slaves, Master Davi being recompensed for their purchase value in the equivalent in products taken from the local markets.[14] Nothing more has yet been discovered about this incident. Some years before, however, a French squadron sent to Africa under the flag of the revolutionary National Assembly, ended up capturing several slave ships under various flags. This expedition, with six ships, 1,040 crewmen and 131 canons, swept the coast between Sierra Leon and Popo until December, 1794, capturing nine ships from Liverpool, four from London, one from Bristol, three from Holland and seven whose nationality was not recorded. In three days, from the 6th to the 8th of December, 1794, this squadron also took eight Luso-Brazilian slavers between Ajudá and Porto Novo.[15]

On October 15, 1789, the brig *Netuno Pequeno* was visited by surgeons from the Salvadoran Senate Chamber, whose task was to inspect ships for diseases. The slaver had docked in Salvador with a small cargo of 29 slaves after a month's voyage from the *Costa da Mina*, with a short layover in Recife. No deaths had been reported among its cargo and its captain and financier, Pedro Gomes Ferreira, even informed the port bureaucrats that there had been "two new slaves born in the shelter of the brig".[16] This was an extremely unusual occurrence in the context of the slave traffic. During the middle passage, Africans were much more likely to meet with death and this fact impacted heavily upon the financial concerns of the Brazilian slave traders.

Deaths were constant, but extremely variable in number from trip to trip. Between 1811 and 1830, slavers coming from Bengala to Rio de Janeiro lost anywhere from 0.2 per cent to 38 per cent of the slaves they were carrying while those inbound from Quilimane lost from 1.7 per cent to almost 2/3rds of their human cargo. Losses among the slavers on the *Costa da Mina*-Salvador route during the first decade of the 19th century presented a similar degree of variability. The brig *Cipião Africano*, under Domingos José de Almeida Lima, arrived in Salvador in 1807 with all of the 135 Africans bought in the Gulf of Guiné. Félix da Costa Lisboa had much worse luck. According to the *Correio da Guiné*, this Merchant lost 230 of 340 slaves whom he had bought in the same gulf towards the end of 1805.[17] Data regarding the port of Recife suggests that mortality wasn't quite as variable there as it was in Rio and Salvador, though it does confirm the general trend. The ship *Elisa*, for example, inbound from Lourenço Marques in 1830, lost 41 slaves at sea and arrived in Pernambuco with 575 on board.[18] The brig *Leão*, however, belonging to José Inácio Xavier, came into Recife from Luanda towards the end of 1829 with 310 slaves on board, losing only three in the middle passage.[19]

Death at sea generally occurred due to lack of supplies and water, mistreatment, the physical and spiritual misery which often swallowed the captives, especially defeated soldiers, and to the diseases which periodically swept through the African slave ports and which could infect the ships, occasionally even blocking their access to the coast. This last factor might have been at the root of the increase in death rates suffered on Bahian slave ships operating out of Angola during the first decade of the 19th century. From 4.5 per cent in 1803-1805, this rate climbed to 13.6 per cent in 1806, 16.2 per cent in 1807, and culminated in the absence of Bahian ships in Angolan ports in 1808, with only one returning to those shores in the following year losing 33.7 per cent of its human cargo on the return trip to Salvador. There are records of outbreaks of smallpox occurring in Luanda in 1805, 1807 and 1808 and significantly, on the occasion of other outbreaks in Angola 1811 and 1814, Bahian slavers also apparently avoided the region.[20]

The slave trade resulted in establishing contact between distinct microbiological environments and the results of this, though ending in acclimatization in the middle to long run, ended in large numbers of deaths in the holds of slavers on both shores of the Atlantic in the short run. Obviously, though the difficult conditions on board these vessels also affected the crew, nothing is more inviting for the development of disease than a weakened body and spirit maintained in poor conditions. For this reason, the middle passage principally killed slaves and not crewmen. Many of the captives died from dysentery, according to Pernambucan sources dating from the 1820s. This disease was found in slaves originating in all regions of Black Africa, though those coming from Luanda also registered relatively large outbreaks of such diseases as smallpox, scurvy, chicken pox, eye infections and diptheria.[21] In general, slaves died in direct proportion to the length of the transatlantic voyage, with distinct patterns of "losses in transit" according to the African region in which they were embarked.

Table 4*: Percentage Mortality Rates in Slave Ships Arriving from African Ports in Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife between 1795 and 1830:

Region/Port of origin	Rio de Janeiro				Salvador				Recife	
	1795-1811		1821-1830		1795-1811		1812-1819		1827-1830	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Western Africa	8.1 (11)	3.070	-	-	7.1 (243)	71.141	7.6 (58)	19.819	-	-
"Costa da Mina"	2.4 (3)	-	-	-	6.8 (226)	67.500	4.5 (41)	14.295	-	-
Bonny	7.2 (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Bay of Benin"	-	-	-	-	7.8 (2)	641	5.0 (11)	3.433	-	-
Acará	-	-	-	-	3.7 (1)	187	-	-	-	-
Lopo Gonçalves Cape	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.9 (1)	315	-	-
Camaroon River	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.8 (2)	747	-	-
São Tomé and Príncipe	15.7 (4)	-	-	-	14.6 (12)	2.252	81.3 (1)	605	-	-
Bissau	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.9 (1)	105		
Calabar	7.3 (3)	-	-	-	3.6 (2)	561	35.4 (1)	319	-	-
West Central Africa	8.8 (331)	166.210	5.7 (494)	210.582	7.9 (55)	23.448	5.7 (35)	11.774	3.7 (19)	6.831
Loango	-		1.0 (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Moiembo	-		6.4 (19)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cacongo	-		5.3 (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cabinda	3.0 (1)		3.1 (128)	-	-	-	4.6 (16)	6.261	-	-
Rio Zaire	-	-	2.1 (19)	-	-	-	2.2 (5)	1.248	-	-
Ambriz	-		2.9 (66)	-	-	-	-	-	8.1 (2)	467
Luanda	10.2 (161)		8.2 (167)	-	8.9 (43)	18.198	8.3 (14)	4.265	3.4 (17)	6.364
Benguela	7.4 (168)		6.6 (92)	-	4.7 (12)	5.250	-	-	-	-
Novo Redondo	13.9 (1)		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastern Africa	20.0 (13)	4.408	13.3 (143)	78.680	-	-	25,8 (9)	4.213	7.1 (1)	575
Mozambique	20.0 (13)		13.9 (67)		-	-	30.1 (5)	2.439	-	-
Quilimane	-		15.0 (60)		-	-	19.9 (4)	1.774	-	-
Inhambane	-		3.1 (8)		-	-	-	-	-	-
L. Marques	-		5.5 (8)		-	-	-	-	7.1 (1)	575

* Numbers in parentheses indicate the total number of ships presenting slave deaths encountered in the records. There is no information for Salvador for 1800-1801.

A Death rate (per 100);

B Total number of slaves exported on trips for which we have information.

Note: The Table is based upon naval lists, custom records and newspaper articles regarding the arrivals of slave ships in Carioca, Bahian and Pernambucan newspapers.

Sources: For Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional (RJ), Códice 242, Provedoria da Fazenda, *Termos de Contagem de Escravos Vindos da Costa da África*; and in the Seção de Obras Raras da Biblioteca Nacional (RJ), the newspapers *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* (01/07/1811 to 31/12/1822), *Espelho* (01/10/1821 to 31/6/1823), *Volantim* (01/09/1822 to 31/10/1822), *Diário do Governo* 02/01/1823 to 20/5/1824), *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (02/12/1825 to 02/12/1827), *Jornal do Commércio* (02/10/1827 to 30/06/1830) and *Diário Fluminense* (21/05/1824 to 31/12/1830). For Bahia: Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Salvador, *Códices 178.1* e *182.1* and in the Seção de Obras Raras da Biblioteca Nacional (RJ), the newspaper *Idade d' Ouro* (1812 to 1819). For Pernambuco: Arquivo Público Estadual João Emerenciano, *Códice 04.06.18-vol.1* and Biblioteca Nacional (RJ) *Diário de Pernambuco* (22/06/1829 to 10/04/1830).

We must take the statistics presented in Table 4 with a grain of salt, for the effects of the voyage upon the slaves did not end, of course, with their arrival in Brazilian ports. Many Africans who had survived the perils of the middle passage were so weakened by the experience that they were immediately sent into quarantine upon their arrival in Brazil. It is true that slaves in this condition represented a loss for the traders and even after they were resold, sick Africans had to be given special care. José Alves Moreira, a Valongo (RJ) slave merchant who specialized in the internal trade paid Úrsula da Costa 4.8 *mil réis* per head to take care of sick slaves, whether these survived or not.[22]

Data regarding slave ship arrivals in Salvador and Recife during the 1820s permit us to at least glimpse the effects of mortality on the recently arrived slaves, allowing us to further refine the information presented in Table 4. The sources we used to construct Table 5 did not count slaves dead during the middle passage, but only deaths among those who arrived alive in Brazil. We have appended these to the maritime death rates reported in Salvador and Recife in Table 4, taking into consideration the African port or region of origin. Research indicates that many of the Africans arriving alive in Brazil could spend periods in quarantine ranging, on the average, from two weeks to two and a half months. During this period, a 2 to 5 per cent of the slaves, originally embarked in Africa, could have died.

Table 4 shows the spatial and temporal variations in slave mortality between 1795 and 1830. If we look at the two principal African regions, Congo-Angola and Mozambique, which supplied slaves Rio de Janeiro during the years from 1795 to 1810 and 1821 to 1830, we observe that there was a decline in death rates from 8.8 per cent to 5.7 per cent and from 20 per cent to 13.3 per cent, respectively. In the case of Salvador, from 1795 to 1811 and 1812 to 1819, the mortality rates on ships coming from Western Africa remained practically stable, while those on the Angola-Bahia route fell from 7.9 per cent to 5.7 per cent. In general terms, in both cases, we can detect a certain tendency towards decreasing maritime death rates between the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. This tendency is probably valid for Pernambuco as well. A similar phenomenon can also be seen in Table 6. In the case of Rio de Janeiro, especially, the reduction in death rates might have been due to a general decrease in the length of the middle passage, brought about by technological improvements and increased participation in the trade by smaller, swifter ships belonging to non-specialized traders seeking to profit by the great increase in demand brought about by the opening of colonial ports to international commerce.[23]

Table 5 – Percentage Death Rates on Slave Ships Originating in Africa and Docking in Salvador (1822-1823) and Recife (1819-1829)

Region/Port of origin	Port of arrival	No. of trips	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
West Central Africa	Salvador	14	3760 (5.6)	3550	-	-	297	122	169	57.0	4.8	4.5	76
West Central Africa	Recife	105	38543 (3.7)	37117	150	0.4	3502	2749	753	21.5	2.0	1.9	16
Eastern Africa	Recife	6	1766 (7.1)	1641	13	0.7	311	276	35	11.2	2.1	2.0	12

1 – Assumed number of slaves imported (assumed death rate)
2 – no. of slaves disembarked alive
3 – no. of slaves dead in port
4 - % of slaves dead in port with regards to total exported
5 – no. of slaves put in quarantine
6 – no. of slaves leaving quarantine
7 – Deaths during quarantine
8 - % of slaves dead in quarantine with regards to total entered in quarantine

9 - % of slaves dead in quarantine with regards to total disembarked alive
10 - % of slaves dead in quarantine with regards to total exported
11 – Average number of days from entrance into quarantine to exit of last slave.

Sources: For Bahia: Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Salvador, *Códices 178.1* e *182.1* and in the Seção de Obras Raras da Biblioteca Nacional (RJ), the newspaper *Idade d' Ouro* (1812 to 1819). For Pernambuco: Arquivo Público Estadual João Emerenciano, *Códice 04.06.18-vol.1* and Biblioteca Nacional (RJ) *Diário de Pernambuco* (de 22/06/1829 a 10/04/1830).

Table 6*: Average Duration (in Days) of the Middle Passage Between Africa and the Ports of Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife, by African Port and Region of Origin, 1803-1830.

Year/Port	Rio de Janeiro			Salvador			Recife		
	Western Africa	West Central Africa	Eastern Africa	Western Africa	West Central Africa	Eastern Africa	Western Africa	West Central Africa	Eastern Africa
1803	-	-	-	49 (17)	37 (6)	-	-	-	-
1804	-	-	-	44 (17)	35 (5)	-	-	-	-
1805	-	-	-	43 (18)	34 (4)	-	-	-	-
1806	-	-	-	48 (22)	36 (7)	-	-	-	-
1807	-	-	-	47 (24)	35 (5)	-	-	-	-
1808	-	-	-	47 (20)	-	-	-	-	-
1809	-	-	-	39 (22)	50 (1)	-	-	-	-
1810	-	-	-	39 (25)	34 (1)	-	-	-	-
1811	61 (7)	40 (19)	-	42 (20)	-	-	-	-	-
1812	53 (4)	40 (44)	74 (4)	39 (23)	39 (4)	47 (1)	-	-	-
1813	52 (2)	40 (37)	76 (4)	43 (18)	33 (3)	-	-	31 (3)	-
1814	44 (5)	39 (29)	67 (4)	40 (20)	31 (1)	-	39 (15)	30 (12)	58 (1)
1815	-	37 (29)	74 (4)	43 (8)	32 (2)	54 (2)	-	-	-
1816	43 (1)	39 (39)	70 (5)	33 (5)	27 (5)	51 (1)	-	-	-
1817	-	36 (40)	71 (4)	-	28 (16)	70 (4)	-	-	-
1818	-	37 (49)	70 (11)	-	27 (17)	-	-	-	-
1819	-	38 (42)	57 (9)	-	28 (10)	60 (3)	-	-	-
1820	-	38 (31)	62 (19)	-	-	-	-	-	-
1821	-	37 (35)	69 (16)	-	-	64 (1)	-	-	-
1822	-	36 (42)	64 (15)	-	38 (37)	-	-	-	-
1823	-	37 (28)	66 (16)	-	26 (10)	62 (1)	-	-	-
1824	-	35 (46)	73 (12)	-	33 (6)	-	-	-	-
1825	-	38 (46)	72 (16)	-	-	-	-	-	-
1826	-	34 (69)	59 (13)	-	-	-	-	-	-
1827	-	34 (66)	56 (8)	-	-	-	-	26 (1)	-
1828	-	33 (93)	57 (22)	-	-	-	-	30 (1)	-
1829	-	33 (93)	59 (29)	-	-	-	-	24 (16)	57 (1)
1830	-	36 (55)	66 (25)	-	-	-	-	30 (9)	42 (1)

* The numbers in parentheses indicate the total number of ships for which we have records of trip duration

Sources: For Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional (RJ), Códice 242, Provedoria da Fazenda, *Termos de Contagem de Escravos Vindos da Costa da África*; and in the Seção de Obras Raras da Biblioteca Nacional (RJ), the newspapers *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* (01/07/1811 to 31/12/1822), *Espelho* (01/10/1821 to 31/6/1823), *Volantim* (01/09/1822 to 31/10/1822), *Diário do Governo* (02/01/1823 to 20/5/1824), *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (02/12/1825 to 02/12/1827), *Jornal do Commércio* (02/10/1827 to 30/06/1830) and *Diário Fluminense* (21/05/1824 to 31/12/1830). For Bahia: Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Salvador, *Códices 178.1* e *182.1* and in the Seção de Obras Raras da Biblioteca Nacional (RJ), the newspaper *Idade d' Ouro* (1812 to 1819). For Pernambuco: Arquivo Estadual João Emerenciano, *Códice 04.06.18-vol.1* and in the Biblioteca Nacional (RJ) the *Diário de Pernambuco* (1827 to 1830).

Another aspect of the trade at least partially confirmed by Tables 4 and 5 is the tendency for death rates to increase in proportion to the distance traveled by the slaving ships. Generally, two to three times as many slaves were lost on those ships embarking for Rio de Janeiro from the Indian Ocean coast of Africa than on those origniating in the Congo-Angola region. For those ships headed to Salvador from thesame African regions, the death rates on ships inbound from Eastern Africa was four times that of those returning from Congo-Angola, and both these rates could double for the ships that supplied Recife with slaves. In the case of Rio de Janeiro, these numbers are not surprising, as we see how the slavers headed towards that port from the Angolan coast spent an average of 33 days at sea while those sailing from Mozambique usually Took 76 days to arrive.

Paradoxically, however, when we consider the two regions from which came the majority of Salvador's slaves between 1795 and 1811, Table 4 shows a discrepancy: the death rates on ships departing from western Africa were lower than those on ships sailing from the Congo-Angolan coast, even though voyages from this region to Bahia were, on an average, 3/4th as long as those that came out of the Gulf of Guinea (cf. also Table 6). This paradox makes the relationship between voyage length and death rates more complex; and its analysis can enrich our discussion by postulating other hypotheses which do not necessarily discount the connections between the two phenomena.

The first factor we must consider is the way in which slavers were loaded. As we can see in Table 4, the average cargo of ships which left the Angolan coast for Bahia before 1811 (426) were larger than those which traveled the Gulf of Guinea, via Salvador route (293). This is something which can help explain the greater death rates on the first route which resulted from Bahian traders' tendency to assume greater risks when bringing slaves out of the Congo-Angolan region than when buying them along the Gulf of Guinea. Another hypothesis is that the presence of more solid centralized states in Western Africa made slavery in that region comparatively less predatory and less subject to the whims of private interests than that conducted in Angola or Mozambique. It is a fact that the more destructive nature of the slave trade in the Bantu zones was linked to its occurrence in an area where there were few comparatively well-developed commercial circuits and where population density was low.

Correspondence between carioca merchants and their agents and contacts in Africa between 1818 and 1823 offers us elements which permit the forging of yet a third hypothesis, more revealing of how the purchase of slaves was, in fact, undertaken.[24] In several letters, carioca traders insist that their representatives in Luanda buy slaves "at the best going rate", without contracting debts, in order to send these to Brazil "as swiftly as possible." We also find several orders for the purchase of "new slaves, of the good kind",i.e., young healthy captives, even if they were needed to be purchased at a higher price. The great slave merchant Manoel Gonçalves de Carvalho, writing to Antônio Alves da Silva, stipulated that the capital gained from selling off the trade goods be employed to purchase "new slaves of the good kind, even though these might cost half as much". In a letter to his correspondent in Luanda, Albino Gonçalves de Araújo affirms his sending a cargo of goods which should be sold "in accordance with what the state of the land will permit ... and with the profits from this send me on the first available ships to this city [Rio de Janeiro], wax and some oil, or in the last instance, slaves, as long as these are good, even though they might cost more". Likewise, Pedro Antônio Vieira, in Exchange for 387.560 *mil réis* in goods sent to Angola, asked for the purchase of "slaves more or less between 12 and 18 years of age".

These examples demonstrate the dependency of Brazilian traders upon merchants resident in Africa, with slave purchases being financed by the loan or advance of trade goods. In order for business to proceed smoothly, close and personalized relationships were necessary between these two economic agents. For this reason, and this is our fourth hypothesis, it is plausible to suppose that when new areas were brought into the slave trade, such as Mozambique, or when new agents infiltrated areas where it was already established (the case of the cariocas on the *Costa de Mina*, for example, or of the Bahians in Angola), the lack of established economic relationships and solid networks of sociability involving native agents resulted, at least initially, in the acquisition of weaker, more debilitated slaves which would be more vulnerable to the hazards of the transatlantic journey.

Though the risk of the loss of slaves was constantly and equally confronted by all traders, it is also reasonable to suppose that the solutions these imposed to reduce the said risks depended greatly upon an individual trader's capacity for capital accumulation. In theory, then, the bigger slaving operations which were habitually involved in the commerce wherein a more comfortable position when it came to absorbing risks, even though they, too, could sometimes be ruined by a string of bad luck or bad decisions. This was the case of João Alves da Silva Porto, one of the biggest traders in African slaves from 1811 to 1830, who went bankrupt during his thirtieth year of operations due to, according to him, the loss of some 600 Africans from death during the middle passage and pirate activities.[25] Given that the trade in human beings was highly lucrative, however, many were the merchants who, given an exceptionally favourable economic conjuncture, channeled a good part of their resources into a last minute throw of the dice on the slave trade. Some of these men made enormous fortunes while others, like Francisco Antônio Malheiros, who saw one of his slave ships, in which he had invested over 7,000 *mil réis*, confiscated by the English along the *Costa da Mina* in 1813, failed miserably. This same trader had another ship, the *Júlia*, which went after slaves in Cabinde, encountered a series of "enormous disasters": it leaked, necessitating repairs in Africa; its captain was only able to purchase slaves at an enormous loss; and worse yet, many of these died during the middle passage. Malheiros' debts with the traders in Rio's market (José Ignácio Vaz Vieira, José Ignácio Tavares and Manoel Dias de Lima) amounted to 52,504 *mil réis* while his resources were a mere 34,211$226 *mil réis*.[26]

From a strict business point of view, death in transit constituted the most important variable affecting profits in the slave trade. Though, certainly, all slave traders risked their fortunes, the true professionals in the traffic looked to take advantage of favorable price conjunctures by increasing slave exports through raising the number of expeditions as well as the number of slaves brought in by these. However, contrary to what might be expected, the trade during these conjunctures still needed to pay attention to reducing "losses in transit", which could greatly affect a given expedition's profitability. The decision to risk an expedition or not was not exactly taken as a shot in the dark and professional traders, at least, sought to maintain maritime death rates as low as possible. In this sense, we can postulate that one of the keys to maximizing the profitability of the slave trade lay in the balance between initial investment in trade goods (which would determine the number of slaves purchased) and investment in provisions for the slaves themselves (which determined the death rate on board). Some traders, like Malheiros and Silva Port, erred in their calculations and therefore, lost many slaves, leading to their financial ruin. In general, however, when dealing with this equation, established traders on the Atlantic circuit enjoyed considerable advantages over dilettantes in maintaining more organic relations with African intermediaries through the captains of their ships and, because of this, could generally obtain better slaves at lower prices. Through their command of greater resources, these men were also able to purchase more slaves and maintain them better. In any case, all traders sought to keep provision costs and slave mortality rates low by making the voyages as swift as possible and the great traders, able to better balance all these considerations, ended up evidencing lower "losses in transit" during their expeditions' voyages.

The São Tomé and Príncipe Subsystem

It is interesting to observe the small nuclei which provided support to the transatlantic trade in African slaves. The islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, situated in the Gulf of Guinea, began to take on this role in the 18th century, providing supplies to the slave ships which anchored in their ports prior to crossing the Atlantic. Though the islands no longer functioned as principal markets for the sale of men, as they had in the 17th century, they were always able to furnish a few more slaves to ships, topping them up, as it were, for the trip to Brazil. In this sense, the islands served as a subsystem of the transatlantic trade, sustaining themselves by provisioning slavers (da Silva 2002: 25-51).

Throughout the 1700s, the slave trade of these islands was intimately linked with that conducted by Bahia on the *Costa da Mina* (das Neves 1989:100), a fact which can be seen in the Portuguese Crown's regulations for this activity. A decree of January 4, 1710 obliged Bahian ships to call at the islands both going to and coming from the *Costa da Mina* (das Neves 1989:112). The objective of this law was to better permit the inspection of these ships' cargos: on the way into Africa, the amount of tobacco carried was carefully noted and searches for contraband gold were conducted; on the return trip, the number of slaves carried was tallied and half-taxes were applied.

The required stopover in the islands converted São Tomé and Príncipe into an economic region based upon the sale of ships' stores and supplies. At this time, when the slave trade was conducted directly between the Americas and Africa, the archipelago was, in fact, a convenient stop for ships involved in the Bay of Guinea trade to take on sweet water and fresh foodstuffs, particularly greens (Tenreiro 1964: 75). This situation permitted the islands' maintenance as genuine Portuguese territories along the African coast instead of as simple *feitorias*, like São Jorge da Mina Castle and the fort of São João Batista de Ajudá.

The interruption in Bahian commerce which took place throughout most of the 18th century adversely affected the islands' economy. During the period of relative stagnation in the Bahian slave trade (1738-1787), the merchants of that city sought to eliminate the obligatory stopover in the archipelago, perhaps because they wished to see all taxes on slaves paid directly in Salvador, thus eliminating the capital drain that the islands represented. However, the Crown didn't relent and on the 18th of October, 1773, a royal advisory reaffirmed that the decree of 1710 was still in force, obliging Bahian captains, on their way to the Costa da Mina, to put in at São Tomé and Príncipe (das Neves 1989: 115).

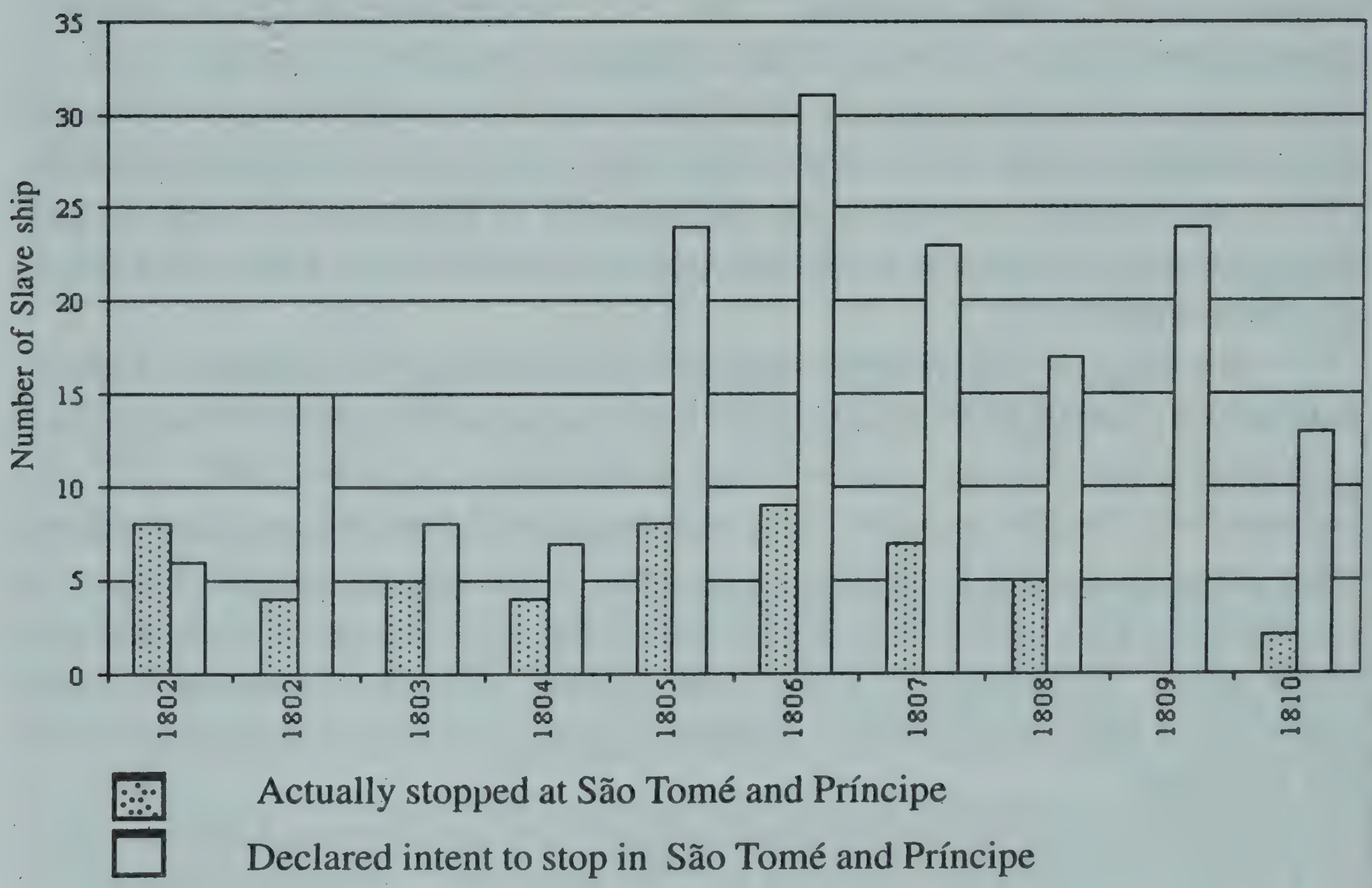
The obligatory nature of the stopover occasioned many disagreements between Bahians and residents of the islands. In 1754, the contractor of slaves for Bahia solicited alterations in the charging of taxes in the archipelago (das Neves 1989: 113). His argument was founded upon the charge that the tax of 3.5 *mil réis* per slave was not being correctly assessed by the island's custom officials who grouped the Africans in lots of three or four, calling them "Pieces from India" and charging the head tax for the whole group. The contractor accused the islands' officials of cheating both the Captaincy of Bahia and the Royal Treasury of justly owed taxes through the use of this stratagem.

The contractor's complaints were attended to by *ouvidor-geral* Cristóvão Alves de Azevedo e Osório and, beginning in 1758, taxes were charged per head and no longer by lots of "Pieces from India"(das Neves 1989: 116). Apparently, however, this solution didn't seem to settle the problem for very long, because in the following year, further changes were introduced in the way in which taxes were collected which permitted the return of the old system of charges based on "Pieces from India", whereby one "piece" was taxed the same as a strong Black man, i.e., 3.5 *mil réis* (das Neves

1989: 113-151). On the one hand, this system benefited Bahian traders by enabling them to pay less taxes and allowing them to group sick and "useless" slaves together in one "piece" for tax purposes; on the other, Bahian captains continued to be forced to stop at the islands instead of heading directly to Brazil.

Complaints such as those made by the contractor were often repeated at different moments. In 1799, for example, José Venâncio de Seixas, a rich Salvadoran merchant, attributed the decadence of the *Costa da Mina* trade not just to its general disorganization, but also to the obligatory stopover in the islands (das Neves 1989: 101). These complaints would finally only be silenced in 1800, when the obligatory stopover in the islands was abolished (Filho 1988: 53). If we were to believe the complainants, the number of Bahian ships stopping at the archipelago should have been practically zero, by that time. As Graph 3 shows below, however, that was not the case.

Graph 3* – Ships Leaving Bahia with Declared Intent to Stop over in São Tomé and Príncipe and Bahian slavers Which Effectively Passed Through the Islands, 1801 to 1810:



* Incongruities in the data is explained by the fact that data for Bahia for 1801 come from the first of August of that year. Data for 1809 for São Tomé and Príncipe have not been found.

Sources: AN, Série Marinha, Fundo AZ IX M 22, *Registro de Alvarás*. Coleção IHGB DL 52, 04, 04; Coleção IHGB DL 52, 04, 04.1; Coleção IHGB DL 52, 04, 04.3; Coleção IHGB DL 52, 04, 05.1; Coleção IHGB DL 53, 01, 32; e NA, XM-787.

It is true that the number of Bahian ships in São Tomé and Príncipe decreased, if we believe that every Bahian captain indeed obeyed the Crown's order to make the stopover. However, Bahian captains did not stop coming to the islands once the decree was repealed as these captains were attracted by the possibility of provisioning their ships with fresh supplies before making the return trip to Brazil. This was the case, for example, of the brig *Voador*, out of Bahia, which made port with 430 slaves in 1811 to stock up for the transatlantic crossing. It took on 804 sacks of flour, 30 of corn, 42 of beans, 65,000 bananas, 1000 yams, 3,000 coconuts, 4 barrels of cooking oil, four bulls, 11 pigs, three goats, and 30 sacks of salt, paying out 93.66 *mil réis*.[27] Another example can be found in the brig *Arlequim*, inbound to her home port of Rio de Janeiro in the same year with 450 slaves. In the archipelago, the brig took on supplies to the tune of 321 sacks of flour, 60 of beans, 5,000 bananas, 1,500 yams, 3,500 coconuts and three bulls, costing 42.07 *mil réis*.[28] These are just two examples of the many ships which docked in the islands to provision before making the dash to Brazil.

Based upon this, we can postulate that the role of the islands was principally to supply the transatlantic slave ships with fresh produce. Of the 346 embarkations recorded as docking in the islands from 1799 to 1808 and from 1810 to 1811, 298 declared their last port of call.[29] In 90.3 per cent of these cases, it was Africa. These were, in their majority, slave ships which had just made purchases on the shores of that continent. 54 of these ships, carrying 12,468 slaves, were Bahian and the total number of slaves passing through the islands was 26,258. Thus, the hulls registered in Salvador da Bahia transported 47.5 per cent of the human cargo that went through the archipelago. The second greatest contingent of ships was made up of those registered in São Tomé and Príncipe themselves, carrying some 5,785 slaves (22%) in twice the number of ships as the Salvadoran contingent of 122. 10 hulls registered in Rio de Janeiro brought 2,979 Africans through the archipelago and 15 ships from Lisbon carried another 1,190.

It is quite probable that the ships from Salvador, Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon didn't unload their human cargo in the islands, but merely stopped there to acquire fresh provisions, fill any vacancies in cargo with the purchase of a few additional slaves or repair damage to the ship itself. This last occurrence was probably fairly common due to the constant conflicts which rocked the African coast, both between native kingdoms and between the European powers trading there (Verger 1987: 147-49). If one of the major causes of death among ships' human cargo during the middle passage was lack of provisions, a solution was to be had in a stopover at São Tomé or Príncipe, a fact which explains Bahian ships' opting for that port even after the obligatory stopover had been abolished.

As death rates among slaves were a determining variable in a voyage's profitability, this stopover could indeed be vital to the success of a slaving expedition.

It is worth investigating, however, what sort of goods were furnished by the islands. In order to adequately provision ships, the islands needed to maintain stable relations with the Africans of Gabon, who furnished slaves for use on the archipelago's plantations or for sale to the ships docking there. It is precisely at this point that the term "subsystem" begins to override the meaning of the word "outpost", as it better explains the role of São Tomé and Príncipe by functioning on the islands' multiple roles within the greater context of the transatlantic slave trade.

Within this context, the islands' proximity to Gabon was of fundamental importance. The intensity of the contacts maintained this region can be seen in the frequency with which the archipelago's ships made port there. 73 per cent of São Tomé and Príncipe's shipping inbound to the islands in the beginning of the 19th century came from the rivers of Gabon.[30] Generally speaking, these ships carried fewer than 100 slaves each, with the average cargo being 47 per ship. This fact calls attention to the high profits that could be obtained by trafficking even a small number of slaves, an important consideration, given that historiography has, up to now, concentrated on large-scale slave trafficking. In these cases, the "merchandise", i.e., the slaves, was possibly better treated, given that they presented lower rates of death during the maritime voyage. This, in turn, increased the profitability of these small-scale slaving operations.

It is easy to imagine that the slaves coming from Gabon were destined to work cultivating produce in the islands, a hypothesis that is even more convincing when we remember that the major slave traders in the archipelago where also its main planters.[31] Examples of this sort can be seen in men such as Brás Luís Borges de Mesquita, planter and owner of a slave ship (das Neves 1989: 448-49). 38 slaves, 21 men and 17 women, worked his lands. As a trader, his ship plied the coast of Gabon, where he frequently sent his captain, in the schooner *Aurora*, to purchase slaves along the rivers of that region. Another example was Tomé Ferreira Neto, a São Tomé planter, whose plantations were also worked by a small contingent of slaves, which was comprised of 13 men and 18 women (das Neves 1989: 449). Owner of the *Delfim*, he also was a frequent visitor to the rivers of Gabon, though only two or three expeditions would have been enough to replace his entire work force. It is interesting to note, however, that the labour force employed on these two plantations, among the biggest in the islands, remained relatively stable over time. This is evidence of possible construction of families among the slaves and the consequent establishment of slave labour in family units, which may have increased social stability.

Other examples are even more interesting in that they reveal the occupational flexibility of certain men who could be suppliers, ship captains or owners and planters, all at the same time. They also allow us to visualize the close socio-economic relations maintained between Brazil and Africa during this period. One of these men was José

Ribeiro de Assa Gastão, a Príncipe planter and also a ship owner, controlling a farm worked by 126 slaves, 75 men and 51 women (das Neves 1989: 449). Occasionally, this man would even go to sea, captaining his own ship. This was the case of the sloop *Conceição Vigilante*, which, on the 23rd of November, 1810, docked in Salvador da Bahia after 28 days at sea inbound from São Tomé with 151 captives, 126 of whom survived the voyage.[32] In earlier years, we have records of Gastão provisioning at least three other ships, the sloops *São João Guiné* and *Nossa Senhora das Neves e Santo Antônio* and the schooner *Santo Antônio Diligente*, which routinely plied the rivers of Gabon, purchasing slaves Gabão.[33]

Another man similar to José Ribeiro de Assa Gastão, though a bit more footloose, was Silvério José de Matos, an individual who showed up, either as a captain, outfitter or planter, on various occasions in several distant parts of the Portuguese Empire. In a card written in 1793 by the archipelago's governor, João Batista e Silva, he appears as a resident of the islands and the protagonist of a "fantastic purchase" of a French brig out of Nantes. He provisioned the ship, taking the helm himself as master and owner on a voyage from Príncipe to Pará in order to sell slaves and move on to Salvador to purchase tobacco. His plans were to continue this business until "the disorders in France died down", since it was a period of great turmoil between the Jacobins and Girodins in that country.[34]

On the 27th of July, 1797, Silvério José de Matos asked permission to leave the city of São Salvador da Bahia de Todos os Santos, as master of the brig *Boa Viagem e Santo Antônio*, with his destination stated as the *Costa da Mina*, where he intended to purchase slaves.[35] In 1806 and 1807, he plied the slave trade on the rivers of Gabon in three different schooners, *Indústria*, *Alexandrina* and *Diligéncia*.[36] During this period, his name appears as one of the major planters on the island of São Tomé (das Neves 1989: 448). On the 27th of June 1814, his name appears in the newspapers of Rio de Janeiro as one of the underwriters of the schooner, *Bela Africana*, arrived in that city from São Tomé with a shipment of slaves and wax (Florentino 1997: 255). Whatever else might be said about him, Silvério José de Matos certainly got around!

Brás Luís de Mesquita, Tomé Ferreira Neto, José Ribeiro de Assa Gastão and Silvério José de Matos were all simultaneously slave traders and landowners in the archipelago. They belonged to the community of traffickers and, also to that of the planting elite, simultaneously men of property in lands and merchants in the souls of men. Because of men like these, the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe played a specific role of a subsystem in the transatlantic slave trade. The archipelago became an important part of the Atlantic trade, which generated its own complicated web of relations and interests because of its proximity to the ports supplying slaves (Gabon, in particular), the metropolitan insistence in maintaining it as an obligatory stopover for Bahian merchants during the 18th century, and its residents' flexibility in adopting simultaneous economic roles.

Conclusions

The study of new and the re-reading of already known sources has permitted us to deepen our understanding of the transatlantic slave trade to Brazil, allowing us to redefine the volume of this trade in terms of the number of Africans disembarked in the principal markets of the colony and to undertake new analyses of how the trade functioned. The study of the material regarding the ports of Rio de Janeiro and Salvador has given us new estimates of the numbers of slaves brought into Brazil from 1700 to 1830, the period in which the mining complex of the Gerais was established and solidified, leading to the shifting of the axis of economic activity from the Northeast to the Southeast of Portuguese America. Fluctuations in the carioca and Bahian slave trades reflect the competitive nature of the commerce in human beings in both ports, with Salvador losing its place as the principal port receiving and re-exporting market for African slaves (as simultaneously, in Africa, Angola and Mozambique as the main exporting region replacing the Gulf of Guinea. When taken together, the slave imports to these two ports, consisting of almost a third of all African slaves disembarked in the Americas between 1700 and 1830, express the beats of the heart of the Brazilian colonial economy and their analysis leads us to emphatically reject the notion of a general economic crisis during this conjuncture of the colonial period.

The data presented here also demonstrate strong parallels between the slave trades of Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife, all marked by high degrees of wealth concentration and speculative activity. These characteristics were ultimately the fruit of the Brazilian market's restricted nature. We have also been able to establish new regional estimates regarding the death rates among slaves during the middle passage, which, in turn, has permitted us to clarify new aspects regarding this variable, which was the most important factor impacting upon slave traders' profits. We have been able to confirm the general correspondence between death rates and voyage lengths, but we've also discovered that this pattern could be affected by the strategies adopted by the traders regarding the risks accepted in purchasing and in the transatlantic crossing. These can be described as the acceptance of greater or lesser degrees of crowding among the slaves in ships' holds on certain routes, the more or less predatory nature of slavery in the African regions of origin, and the degree of interaction and sociability established between the traders and African traffickers.

Finally, we have demonstrated the heterogeneity of the Atlantic slave trade by focusing on the functioning of the São Tomé and Príncipe subsystem. The role these islands played along certain trade routes was of strategic importance, as they supplied ships plying these routes with fresh provisions and extra slaves. The obligatory nature of stopovers at these islands for merchants operating out of Bahia also determined that they would be genuine Lusitanian colonies and not simply outposts. It is also worth noting that the role the archipelago played in the trade was fundamental because the fresh provisions and water supplied to ships stopping there reduced slave mortality in the crossing and increased profits in the destination ports. Because of the market developed by the islands, trade increased between them and Gabon and the slaves acquired along the rivers of that region were both used to grow food for the provisioning trade and sold to "top off" passing slavers' holds. The low average of slaves transported per ship to São Tomé and Príncipe resulted in high profits for small-scale traders as these, as a consequence, tended to suffer low mortality rates on their voyages. Finally, the case of São Tomé and Príncipe demonstrates the transatlantic persistence of a business pattern first observed in Brazilian cities, where slave traders were simultaneously involved in other activities, such as planting, in an effort to diversify their investments and increase profits.

Notes

[1] Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia (APEB), *Ordens Régias de 20-6-1703.*

[2] Despatch from the Governador of Bahia, D. Rodrigo da Costa, dated October 9th, 1702. In Verger 1987: 61.

[3] Cf. for example, see the recent book by Costa e Silva 2004.

[4] Based upon departures of slave ships, an estimate of the number of slaves disembarked in Salvador can be obtained. Taking the numbers stipulated by David Eltis *et al.*(1999) which calculates as 230 the average number of Africans transported on Bahian ships, and multiplying this number by that of the number of ships obtaining licences to bring slaves in from African ports between 1678 an 1779, we have arrived at our estimate. By using the codixes encountered in the Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Salvador (AHMS) — cod. *178.1* (1780-1798) e *182.1* (1803-1810) —, which register the visits of health teams to the ships embarking for Africa, we can estimate the total no. of Africans brought over in the periods during 1780-81, 1788-98 and 1803-10. The estimates for the years between 1782 and 1787 were based upon the average of the years between 1781 and 1788. For the years from 1799 to 1802, estimates were obtained from the averages of the period running from 1798 to 1803. For the years from 1812 to 1830, we utilized de Goes Calmon's annual estimates, (1834). We then obtained our estimate for 1811 by averaging the numbers for 1810 and 1812. Schwartz 1995; Klein and Herbert 1987.

[5] Letter from the Portuguese Viceroy in Brazil to Lisbon, 29th of April, 1730, In Verger 1987: 146-49. See, also Ribeiro 2002: 11-34.

[6] From Rio de Janeiro, the road to Minas Gerais led by boat to the port of Nossa Senhora do Pilar (future port of Estrela) at the back of Guanabara Bay and, from there, upriver to Morobaí, from where the road through the mountains to the mines began. Alternatively, one could take a land route through Irajá, also arriving at the foot of the mountains and the road. Regarding the "*caminho novo*" to the mines, see Antonil

1976:184-86; Parscau 2000: 135.

[7] Part of these Africas arrived there through the rivers of the Amazon Basin. See Karasch 2000.

[8] The following statistice, relative to the plantations and their production in Bahia, were taken from Schwartz 1995: 150, 169, 337, 340; Barickman 2003: 74-5, 346.

[9] With regard to the traffic of Africans in Salvador, Verger has established a total of 1770 voyages between 1678 and 1815 (see, Verger 1987: 651-52), while our research turned up some 2,278 trips during the same period. Thus, the series established in Graph 1 is not only the longest yet obtained for the slave trade in Brazil, it also indicates the need to increase our estimates of the movement of slaves into Bahia upwards by 1/3rd, relative to all other estimates yet made.

[10] APEB, *Judiciário, Inventário de Custódio Ferreira Dias 4/1741/2211/5.*

[11] Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro (ANRJ), Graças Honoríficas, Latas Verdes, *doc. 857.*

[12] APEB, bundle 193, *doc. 33.*

[13] Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro (BNRJ), Seção Obras Raras, *Idade d'Ouro do Brasil –BA, N.º 3* – 21/05/1811

[14] BNRJ, Seção Obras Raras, *Idade d'Ouro do Brasil –BA, N.º 22* – 26/07/1811.

[15] Gubernatorial correspondence,(Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo. 1990: doc.80-128-9).

[16] AHMS, cod. *178.1*, p. 96.

[17] AHMS, cod. *182.1.*

[18] BNRJ, Seção Obras Raras, *Diário de Pernambuco,* 07/01/1830.

[19] BNRJ, Seção Obras Raras, *Diário de Pernambuco,* 26/11/1829.

[20] AHMS, cod. *182.1*; Curto and Gervais 2002:122.

[21] Arquivo Público Estadual João Emerenciano (Recife/PE), cod. *04.06.18-vol.1.*

[22] ANRJ, bundle 458, *Inventário de Francisco dos Santos Xavier* -1812, *n.º 8740*; and also BNRJ, Seção de Manuscritos, II 34, 26, 19, *Representação dos Proprietários, Consignatários e Armadores de Resgate de Escravos, Dirigida a S. A. R., Rio de Janeiro,* 1811, where we find complaints of the prices covered by the owners of a warehouse in Gamboa, which served as a quarantine for the captives.

[23] Regarding Recife, Marcus Carvalho (2002: 117-18) affirms: "According to José Honório Rodrigues, it was only 35 days voyage from Luanda to the provincea província distava apenas 35 dias de viagem de Luanda, while a similar trip from that African port to Bahia lasted 40 days and to Rio de Janeiro, 50. A sampling of 26 slave ships bringing slaves to the province between 1827 and 1830, indicates that the trip could actually take less time during the 1820s, when Ships coming from the coast of Angola and the Congo took an average of 28.1 days to arrive in Recife. The slowest took 68 days coming from Molembo; the swiftest, only 20 days. The mean was 26 days, with 5 ships taking this long. We can thus say, with a degree of certainty, that in the second half of the 1820s, the transit from Southwest Africa to Pernambuco took less than 30 days, on average, a fact which explains the low mortality rates observed here, some 3.65% of all slaves disembarked."

[24] All the following correspondence found in ANRJ, Junta do Comércio, cx. 398, pacote1.

[25] ANRJ, Processos de Falência, bundle 657, *n.º 9222*; bundle 701, *n.º 10 990*; bundle 2314, *n.º 1059* and bundle 2332, *n.º 591.*

[26] ANRJ, Junta do Comércio, cx. 366, pacote 2.

[27] IHGB, *DL 53,01.33*, pp. 125-9.

[28] IHGB, *DL 53,01.33,* pp. 125-9

[29] IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 04*; IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 04.1*; IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 04.3*; IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 05.1*; IHGB, *DL 53, 01, 32* ANRJ, Série Marinha, *XM-787.*

[30] IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 04*; IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 04.1*; IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 04.3*; IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 05.1*; IHGB, *DL 53, 01, 32* ANRJ, Série Marinha, *XM-787.*

[31] Relation of the principal planters on the island of São Tomé, with numbers of slaves employed in agriculture, July 15th, 1807 and Relation of the principal planters on the island of Príncipe, numbers of slaves employed in agriculture, July 15th, 1807, In das Neves, 1989: 448-9. IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 04*; IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 04.1*; IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 04.3*; IHGB, *DL 52,04,05.1*; IHGB,*DL 53,01,32*; and ANRJ, Série Marinha, *XM-787.*

[32] AHMS, cod. *182.1*, p. 125.

[33] IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 04*; IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 04.1*; IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 04.3*; IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 05.1*; IHGB, *DL 53, 01, 32*; and ANRJ, Série Marinha, *XM-787.*

[34] APEB, bundle 201-22, box 79, 1793.

[35] ANRJ, cod. *141* (17 vols.) and APEB, cod. *456*, p. 93v.

[36] IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 04*; IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 04.1*; IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 04.3*; IHGB, *DL 52, 04, 05.1*; IHGB, *DL 53, 01, 32* ANRJ, Série Marinha, *XM-787.*

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40

Hispanic American African Heritage

Luis Beltrán y Repetto

I. Diaspora and Social Sciences

If we analyse the situation of Afro-descendants in Asia, Iberian America, non-Hispanic Caribbean, Arabian Peninsula or the United States, we can find similarities as well as differences due to diverse social, cultural, economic and political environments. In other words, the conditions of Afro-descendants within the caste system of India are not the same as in the mixed society of Colombia; in the United States, the Klux-Klux-Klan is a consequence of White supremacy, and the racial cleavage of political parties is distinctive of Trinidad or Guyana. Their main common trait has been the dramatic experience of forced emigration of their ancestors through slavery, with the corollary of their unfavourable inclusion in the societies to which they were sent, and the non recognition of their contribution to those societies, especially in the cultural field, with the partial exception of countries and territories where this population constitutes a staggering majority (English, Dutch and French-speaking Caribbean)

Therefore, while conducting research, in Afro-American studies, it is not advisable to analyse facts and realities, retaining as a model the specialist's own society and background, and then try to impose his/her concepts on other societies. This can easily happen within the framework of a North/South setting for the sake of a transnational, cross-border "brotherhood"; this type of "cooperation" will block the perception of a dominant/subaltern relation.

The term diaspora is employed to designate compelled or forced migrations. One of the most dramatic examples is the case of the African or Sub-Saharan diasporas by bondage, up to the late XIX century, through three main "routes": trans-Saharan, the Indian Ocean (Gulf area and Asia), and the most recent, the intensive trans-Atlantic route (XV-XIX centuries)

The socio-economic institution of slavery has been widely practised by mankind in all continents, and even today some cases can be found. One of the regions of the world which suffered most from this ruthless oppression has been Sub-Saharan Africa, from where millions of Black Africans were deported by the slave trade. The collective memory of sub-Saharan societies still evokes this experience by means of their oral tradition, whereby their social history is recorded.

While recognizing the dimension and impact of slavery in this sub-continent, we cannot equate slavery with Black Africans; firstly, because enslavement was inherent to almost all societies (regardless of their culture or the colour of the skin, people were reduced to bondage); and, secondly, because this erroneous assumption fails to recognize their contribution to mankind.

II. Colonial Society: Slave Trade, Slavery and Freedom

After the first Portuguese exploration of the West African coast (mid XV century) and the Spanish "discovery" of America (1492), in the first attempt of an imperial global partition, legitimatized by the Inter Caetera Papal Bulls (1493) and the bilateral Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), the two Iberian countries were awarded their own geographical area to explore and to exercise their sovereignty. The Portuguese domain was roughly Africa and part of today's Brazil, and the Spanish domain was concentrated in America.

After the controversy on the Amerindian enslavement to exploit the vast resources of the New World, Spain decided that slave manpower from sub-Saharan Africa could solve the high demand for labour in its American possessions, thus becoming the major importer of Black slaves. The first arrivals were acculturated *ladinos,* already slaves in Spain, and then *bozales* sent directly from Africa.

While Spain practically didn't participate in the lucrative Africa-America slave trade, with some exceptions, especially in the XIX century, to Cuba, Portugal, since mid XV century, and England, afterwards, became by far the most important countries involved in this reprehensible commerce, along with Dutch, Danish and French companies; the "trade" also included local African suzerains (i.e., Dahomey) and chiefs who provided and sold slaves in specific ports (i.e., Ouiddah). In fact, the so-called "triangular trade", including Europe-Africa-America, set up in the XVI century with one main beneficiary (European countries, companies and merchants) was the first step in the long process of the universalization of international relations in a single world system, leading gradually to contemporary globalization, which could be considered a new version of the unfair schema (South-North-South).

Slavery is always a harsh experience, based, as it is, on servitude and the loss of the human condition, the human being thus being converted into mere merchandise. To differentiate which one is "best" and which one is "worst" is not an easy task. A valuable testimony, which can be considered a pioneering anthropological/sociological research on both Sub-Saharan Africa and Black slaves in a Spanish American port-of arrival from Africa, is the *De Instauranda Aethiopum Salute* (Sandovol 1987) earlier published in 1627 and 1647 by a Jesuit, Father Alonso de Sandoval in Cartagena de Indias (New Granada, actually Colombia).

Spanish colonial America was a highly stratified, but not rigid, Euro-hegemonic society, mainly based on socio-racial criteria comprising of three basic groups, one local or native, the Indo-American or Amerindians, and two immigrant groups, European (Spanish) and African (from various ethnic societies) as well as mixed subgroups.[1] With regard to Black slavery, Spanish colonies were ruled by a set of diverse laws and norms, including the *Códigos Negros* (Black Codes) enacted between 1503 and 1886, although not always respected.

This colonial society, despite its particular socio-racial characteristics, did not prevent Africans from climbing to the top of the ladder, like *Conquistador* Juan Garrido in Mexico, and former Spanish California and Florida, or Estebanico, in the former United States Spanish territories, or from allowing the existence of Black Free areas as in Esmeraldas (Ecuador), or welcoming fugitives like the *garífunas* Afro-Amerindians (Honduran Atlantic coast).

The slave quest for freedom had two alternatives: to escape with the fear of a severe punishment, if caught, or to reach freedom legally, mainly in Spanish colonies. The *de facto* freedom was attained through running away and hiding in free enclaves of fugitive slaves known as *palenques, cumbes* or *quilombos* in Brazil, considered as resistance centres against colonialism and slavery, and among the first freedom movements in the continent since the early XVI century (*ladinos jolofes/wolofs* in today's Dominican Republic). The names of *cimarrones* (maroons, fugitives) like Sebastián Lemba in the Dominican Republic, Miguel Gerónimo Guacamaya, in Venezuela, Antón Mandinga and Luis de Mozambique, in Panama, or Zumbí, in Brazil, are indicative of leading leaders in maroon communities.

One feature of the Spanish slave system was the possibility to attain freedom in a formal way, appealing to any opening offered by the law (marriage, purchasing their own freedom or *coartación*, merits, etc.) thus becoming a member of the *población libre de color* or Free Black community, or even to upgrade one's status by paying a tax (*gracias al sacar*). Free Blacks were generally of the lower social strata but, by the late XVIII century, they accounted for 70 per cent of the Black population in Continental Spanish America, and almost the same percentage in the Spanish Antilles while, in the British Antilles, they represented just 2.71 per cent, and in the French Antilles, almost 5 per cent.

ESTIMATES OF SLAVE AND FREE BLACK POPULATION IN THE AMERICAS, LATE XVIII CENTURY**

	POPULATION				
Region/colony	Slaves	%	Free Blacks	%	Total
- UNITED STATES:	575,420	94.73	32, 000	5.27	607,420
- BRAZIL:	1,000,000	71.48	399 ,000	28.52	1,399,000
- CARIBBEAN	1,122,000		212, 000		1,334,000
• French Antilles	575,000	95.04	30 ,000	4.96	605,000
• British Antilles	467,000	97.28	13,000	2.71	480, 000
• Spanish Antilles	80,000	31.13	169 ,000	67.87	249, 000
- SPANISH AMERICA (Continental):	271,000	28.42	650 ,000	70.58	921, 000
• Mexico & Central America	19,000				
• Panama	4,000				
• Nueva Granada	54,000				
• Venezuela	64,000				
• Ecuador	8,000				
• Peru	89,000				
• Chile	12,000				
• Rio de la Plata (River Plate)	21,000				
TOTAL	2,968,420		1,293,000		

ESTIMATES OF SLAVE AND FREE BLACK POPULATION IN AMERICA, 1860 - 1872

	POPULATION			
Region / colony-country	Slaves	%	Free Blacks	%
UNITED STATES (1860)	3,953,696	89.91	488,134	10.99
BRAZIL (1872)	1,510,806	26.25	4,245,428	73.75
SPANISH ANTILLES	412,291	46.54	473,530	53.46
• Cuba (1861)*	370,553	61.45	232,493	38.55
• Puerto Rico (1860)	41,738	14.76	241,037	85.24

(Source: Klein, (1996:173-75).

*Colonial Cuba was an exception in the mid XIXth century with a slave majority (61,47%, 1861) due to the sugar cane labour demand.

The situation of Africans and Afro-descendants in Spanish colonial America represents an essential difference *vis-à-vis* other colonial situations, and calls for a deep reflection on the consequences for this population, as well as for the society as a whole, as it supposes a greater degree of participation in the colonial society, especially in urban centres where their culture was increasingly present, acculturating the Euro-dominant culture (music, language, religion, oral tradition, cuisine, etc.). In other words, Spanish colonies were socially and culturally more "africanized", compared with British and

French territories where the Black population was an overwhelming, but segregated, slave majority.

Other forms of resistance were the *cofradías* (brotherhoods), religious brotherhoods with a social dimension, and the *cabildos,* which played an important social and cultural role, under an African "nation" denomination, either ethnical or geographical (*Arará, Carabalí, Angola, Lucumí, Mozambique,* etc.); they were depositaries of different African cultures and traditions. Both types of associations were recognized by the Spanish colonial authorities and their public activities were duly authorized by the local administration.

Before the end of slave trade and slavery, and the emergence of Hispanic American independent states, the liberal 1812 Spanish Constitution provided that freed persons who attained freedom in Spanish territories were Spaniards (art. 5.4) but, at the same time, it declared that Spaniards of African origin should comply with some prerequisites in order to become citizens (art. 22). They then became nationals, but not automatically citizens.

A time came for the prohibition of slave trade, in the Atlantic area in particular, initiated by three European countries from 1803 to 1814, especially England in 1807 , and followed by an international prohibition adopted at the Vienna Congress in 1815. Then, the western world and the newly independent Hispanic American countries were ready for the next step, i.e., to abolish slavery during the XIX century, which went on up to 1880-86 in still colonial Cuba and 1888 in Brazil. These twi countries were, in fact, preceded in 1793 by a French slave colony of Saint-Domingue / Haiti. These initiatives were due mainly to economic and also moral reasons, allowing recently liberated slaves to join the ranks of the Free Black population.

III. Hispanic American Societies: The Afro-Descendants

Hispanic American societies are the result of more than five centuries of a shared experience within three groups: European (Spaniards), African (from diverse ethno-cultural groups) and Indian, Amerindian or Indo-American (native societies), under an Euro-hegemonic socio-political system, first as a result of colonial domination and, later, under the aegis of independent states born out of liberation wars during the first half of the XIX century.

At the beginning of the XVI century, the process of *mestizaje*, or miscegenation, started within the Euro-predominant colonial context which led to an asymmetrical mixed race society, with its categories and subcategories. The reasons were many: consensus, rape, spontaneous affection and social upgrading. The Euro-hegemonic colonial society called for whitening, with *mestizaje* as a means of improving social status, which was also the case after independence with the so-called "light complexion" appearance.[2] Obviously, there was no mandatory racial mixture and, in fact, even with massive European immigration in the XIX and XX centuries, with perhaps the exception of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, an important percentage of the Hispanic American population became darker, a sort of "new race", or in the words of Mexican author José Vasconcelos, a *cosmic race*, resulting from a genuine "melting pot", *ajíaco sancocho,* in Spanish, different from the North American "salad bowl" paradigm. *Quien no tiene de inga tiene de mandinga,* as the popular Peruvian saying goes, meaning that everybody, even those recognized as Euro-descendants, could have an African and/or an Amerindian ancestor, and the best example of Afro-European mixture is the process of *mulatización* in the Dominican Republic, with an estimated 80 per cent mulatto population.[3]

Demographically, independence meant not only a massive arrival of European immigrants, which started in the last decades of the XIX century up until the 1960s, promoted by some national governments in quest for "civilization" and "modernization" and, in much reduced numbers, from the Middle East, and even from Asia (China & Japan), but not from Africa. This situation derives from the suppression of all contacts between sub-Saharan Africa and Hispanic America after the slave trade prohibition and the European colonization of the former since, from that time, and until 1960, both continental regions were isolated from one other, with the exception of Brazil. Alternatively, Afro-descendants participated in independence and local wars with considerable losses, as well as in the process of miscegenation, without receiving a further supply of immigrants. Consequently, the proportion of Afro-descendants among the national populations diminished in southern countries like Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, or even in countries with Amerindian majority like Bolivia, Peru, Paraguay and, even, Mexico; in the rest, demography has been favourable to Afro-descendants.

Lately, however, racial mixture has been considered as a form of genocide by some activists, who fear that non Euro-descendants will lose their racial identity, may be preferring a sort of "apartheid-oriented" society, but miscegenation, accepted or not, has been a part of humanity's multi-secular adventure. To some extent, these concepts are "imported", but they can also be adopted by Amerindian leaders or Afro-descendant activists because of the weight of Euro-descendant predominance.

On the whole, the Hispanic-American population is not homogeneous, taking into consideration the complex processes of miscegenation among the three main groups, and this can also be a variable in social stratification because, if there is no determinant "colour bar", there are still stereotypes and prejudices leading to discriminatory practices. This is why the Brazilian myth of a "racial democracy", which can also apply to Hispanic countries, has been so contested.

Nonetheless, taking into account the socio-political and cultural characteristics, we can start differentiating between Afro-descent population and Afro-descent/Black communities The first embraces all persons who consider themselves of African extraction but, in particular, all those who individually do so, sharing the national culture and living in urban or rural areas. This is common to all these countries like Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Uruguay; from some of its members come today's main social and political claims and grievances. The latter generally comprises of rural communities of individuals sharing some specific cultural patterns, including an originally customary tenure of the land, frequently settling in remote or almost inaccessible areas, and comparable to the "indigenous communities" like in Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Panama; these Black communities are recognized and protected at least formally, and in the case of Colombia, the most advanced country in this issue, by the 1991 Constitution (arts.7, 10, 63 and 55) and other laws (especially *Ley 70 de las Comunidades Negras, 27.04.1993*, etc.,) sending representatives to the national parliament.[4]

From another point of view, Afro-descent population can be included in four categories: a) *Criollos* (creole) or descendants of Africans arrived before the end of the XIX century, and integrated in the national society, or members of Afro-American rural communities; b) Afro-Amerindian (*zambos*) communities who, in the late XVIII century, fled the English Caribbean, reaching Honduras and then other neighbouring countries (*garífunas),* or local ones (*miskitos* in Nicaragua) having their own cultural characteristics, including a particular language; c) Afro-descents of Anglo and French-speaking Caribbean arriving late XIX-early XX centuries many of them with labour contracts, a sort of indentured labour, to work in U.S. fruit companies or in important projects (railways, canal), such as on the Atlantic coast of Central America, in particular Costa Rica and Panama, and also in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela; in Costa Rica they mainly remained on the coast and retained English, and d) African immigrants arriving on Hispanic American republics, from Cape Verde to Argentina in early XX century and, after the independence of sub-Saharan countries in the 1960s and in 1970s, students, usually with scholarships granted by some Hispanic American governments. (Thanks to the outstanding generosity of Cuba, thousands of students have received scholarships since 1961 and, to a much lesser extent, it is true for Mexico also).[5] Lately, since the 1990s, a small but growing number of Africans have arrived, either legally or illegally, for the purpose of seeking better living conditions in countries such as Chile.

From a sociological perspective, the social situation of the Afro-descendants, who, according to recent estimates of the World Bank, account for 150 million, out of a total population of 520 million inhabitants in Latin America and the Caribbean countries, is not so bright due to: low-incomes in vast sectors of this population, the difficult access to education, the lack of the standard "light complexion", and the assumption by other citizens that their forefathers were "people without culture". Stereotypes and prejudices leading to discriminatory practices are commonplace. To react against this situation is now a priority of some governments but, in particular, of associations of Afro-descendants at national or regional levels (*Foro de Afrodescendientes y Africanos en la Argentina* and *The Black Parliament of the Americas,* both 2006), and surveys and recommendations have been carried out by international institutions such as the World Bank, with its Project "Beyond the Average: Afro-descendants in Latin America" (2003-2005), CEPAL (U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean) or UNDP.

Given this perspective, policies such as "affirmative action" can help improve this situation, but the most important course of action, both in the short as well as the long term, is to rehabilitate *africanía,* the socio-cultural contribution to Hispanic American countries, in order to neutralize stereotypes and prejudices.

IV The Hispanic American Culture: *africanía*

Hispanic America has been the geographical and social scenario where three civilisations met and interacted in an unequal encounter, under the political dominance of the Spanish culture, which was also the result of another societal process, its language being, for instance, a sub-product of the Roman expansionism, imposing Latin, followed by eight centuries of Arab-Islamic acculturation resulting from another colonial occupation, ending practically when Columbus disembarked in the so-called *New World.*

Hispanic American culture is, thus, a result of a multi-dimensional, dynamic process of cultural contact, generally asymmetrical, known in Spanish[6] as *transculturación* (transculturation), which occurs in a determinate social milieu, initially heterogeneous, altering in different degrees the original traits of the cultures within the socio-territorial context in which it takes place, leading to a cultural syncretism of variable scale. Diversity is not excluded but, when it is identified to specific racial or ethnic groups within rigid endogamous context, special provisions are required to avoid segregating or marginalizing sectors of the population; multiculturalism should then be adequately implemented and not allowed to give place to an apartheid-style "parallel development".

In Hispanic America, the dominant, but receptive culture, of Spanish origin, was and is submitted to the influence of Amerindian and African (or brought from Africa) cultures. The cultural legacy from the African peoples, in Spanish, is known by the word *africanía,*[7] equivalent to the French term, *négritude*. *Africanía* is present in all Hispanic countries and covers diverse cultural aspects like language, literature, music, religion, art, gastronomy, etc., the most notable being its acculturative strength, taking into account the adverse social conditions in which it was transmitted and evolved, carried by slaves. The distinctive national or regional particularities, of African origin, contribute to identifying the country or region of Latin Americans.

What also makes *africanía* so important is the inter-African transculturation taking place on Hispanic American soil, which is not possible in Africa, generating innovations and a new dynamism, due to the constant interaction among African and Afro-descendant culture bearers.

Here again a new debate has arisen over the past few years between those who recently identified culture and race, considering that *africanía* has been "appropriated" by the national culture from the Black population, and those who think that African cultural roots "participate" in the dynamic multi-dimensional processes of national culture-building and change, without associating culture to skin in an excluding manner. The Argentinean popular dances, the *tango* and *milonga,* of African origin, are basic elements of Argentinean national cultural identity, but their roots have simply been ignored or manipulated; therefore, what is necessary, as is happening now, is to rehabilitate and make known these origins, but it would not be logical to transform them into a dance strictly for Blacks.

In the face of the deliberate or sheer ignorance of *africanía*, the foremost and the most urgent measure requiring action should be a nationwide campaign of information and education, which has not yet started, except partially in Colombia, Cuba, and Brazil, and is now planned in Venezuela, but it should be a top priority in all Hispanic America.

Africanía is present in all Hispanic American countries as well as in Brazil, in almost all aspects of the culture because Afro-descendants, its carriers, have lived, and continue to live, in all these territories, and we can start by referring to the Spanish language spoken in America, where it received the impact not only of Amerindian, but also of African languages. When Africans arrived directly from Africa, they spoke their own mother tongue and usually a vehicular language, and perhaps some notions of a Portuguese creole, but no Spanish, and nobody taught them this language, so they started by speaking a "Bozal Spanish", or *habla de guinea,* reproduced in Spanish classical plays of the period, i.e., XVI-XVII centuries.

African influence in American Spanish is perceptible mainly through *africanismos*, lexical borrowings on a local, national or regional scale. These africanisms cover a wide spectrum, from toponyms (*Congo, Cuango, Matamba,* etc.), ethnonyms (*mandinga, mongo,* etc.), names relative to the fauna (*engombe, matungo, gongolí,* etc.), flora (*dende, malanga, macondo mafufo,* etc.), material products (*malafu, mondongo, catanga,* etc.), spiritual terms (*ensambi, calunga, nganga,*etc.), or family names (*Embuila, Mina, Angola*, etc.). Simultaneously, there are cult languages based on the language of an African ethnic group from where the religious practice came (Cuba: *palero* employed in the *Regla de Palo Monte* bantu cults, *yoruba* used in *Regla de Ocha).* Despite all of these influences, the only Spanish creole recognized unanimously by linguists is the *palenquero,* spoken in the Colombian village of Palenque de San Basilio, near the Atlantic, and a former maroon redoubt.

Africanisms can also contribute decisively to the establishment of, at least, the regional origin of the Africans deported to America, providing a good knowledge of African linguistics.

From a sociological approach, Afro-Hispanic literature reflects some of the socio-cultural singularities, including the ideology of those nations. The question is to determine what we understand as "Afro-Hispanic literature": the writings of Afro-descendant author, including those of African immigrants, or the writings on Afro-Hispanic-American subjects or both approaches.

This popular literature, written in Spanish, includes a diversity of genres, from poetry to narrative, fiction, etc., and, precisely, the modern day take-off was a movement denominated *poesía negrista,* with Cuban poets such as Nicolás Guillén or Marcelino Arozarena, followed by the Peruvian poet, Nicomedes Santa Cruz, and the younger generation of poets represented by Blas Jiménez (Dominican Republic), as well as writers from all over Spanish-speaking America such as Nelson Estupiñan Bass (Ecuador), Enrique López Albújar (Peru), Manuel Zapata Olivella (Colombia), Carlos Guillermo Wilson (Panama), or Luz Argentina Chiriboga (Ecuador), among many others.

Afro-Hispanic literature is, above all, concerned with afro-descendants and *africanía*. As such, it encompasses the following outstanding features: It

a) refers to the mixed, racial and cultural, Hispanic American reality;
b) emphasizes its African origin and values;
c) implies solidarity with Africa;
d) calls for a Latin American solidarity;
e) engages in social issues;
f) opposes imperialism; and
g) includes African, or supposedly African, terms and onomatopoeia.

During colonial times, religion was the most important refuge for Africans and Afro-descendants, whether slaves or free, not only for the purpose of preserving their spiritual values, but also as a focal point of cultural survival and resistance, using African languages mixed with Spanish (or Portuguese, in Brazil), to a greater or lesser degree. But to achieve this mission was almost impossible, as non-European religions or beliefs were considered sorcery, and its practice punishable. The apparent conversion to Catholicism admitted its practice among slaves and, at the same time, it was possible to introduce African religions. The *cofradías* were a sort of guarantee of good behaviour towards the Catholic religion and, after independence, it was easier to designate specific places, declared or not, devoted to the religious cult.

This forced co-existence of African ethnic religions (Bantu/Kongo, Yoruba, Fon, etc.) and Catholicism was tantamount to syncretism, originating from an initial dualism. All saints chosen had, and still have, an equivalent African deity, and *vice-versa*, so addressing one does not exclude addressing the other one. The Afro-Hispanic cultural context involves the transculturation process, facilitating a syncretism, and giving way to contemporary Afro-Ibero-American religions in two countries, Cuba and Brazil (where syncretism includes, in some cases, an Amerindian component). These countries have very different political systems and attitudes with respect to these cults but, in both, in spite of the social or political problems they may have known, the Cuban cults, *santería,* especially have experienced a worldwide expansion, and have also become an important source of income, thus inducing the proliferation of doubtful officiators.

Although officiates and believers are mainly Afro-descendants, the cults welcome everybody, and have been quite successful in attracting an important contingent from other groups, thus becoming clearly multiracial.

CUBAN RELIGIOUS SYNCRETISM: ***Equivalence of Deities***

Catholic church Spain	Regla (Cult) de Ocha Santería yoruba / lucumí (from West Africa)	Regla (cult) de Palo Monte Bantu/kongo (from West Central Africa)
El Santísimo (The Almighty)	Obbatalá	Kunanbisa
Santa Bárbara (St. Barbara)	Changó	Yoasi, Sabrabransasi, Isasi-Mpungo, Munalongo.
San Pedro (St. Peter)	Oggún	Zarabanda, Dibudi o Dibuti, Lufo-Kuyio
Virgen de la Regla (Our Lady of the Cult)	Yemayá	Mader Agua, Mamá Kalunga, Nkita kiamasa, etc.,
Virgen de la Candelaria (Our Lady of Candelaria)	Oyá	Mariwanga, Mpenso-Kilanga
Ntra. Sra. de la Caridad del Cobre (Our Lady of Charity of Copper)	Ochún,	Mamá Chola, Chola Wengue, Sibimu Kalunga, Kibula, Mbumba etc.,
San Lázaro (St. Lazarus)	Babalú Ayé	Luleno, Asuano, Tata Funde, etc.,
Jesucristo (Jesús Christ)	Ayáguna	Pungún Kulo
San Benito de Palermo (St. Benedict of Palermo)		Kuke Nfioto
San Luis Beltran (St. Luis Beltran)		Maicoco

Source: (Bolivar and Diaz de Villegas (1998:127-42)

However, it is in the musical field where, gradually, since colonial times, *africanía* has today a strong and emblematic influence in the creation of rhythms, representing national or regional identities. Musical expressions of African origin were first restricted to the slave population, then were played by Free Blacks and, finally, evolved from being regarded as "lower class" rhythms, ascending to the socially "upper classes", including society as a whole while, at the same time, expanding throughout the world, nowadays forming part of the culture of globalization, as is the case of the famous and ubiquitous *salsa*. It is interesting to add that, if African rhythms were decisively implicated into Hispanic American musical expressions, which, in turn, inspired the modern African national popular music: flux and reflux of culture interaction. But also deserving of mention is the inter-African process of transculturation in Hispanic America, which makes Afro-inspired rhythms more diverse and original.

The *merengue* in the Dominican Republic, *cumbia* or *vallenato* in Columbia, *milonga* in Argentina, *marinera* in Peru, *tamborera* in Panama, *mambo, chachacha, rumba, and son* in Cuba, *candombe* in Uruguay, or the international Caribbean *salsa,* are some of the main representatives of these national rhythms. The danger exists of forgetting their African roots, as occurred with the Argentinian *tango,* which is now in the process of acknowledging those sources.

This musical presence requires the use of instruments of African origin, in particular membranophones, such as the different types of drums: *chimbagueles* in Venezuela, *yuka or conga* in Cuba, *bongo* in Puerto Rico, etc., or idiophones, like the well known Mexican and Central American *marimba,* etc.

We have mentioned here only some of the aspects of *africanía.* But to be better known, it should embrace an extensive domain requiring more innovative research, not only in Hispanic America but also in sub-Saharan Africa, within the framework of a South-South cooperation.

V. Final Considerations

Summing up what has been expressed, we can state the following:

a. As defined, *africanía* is part of Hispanic American culture, of African origin, and should not be considered as "Africa in America".
b. Afro-descendants are Americans of African ancestry, but should not be considered as "Africans in America".
c. African and Afro-descendants, within extremely adverse conditions, brought and transmitted their cultural patterns.
d. Identifying slavery with Afro-descendants constitutes a mistaken and prejudicial stance, for the reasons advanced.
e. There is a necessary and urgent need for the rehabilitation of *africanía* as a fundamental component of Hispanic American culture.
f. Rigid racial cultural identities leading to exclusion should be avoided, as it can end in a segregated society.
g. Afro-descendants deserve national policies to allow for more possibilities of further education in order to ameliorate their living conditions.
h. In order to achieve the rehabilitation of *africanía,* an intensive campaign of information and education must be implemented, on a national scale, preceded by the promotion of Afro-Hispanic-American research and studies.
i. It should be clearly understood that, without the inclusion of *africanía,* Hispanic American society and culture cannot be understood scientifically, within the context of the social sciences.

Notes

[1] An illustrative painting showing members of 16 Mexican *castas* resulting from*mestizaje* (miscegenation) can be seen at the Museum of America, Madrid.

[2] The whitening or the "light complexion" syndrome is also present in the U.S. ("blue veins") or Jamaica.

[3] The Amerindian population in the Caribbean was soon decimated as a result of the European arrival (war, illness).

[4] Maybe a comparison of "indigenizing" Afro-descendants can be made to the Indian Siddis being considered a "scheduled tribe".

[5] Brazil is the other regional country, besides Cuba, starting since the 1960s having an important cultural cooperation policy with Africa.

[6] This term was used by the pioneer of Afro-Cuban studies, Fernando Ortiz.

[7] This term was coined by Fernando Ortiz.

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VI

ORGANISATION WORKSHOPS

41

Integrated System of “Capacitation”[1] and Scientific Researches for the Regional Development

Clodomir Santos de Morais

In his long-established column on page two of Sunday’s *Folha de Sao Paulo,* the leading industry captain and presumably the leading employer in Brazil, Antonio Ermírio de Morais, with a deep sense of shock, wrote about the 130 thousand candidates competing for less than a thousand dustman jobs in Rio de Janeiro, waiting in several queues, kilometres long, for three days and three nights.

They were people of several ages and races (white, black, yellow, mulatto, etc.), including hundreds of people with university degrees. The latter were the most pitied by the industrialist Antônio Ermírio de Morais, who said that he had never dreamt, at 75 years of age, that he would see teachers looking for a post as a dustman, although there are millions of illiterate people in the country.

Two days later, the top television network TV Globo showed thousands of people in Santa Catarina competing for posts as grave-diggers and cemetery janitors.

These are facts that portray the raw, but peaceful, side of the profound unemployment crisis. On the other side, unemployment is portrayed in the increasingly accentuated violence of those thousands, with slim chances of getting a job, joining the risky organisational structures of drug traffic.

The killings, which once occurred in city outskirts, nowadays have invaded the prisons themselves which are filled with the excluded.

Exactly 15 years ago, Diario de Pernambuco, the newspaper with the highest circulation in the Northeast of Brazil and the oldest in the country, published with an eight-column headline, our interview called, “Brazil Lives the Unemployment Secret Civil War.”

In Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the war lately has left its camouflage and become a genuine war, with thousands of deaths every year, by far outnumbering the death figures of the conflicts between Jews and Palestinians, and between Americans and Afghans.

It is all about the crisis in the economic system at the world level, either in its evil effects on labour or in its not so less evil effects on ecology. Both the effects are unfortunately determined by an inevitable objective factor, the ongoing Technological Progress.

That being so, there is no other way but to seek solutions to defeat unemployment, not by having more soldiers fighting in the streets, but by building up, on the one hand, the economic spaces capable of absorbing the idle labour force and, on the other, Nature's defense through qualification and organization of the producers in different forms of cooperation, self-management in large scale production, or joint management of small independent producers. The Federal University of Rondonia (Universidade Federal de Rondônia- UNIR) has made successful attempts in those activities several times, generating job and income in cities and in rural areas.

The current crisis in Technological Progress in the beginning of the third millennium, calls for a detailed and exhaustive analysis of the scientific aspects involving it. A thorough explanation by a "sociological theory of matter, energy, movement, space and time", i.e., a theory which reveals the essence of the phenomena as against the older dialectic categories, will help us to go beyond old parametres, archaic paradigms and obsolete ethics of a debilitated and debilitating economic system.

The first premise of the theory is that, with the advent of Human Society, there originated the social form of the movement of matter. If the mere fact of the advent of life on the planet, by itself, brought about an accelerated process of transformation of the inorganic Nature, the superior form of organisation of Matter, expressed in the social organisation of human beings, pumped unpredictable speed into Movement and into Time, on account of peaceful or violent access to Energy sources and the Space on which they depend.

The social organisation of human beings is the superior form of organization of matter. It starts from its smallest and indivisible particle, the individual. It is also known that, like the cell, which is the smallest unit of living matter, all beings, when they feed, seek to obtain Energy so that they stay alive and propagate themselves so as to perpetuate the species.

In order to meet those two goals, the cell as well as the human being make mechanical movements of biological character.

A million years ago language was born, necessitated by traffic and exchange, mainly, among human beings. During all that time, the human species set up a new rhythm, i.e., the movement of matter based on the cultural development, which was the result of organized labour and social relations originating from the tools built by Man.

This new rhythm of the Movement of Matter led to the Social Division of Labour. It created, on the other hand, new spaces, physical and social, which determined social differentiation, according to whatever capacities each social group, each individual had, through their work to possess or access energy sources guaranteeing their existence.

It is at this point that the individual's Vital Cycle can be seen more clearly. That individual, at the beginning of every day, right after the first meal, breakfast, seeks to ingest the available energy. Without that energy, the individual will not have enough strength to perform the Movement essential for Labour. And it is through

Labour that the individual will be able to obtain Energy for survival and reproduction of the species.

Well, more the Energy obtained from Labour, more the social space the individual has, because, as it is widely known, the generative focus of social space is productive activity.

Productive activity is therefore imposed by the needs of the human being and, in a nutshell, pushes him into carrying out Work, which implies spending of Energy.

However, the fact that Social Division of Labour and Private Property together generate Merchandise draws attention to two kinds of Labour which lie in its core: Concrete Labour and Abstrct Labour.

The former generates only use-value of the product whereas the latter reveals, in the market, the exchange value as it involves the time socially needed (that means, the time spent by different producers with different skills and different means of labour) to manufacture the products which, once in the market, become goods.

The Time which here lies within the Goods, due to its versatility, i.e., the ability of being diversified in terms of skills, impresses on Movement a more competitive rhythm, faster and faster, from those who carry out labour, so that they manage to stay in the market and obtain Energy, which can be hoarded, in money, in social space and in its tributary space, the physical or geographic space.

In the currency and the social space hides, hoarded, the Energy spent on Labour. And the result is the accumulation, in the hands of a few, of the amounts of nergy spent on Labour by hundreds, thousands and millions of individuals.

It is at that point that Energy gets disguised or hides in the content of an abstract noun, i.e, money, while space takes up the semantics of social stratification.

The Social Space has very little to do with physical or geographic space. Picture a banker and the caretaker of his bank. From the geographic point of view, they may be on the same level of the building. Nevertheless, when one bears into account the social space, the distances are huge.

In fact, the banker pays himself R$200.000,00, while the caretaker earns only R$ 200,00. It means that the latter earns a salary in order to gain access to a very small amount of Energy, as it barely restores the energy necessary to the satisfaction of biological hunger and cultural hunger, his and his wife's and children's.

So we come to the conclusion that the caretaker can't completely restore the Energy spent on the strength essential to the Movement of the performance of Labour that will give him access to Energy again.

Since he cannot restore the Energy spent, he and his family will little by little waste away, gradually reducing the social spaces that he needs in order to, in a certain unit of time, perform the MOVEMENT essential for Labour which gives him access to or allows him to acquire the Energy that feeds him so that he can carry on cleaning the bank.

On the other hand, the owner, the banker, hoarding amazing amounts of ENERGY taken from his employees, increases in geometric proportions the Social Spaces (public, financial, etc.), which always results in more hoarded *ENERGY*.

That is the energy suction circle, the blood suction circle, health and welfare euphemistically mystified and hidden behind currency, money, so that one cannot see the mechanics, the process through which the blood, the sacrifice resulting from the impossibility of restoring ENERGY spent by hundreds, thousands or millions of LABOUR performers, blood that rushes, like a white-water river, into the safes of the banks of the Third World and eventually flows into the IMF and the World Bank, and other banks belonging to the seven wealthiest countries on the planet.

Here, certainly, the suction pump of the mercantile exchange, at international level, takes to the developed world profits proceeding from the Third World's unfavourable relationship of Energy spent by Energy produced. Thus, it is worth saying that the healthy conditions of the First World's producers result from the suction of energy spent by billions of the Third World's producers.

That world's high life expectancy feeds on the low life expectancy of the Third World's billions of poor and needy people.

And, worst of all, and, itself, a paradox is that, Technological Progress, as it moves ahead, dismisses large numbers of labour performers, that is, workers, in order to keep hoarding more and more Energy mystified behind money and Space expressed in prestige and power.

In this insatiable quest for SPACE and ENERGY, the holders of Spaces and Power give to Technology the courses which suit them best, even if they are polluting the planet with chemicals and the cities and the world with the excluded, the unwanted and the hungry. It is through them that violence and criminality are sown in the urban area system. At the same time, the holders of Spaces and Power seek their own interests, in the clashes between peoples, between countries, in wars, as a way out from or a solution to unemployment, located in the final circuit of the "boomerang" which is the course taken by the current technological progress.

Finally, the advent of Language has ceaselessly contributed to the change of MATTER, MOVEMENT, TIME, ENERGY AND SPACE.

Language establishes culture; on the other hand, rational thinking, born from the social relations of production, establishes the advent of science and technological progress shaped as productive forces and impose social transformations of techno-scientific character.

Thus, conflicts between peoples and countries, like conflicts between classes and the conflicts of the unemployed, ultimately, in their essence, express the dialectic categories of MOVEMENT, and MATTER, aiming equity concerning the usage possibilities of ENERGY , TIME and SPACE (social and physical).

In view of this reality of labour and ecological sides to the Technological Progress Crisis, the UNIR must mobilise and organise the largest amount of human resources, with a double target: to improve, even more, the quality of scientific research and to raise productivity. University studies are dedicated to sciences "ipso facto" and the production of scientists as well.

So, the importance of the ideal of creating and structuring an Integrated System of Scientific Researches, dedicated mainly to Regional Development; an Integrated system because it will involve the majority of the students devoted to scientific research, even in the first semesters of their careers.

All are involved in research lines, systematically feeding with empirical data from their papers the dissertation of the master's students, who will, in turn, with scientific analyses, feed the theses of the Doctor's degree candidates.

That is the model used for centuries by Germans at the University of Rostock and, in Berlin, at the University of Humboldt, which have been awarded 26 Nobel Prizes, including Planck's and Einstein's. Besides, it has been the home of great thinkers, such as Hegel, Marx and Freud.

Note

[1] The word "capacitation" does not have in English the same meaning as in Spanish or Portuguese. "Training" is the word closest in meaning to "capacitação" and "capacitación" (Note of the translator). For further understanding of "capacitation", see note 10 on p. 32 and note 2. on pp. 731-32 (editors).

42

Learning with Africa

Jacinta Castelo Branco Correia

Introduction

In this article, we have presented discussions on the outcomes of the 2003 evaluation conducted by this Researcher, of the Organization Workshop (OW) method, as used in the Chiuta District (Mozambique) Development Programme, run under the aegis of the Norwegian "Norwegian Popular Aid (NPA)", a Non Government Organization (NGO), which had been working in that country since 1993. The network TADIA, besides studying the African diaspora in Asia, also hopes, thanks to this event, to contribute to solutions to the unemployment problem in Africa as well as in Asia, this being the topic under discussion in the workshops dealing with the socio-economic questions affecting the Siddis. The focus of this article might also be of interest to the so-called "Third World", in general, as well as to the economic "peripheries" of the so-called "First World" whose populations, tired of waiting for government action, need to be capacitated to offer solutions, in an organized manner.

If social inclusion-oriented productive organizations do not receive the necessary help, then, the unemployment driven "hidden war" will happen on a world scale, as described in the Brazilian newspaper "*Diario de Pernambuco*", by Clodomir Santos de Morais, more than ten years ago. Because wars, at least, have a target, whether it be a justified one or not, with a logic and organization of their own. What will occur, in this case, will be a universal anomy, or total chaos, in one seamless wave of barbarism. And as the Third World likes to copy the First, in protests involving arson, vandalism and terrorist acts on a large scale committed by an excluded population, whose patience has run out waiting for a miracle, it is necessary for someone who is able to understand and help them to intervene. Walter Benjamin warned exactly about this eventuality, before the Nazis' victory. He said that the revolutionaries had a proposition for the workers but not for the unemployed and the lumpens, who increased exponentially in the face of the crisis and were increasingly used by the Nazis.

In the present case, those who are called the excluded were domesticated by assistancialism[1] that, historically, tried to frustrate their autonomous capacities for fear that this might lead to revolution, in the case of capitalism, or to counter-revolution, in the case of socialism. Now, the absence of their autonomous capability to act leads to a dearth of perspective and hope. They become the "*Welfare State's orphans*", under either mode of production, given the fact that both regimes go through crises and changes which lead them to cut down rights, which once were considered sacred and which concern the crucial areas such as health, education, housing and retirement pension.

To organize the excluded masses, so that they take their history in their own hands and build their future, appears to be exactly the kind of help which could be provided in the short-term to all those who, in many parts of the world, form the vast majority of the population: those without hope and those who lost patience waiting. In that sense, the OW method is an important tool towards achieving this, and the African experience is one excellent example.

This article has proposed to analyze only the specific case of how the OW method was used in Mozambique by NPA, during the period, 2000 to 2003. The data were collected within the following localities of the Chiúta District, which, in turn, is part of Tete region, in the North of Mozambique: Mpondo, Zuze, Golowi, Chicoco, Cachere and Manje. Data were also collected in Tete city itself and in the capital of the country, Maputo. This restriction appears justified because of time limitations and the difficult access due to bad road conditions (and the researcher's fear of landmines). 252 persons were interviewed, mainly for the purpose of collecting qualitative data, among the communities participating in these events and among the authorities involved, in addition to the NPA technicians who were directly responsible for carrying out the activities.

The documentary research consisted of access to partial reports and other documents that were made available to us by Mr. Frank Phiri, Manager of the Development Programme, and by the NPA's Mozambican Resident Representative, the psychologist Isabel de Labra.

Historical and Geographical Location of the Development Programme

Mozambique, at the moment of the evaluation, was undergoing a new historical phase thanks to an uninterrupted period of peace. The municipal elections which occurred in November 2003, and the Presidential elections announced for 2004 were some of the many steps towards the consolidation of democracy and the new directions taken by the country both in politics and economics. The country covers an area of 801,590 sq. kms. with a population of 17.98 million. Its economy is very much dependent on foreign aid which accounts for 60 per cent of its national budget, although it has to be said that things have been even worse before, as not so long ago this figure was 80 per cent, according to the authorities; it has also to be pointed out that Mozambique is taking important steps, questionable or not, to create the right conditions which will allow the country to, some day, become really independent from the predatory alien forces. Indeed, no sooner had it gained independence from Portugal in 1975, it got involved in a civil war. Mozambique went through successive transition phases, either *political* in character - implying challenges to build a new post-colonial and post-socialist country, to wrest itself from a single party system and into a plural-party one, or *economic* in character, leaving centralized planning behind in favour of a globalized, decentralised market economy favourable to privatization policies.

All this meant that progress was combined with predictions of increasing poverty and unemployment, taking into account what happened in Latin American countries which followed this risky recipe. So, wracked by contradictions, Mozambique is trying to make real the official propaganda line that says that now it is possible to believe in *peace* and in the *future*, the two terms which are forever part of the official discourse. The danger is that, if any slip-up occurs in the process of abandoning the immediate global and neo-liberal present for a belief in the future, Mozambique may, in actual fact, go back to the past, barely changing the face of its colonizer in the process. For this reason, it is vital to increase the bargaining power of its people by strengthening their critical consciousness. This can be done through mass "capacitation" in a new kind of organization, committed to facing up to the negative aspects of the above mentioned policy, so as to be able to benefit from its positive aspects.

The difficult situation the country is in today is due to the conflict situations it went through, which resulted in the population running away to neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe, Malawi and Tanzania, and their return being complicated by the prevailing unemployment and poverty situation in the country.

As if this were not enough, Mozambicans who were working in East Germany returned after the fall of the Berlin Wall and swelled the lines of the unemployed. At the moment, when the evaluation was being made, in October and November of 2003, there were demonstrations in the streets, with former workers of the former GDR claiming workers' rights, paid by the Germans to the Mozambican Government. The demonstrators claimed that it was never given to them and they were made to return to their country without any prospects for a better life.

Another post-war characteristic was the arrival of international aid through several NGOs coming from European countries. Some of them stood out. NPA, which, at the beginning, was meant to bring back refugees, from where it went on to implementing a Mine Clearing Programme, followed by a Development Programme which also sought to approach the issue of dissemination of knowledge about HIV/AIDS. It moreover sought to deal with other themes, with special emphasis on gender, ecological issues, access to water and incentives to small family farm production; all of these were approaches which were made during its ten-year programme of work.

NPA wanted to be an NGO with a performance different from others, characterized by the participation of the ones which benefit from it, in order to avoid what Mia Couto already alerted us to, in the preface to the book by Hernandez (2005: 11).

Africa suffers from a triple constraint: it is prisoner of a past invented by others, it is tied to the present imposed on it from outside and, even so, it remains subject to goals set by international institutions which command its economy.

The Objectives of the Development Programme

The Development Programme was rolled out in Chiúta, in 1993, at the behest of the District Administration. Chiúta is a rural district, with 64,000 inhabitants, located to the North of Tete on a road that goes to Zambia. During the war, heavy armed confrontations were accompanied by atrocities inflicted on the population and damage caused to the infrastructure. Although NPA, since 1994, participated in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of schools and in the free distribution of school materials to distant localities of the district, only in 1997 were the objectives of the Development Programme more clearly defined, and an option taken for participative methods in planning and action.

As a result, from 2000, the OW method was introduced, which included an initial training of a team in 2001, and the adoption of the "Field OW" (FOW) form, which brought a new dimension to the programme and a new focus to the participatory methodologies already in use for the planning stages of the Programme.

It is important to bear in mind that, in this case, apart from using the OW in order to achieve the usual objectives, such as popular organization for the building of infrastructure and for employment and income generation, a strategy evolved associating the training used by the "Development Programme" to the "Mine Clearing Programme", implemented by the same NGO, so as to train the community members in mine clearing, thereby ensuring independence from the high costs otherwise charged by private services and/or by the delayed action by the public services in each site that was identified. The urgency of the need for mine clearing, apart from the obvious reasons, had to do with the fact that, during the rainy season, the areas demarcated and isolated as "mine areas" changed, as the force of the rainwater would carry the mines to other places.

General Results of the Programme: Its Effectiveness in Practice

In relation to the Programme as a whole, it was possible, during its ten-year existence, to observe that the objectives were achieved, including the carrying out of actions which had not been planned for at first. In all, there were welfare improvements of several types, from the construction of schools, health centres, adult education centres and women seed distribution centres, road construction to the drilling of semi-artisan wells. The impact of those actions, in quantity and quality, were in a large part responsible for the NPA being seen as an NGO different from the others operating in Mozambique.

Organization Workshops (OWs)

The large group organizational *capacitation*[2] method, known in English as

"Organization Workshop (OW)" (see, Carmen and Sobrado 2000) was created by the Brazilian Clodomir Santos de Morais and systematized in his doctoral thesis in the late eighties at the University of Rostock, Germany (Morais 1987). It has been in use, in practice, though, since the early sixties, when the first experiments were carried out by the Brazilian popular organization known as the "Peasant Leagues".

After the author's return from exile, the method started being used by the United Nations programmes and agencies such as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) with their several objectives, such as the creation of peasant enterprises in order to make agricultural production economically viable in areas where agrarian reform was being carried out. The Honduran case was an outstanding example of the former; or the optimization of existing businesses or associations, as happened in the Mexican case; or the formation of a central Trade Union as was the case in the newly independent African countries, when training courses for instructors for Africa were held in Switzerland in the early eighties (Labra and de Labra, 2000: 132); or to help improving the cooperative system, as was the case in Portugal, with events covering nearly the whole country.

The advantage of this methodology lies in the fact that it generates organizational capabilities in the groups involved while, at the same time, providing them with professional training in subjects chosen freely by the participants, as happens in some cases, or, in other instances, related to the infrastructure project that needs to be built (Correia 2002). These activities become the initial project of the course's enterprise, which represent the organizational challenge, functioning as "*objective activity*" (Leontiev 1981), which generates needs for those involved who, while tackling them hands-on, also, and at the same time, acquire the necessary skills in the organization of their chosen professional pursuits.

There are four types of Organisation Workshops (Morais 1987): the Course OW (COW), the Centre OW (CEOW), the Enterprise OW (EOW), and the Field OW (FOW). There are many differences and similarities between the different types of Workshops, but basically, one may say that the Centre OW and Course OW are geared to the training of OW directors. They take place in an enclosed space, like a boarding school, while, in the other two, in the Enterprise and Field OWs, the participating group becomes capacitated in the place where they are, without the need for a closed shop.

The Course OW has the objective of fostering social participation systems of various kinds: identification of projects, promotion of cooperative spirit and rural development. About forty to sixty technicians are trained in a confined space and they, in turn, train their counterparts in the field, known as *Project Auxiliaries* (PAs) in their local communities. In the latter, conducted in an open space, for 15 to 21 days, the participants share what they have learnt, in a concise way, and it is accessible to people with lower levels of education and literacy, in economically deprived areas. The auxiliaries then identify proposals for enterprises. They, together with the technicians, set up what is known as the Enterprise and Income Generation Identification Project (EIGIP) (also known as SIPGER in Portuguese/Spanish). Once an EIGIP is set up, it will take on a life of its own, free from the institution that sponsored its setting up.

The Centre Organization Workshop (CEOW), as mentioned above, happens in an enclosed space, in a rural area, and the practical activities of the courses must provide support to agriculture and animal husbandry, while the group capacitates itself in organization. Several types of courses are offered, depending on the participants' choices, with those connected to the sustainability of the Centre accorded priority, including courses in administration and accountancy for cooperative associations, secretarial courses, community journalism and others, along with cattle vaccination, small animal husbandry, agricultural techniques etc.

Agricultural produce is what meets the need for food of the group. Not only must they learn to grow it, but also to market it, because they themselves will have to buy the things that the Centre does not have. Apart from this, they will have to leave behind, for the next group that comes to the Capacitation Centre, a crop area ready for use, exactly like the one they received for produce marketing.

As for the Enterprise OW (EOW), this is aimed at bringing lagging businesses up to speed and up to capacity, in the very process of organizing an OW on the spot. A business in trouble is reorganized and its staff gets pertinent training courses, which tackle the type of project that the business is implementing. It also seeks to meet the demand for courses required by the surrounding community so as to generate sympathy and synergy towards the business which is trying to recover. That is because, in order to achieve its aims, the business will need the support of the surrounding community.

The logic behind this form of capacitation is self-management, involving employees, their families and the surrounding community. It may be either a business created by a previous workshop or a traditional business which, going through difficulties, makes a deal with the workers so as to pay off salary debts. Those workers are trained and they take over the business under a new organizational model.

The Field OW (FOW) aims at the capacitation of the group in organization and in pre-professional topics, with 80 hour courses on several technical professions of the basic type or of cultural motivation.

The event begins with the group's immediate access to general subject courses so that, from that point onwards, new knowledge about organization can be built, generating the development of large enterprise management skills (the minimum number of participants required is 40 with no upper limit, except those imposed by the constraints of the place where the FOW takes place). The Workshop, therefore, accepts participants of all ages and with any level of schooling, including illiterates. The OW also copes with all cultural differences and particular preferences. Of the four Workshops, the Field Workshop (FOW) is the most democratic and holistic one, as entire families attend the event at the same time, the old and the young, and provided that the right conditions are met, everybody can learn whatever they want to.

Aditionally, FOW capacitates, in the field, future directors and technicians, the instructors of this kind of event working side by side with the more experienced. The former will be selected as prospective directors or technicians of the so-called "Primary Structure", which is a team of multifaceted instructors who both teach classes and also assist in the organization of the group.

The Field OW takes place in the proximity of the participants' homes. It is the participants themselves who organize the event from the word go. They decide when and where the classes will be held and they make up a course list and a list of course applicants. Sometimes the community provides the event with instructors in special skills, when the organizing team cannot meet the demand, although its instructors are multifaceted, which means that each one is able to teach different courses.

The NPA Experience with OWs

To come back to the case of Mozambique, adjustments had to be made to the FOW, to make the courses on offer "fit" within the NPA objectives and goals as laid out in the NPA infrastructure recovery project and in the approaches to a number of other issues such as environment, gender, AIDS etc. It was not possible, due to several limitations, to broaden the range of courses to meet the demands of the several age groups in the community, even their private objectives and their income generation needs, as the NPA priority was the building of infrastructure (schools, dams, secondary roads, wells, etc).

Another adjustment was needed to be made to the Workshop Directors' Course OW (as already mentioned, workshop directors are usually trained during the Field OW, through practice), without the knowledge and skills multiplication which usually follow the indoor workshop, so that a network of auxiliary-coordinated self-managing enterprises could be created. Those who were trained, instead, had to conduct OWs as decided by the NPA.

The goal of the NPA was also to prepare human resource cadres for the mine-clearing programme which, as mentioned before, needed to massively spread the knowledge on how to clear mines safely, and to increase the number of Development Programme Directors for the rebuilding of more infrastructure or the construction of other, new ones. This strategy conceived by NPA Resident Representative, the aforementioned psychologist Isabel Labra, generated the conditions for institutional resource optimization, making use of the mines-theme itself to organizationally capacitate massively all those involved in this programme, after which they could use that knowledge to solve other problems, which, most of the times, they could solve by themselves, with a minimum of organisational skills in their enterprise.

During the FOW held in October 2003, Angolans who had already participated in the FOW in Angola, led by the Psychologist Ivan Labra, were trained so that the Mozambican experience with both the programmes could be taken to Angola.

A good number of NPA OW activities in Chiuta were carried out with great success in 2001 and 2002, thanks to the technicians' commitment to the method and its ideals. 425 people, among whom 97 were women, participated in the OW events.

The enterprises created were of different kinds: one carpentry workshop involving 11 participants (men) in Mange, two small enterprises in Kaunda (a blacksmith workshop and a brass workshop) involving two participants (men), one company which digs wells with 16 participants (men), one road building enterprise with 38 participants (five women among them), and one restaurant in Zuse with four participants (women). The other participants who did not start up enterprises still benefited from being capacitated with the possibilities of starting up enterprises later on.

Some Qualitative Aspects to Highlighting the Field OWs

This method also includes a Development Fund, which consists of cash for small expenses to be used during the event. This fund also creates a need for keeping accounts, which results in capacitation in budgeting and expenditure control. As a general rule, during the FOWs, the Fund is handed over to the Group rather than being divided up among individuals, which is different from what is done in the COW, where each participant receives a scholarship and there is still a small fund to be used by the group for emergency expenses of the business created for pedagogical purposes.

As an adaptation of the FOW to the Mozambican situation, the Fund was given in the course of the workshop, as an individual scholarship, the way it is done in the COW context. This adjustment notwithstanding, there were positive results, benefiting either individuals or families, but also indirectly benefiting the entire community. In general, when this fund is optimized during the FOW, it can generate surplus to finance the start-up of a large scale collective enterprise. When individual or family enterprises are created, these may join up, over time, into second generation enterprises (an enterprise made up of enterprises) in order to, in the beginning, optimize their purchasing and selling efforts, and afterwards, their production.

At any rate, in the case of Mozambique, the impact on the community immediately after each event was all too plain to see. The women, for example, would come together in order to form small enterprises such as a restaurant, a clothes shop or a goat or pig breeding outfit, and they would still have some cash left for emergencies; the men, on the other hand, would buy young goats, cows, bicycles, or use the money to get married (Correia 2003).

A bicycle, costing the equivalent of three goats in an area of absolute poverty, in a region with no animals for transport or traction could be used both to transport sick people, who, in the past, had to walk or be carried in a hammock to the nearest town, and to transport goods to market. In the latter case, the emergence of a new type of service should be included: the "*bicycle-taxi*", used to transport those who got off the bus. Without the "taxi", they would have to walk 10 kms. and sometimes even more, to their villages or houses, since not all of them live in villages, and even worse, they would have to transport their goods on their backs (Correia 2003).

Even though, the tertiary roads built during the OW event were suitable for use, and, though, it was possible to find women volunteers to do the maintenance work, two situations were found to arise in some communities: in the first case, the community gave up on the maintenance of those roads, waiting for the public services to do the job; the second was that everything worked as expected and that there were teams which took care of the maintenance.

The reason for the community giving up on the maintenance of the roads can be interpreted in two ways. One, that "waiting" can be interpreted as positive as it reflected people becoming aware of the existence of the State, which made them into citizens with rights and entitlements. On the other hand, the "waiting" can mean accommodation/inaction, a cultural characteristic inherited from the colonial times, reinforced after the war by the assistancialist policies of the NGOs.

The technicians explained that it was always agreed that, after the workshops, the teams would take turns to carry out the maintenance work of the wells, schools, dikes and roads. The same technicians also confirmed that the OWs at least did not allow for inaction, as the community learned to apply the technical division of labour and that, for this reason, there was never an undue reliance on one person only, i.e., the "leader". Thanks to the new organizational technology, the leader was replaced by a group organized along work committee lines. Thus, a multiplicity of leaders was born and everyone was made responsible.

This organizational technology contrasts with the way they behaved before the event, when they demonstrated strong signs of "artisan" consciousness (Morais 1987) which was marked by individualism, self–sufficiency, disbelief in productive associative activities, etc. When they got involved in complex organizational activities, having become leaders, the individuals, overcome by the multiplicity of the tasks at hand, found it impossible to pay attention to their own "*machamba*" (cultivated plot), or their own family. The technicians explained that other NGOs did "respect" people's "culture", understood in that way, while desisting from helping them to learn to work in a different way.

It is important here to highlight Mia Couto's preface mentioned above (Hernández 2005: 12), where she says that:

> *"Another common feature in this effort to try and give a face to the African Continent is the weight that tends to be given to tradition. As if other peoples in other continents did not have traditions, as if the past, in those other places, did not affect their present. As a result, Africans become easily explainable. Invoking anthropological, ethnic, or ethnographic reasons suffices. Others, Europeans or Americans, are complex beings with social, historical, economic and family relations."*

Nevertheless, it is worth elaborating on the cultural theme bearing in mind another phenomenon linked to what could be termed as "colonial hang up": in the interviews people were asked about what they did differently after the event from what they learned to do during the event. All their replies referred to rebuilding of infrastructure for communal use such as a church, more schools, housing improvement, etc. When they were asked whether they had used the organizational technology with which they had learned to organize, for example, for their traditional community celebrations, they would promptly reply that they had not thought of doing so "because it did not cross our minds that we could do so", meaning that they had not thought it was "permitted" to do so (i.e., for traditional events).

The interviewees would agree that it was a good idea to use the organizational technology for other things also, "because, it is very difficult for the person in charge of the party to do everything by himself or herself", which sounded like they needed the permission from their instructors to make other uses of what they had learned, applying the knowledge used in (re)construction to the cultural arena and other areas covering their collective needs. For private family consideration, however, it was possible to observe that some women started to assign household chores to their children and husbands, as they had learned to do at the event.

The *"Discapacitation Phenomenon"*

Another explanation for the already mentioned phenomenon of "inaction" on the part of some ex-OW participants can be traced to what Sobrado (2000) refers to as the "*Discapacitation Phenomenon*". This explanation is derived from the concept of *"objective activity"*. It is the presence of object which generates needs which motivate the individual to capacitate himself. In the same way, it is the absence of object and the paternalism that substitutes itself for object, which lead to *discapacitation*. Thus, the absence of object is normally the generator of organizational challenge. In the case of Mozambique, if a company for infra-structure rebuilding works and another one which was to be substituted for it, which were built up from other courses, were to offer themselves simultaneously to those needed for the rebuilding process, they would have caused that group to ditch what had been learnt.

Sometimes, the "bad habit" of forever having to "wait" was the result of the NGOs' or the Government's own assistancialist interventions, which meant that the needs, which were normally generated by the object, were dealt without any need for organized collective action. Assistancialist interventions dealt with all those needs beforehand, thus inhibiting any need for the community initiative and, as a result, also inhibiting the skills learned in the process. The "object" ceased to exist because an adequate *capacitation* plan was lacking.

The Development Fund itself, which should function as an *"indivisible pool"* (Morais 1987), is given in the form of individual salaries rather than to the group. It is worth mentioning here that the illiteracy rate, in some communities, exceeded 95 per cent, especially among adults, among whom women predominated. It is interesting to point out that at issue here is not only the inability to write, but also to speak Portuguese, which is recognized to be Mozambique's official language by the majority of the population of the area under study.

To this linguistic exclusion must be added the exclusion from a minimum level of citizenship rights which begins with the documentation of registering a person, from the moment of birth, as a citizen with full civil rights. Who could possibly be interested in taking care of so many non-documented people in a border region, inhabited by very poor folk who had returned from the exile in neighbouring countries, in a country in which, like Brazil, people, mostly women and children, had fallen victims to prostitution, drug trafficking or even the organ transplant trade, even though interviewees tended to express reservations about the latter, reflecting the fact that this, as yet, was not a serious problem in Mozambique. Some doubt could be cast on this, however, given the fact that so little value was given to human life when one was born in a country like Brazil or Mozambique, replete with socio–economic contrasts, where the neediest were not cared for, and people grew up and died and made their passage through the world without the majority of the population ever being registered.

Field OW (FOW) and AIDS

In keeping with the observations made, the FOW was seen as highly positive from several points of view, but some consultants, in their partial reports drawn up at the behest of NPA, remarked on the increased risk of AIDS contamination during the FOW due to hundreds of people being together in one place for several days. But what could have been a problem became a solution: the FOW coped with that problem as a group making the FOW into a mass information organ about the spread of AIDS. Considering the fact that Chiuta was in the international corridor to Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi, this was a problem that had to be taken into account very carefully (Correia 2003).

The Sustainability of "Post FOW" Work

The sustainability of the work carried out during the FOW, in the absence of the technical team which organized the training, depended on the adequate design of the event in accordance with local characteristics and the conditions that followed after the event, so that the group could gradually replace the persons and materials from outside the community with its own. The group must work with its own people, now trained, and with the equipment at hand and all possible alternative materials which could be mobilized by them thanks to their organized action.

It is important that this transition be carried out before the end of the event because, from that moment onwards, the sponsoring team can only return on the basis of a formal invitation or to assist with the negotiation of projects. As for the enterprise that was set up, as any other enterprise in the market, it must pursue its own survival and find solutions to its own problems with existing institutions. Paternalism, in those cases, always inhibits *capacitation.* A Brazilian saying has it that: "one should not waste candles on bad people when they die", meaning that, if the group does not move forward to achieve what is needed, using the tools they learned to apply, there is no point in spending energy to keep them alive in an artificial or paternalistic way.

The reason for this is simple. Every enterprise born from an FOW is temporary. Its continued existence depended on two conditions: one objective and the other, subjective. The former has to do with whether the material conditions for the continuity of the enterprise's work exist: a place, however simple, equipment and personnel in large enough numbers to allow for the technical division of labour. The other condition, subjective this time, resides in the group's need for an enterprise in which to organize, which, relying on the level of capacitation achieved during the process, will prompt them to either look for substitutes to the equipment which was available during the event, or to facilitate the production of goods and/or services.

As for the Chiuta communities, a technical decision was made which is important to put on record and explain: the communities, where companies for the rebuilding of infrastructure were formed, and implemented on a temporary basis, following guidelines laid down by a NPA for the method, but only one of these enjoyed the right conditions allowing it to continue to exist after the event, namely, the one which was allowed to keep the equipment used during the FOW for the rebuilding of infrastructure. This was due to the fact, according to what the interviewees reported, to prevent that there would be competition within a short distance between enterprises of the same type.

Those FOW graduates who were not able to continue with their rebuilding enterprises reported that it was easy for them to get jobs due to the knowledge gained during the event. Their success prompted the women in those communities to request for the FOW to return to their area, so that, this time around, they could learn "*the same as the men did, because they, too, needed jobs*". It is important to see here one consequence of the FOW, i.e, its ability to contribute, amidst the lethal unemployment crossfire, to make adaptations to the traditional roles of both men and women within the community.

As regards the problem of bringing to a conclusion the infrastructures remaining unfinished during the FOW, the tendency was that the community would continue to organize until the conclusion of the event. The opposite only occurred when there were difficulties in getting materials, due to the fact that the community was not in a position to do so. One example of this was that of cement: current legislation required that schools must be built using cement. It was also used in dam construction because of the water pressure involved.

The problem of cement also prevented the community from building new schools or new dams of their own, forcing them into dependency on NGO intervention to finance buying cement. Because of this, the organizational technology learnt could not be put to good effect, nor was it transferred to other activities, such as in the area of cultural events, for reasons already explained.

> *"The capacity to acquire new knowledge is what is expected from the organizational capacitation process, rather than mere mechanical repetition, ad infinitum, of already known practices. The transformation of social consciousness is reported to be a consequence of new practices, translated in fearlessness with which they directly dealt with the authorities about their problems, the boldness to receive visitors, the awareness of their rights and responsibilities, and the overcoming of gender questions and taboos"* (Correia 2003).

Gender

As in some villages, the activities related to civil reconstruction were replete with prohibitions for the women due to cultural taboos. It was great to learn that they participated in the events in larger or smaller numbers (in each OW there was a different percentage of them present). Anyway, they were the first to benefit from the facilitated access to water coming from the semi-artisan wells.

Unfortunately, for reasons already mentioned, organizational capacitation and pre-professional training, in some cases (albeit not all), remained essentially in the hands of men, in spite of the special emphasis laid on gender-related work by NPA. Questions raised by the women were of the type asked by most women: they had no-one to leave the children with; even when husbands or the cultural constraints did not prevent them from doing work; on their return from the event, they would be overburdened with domestic tasks because their husbands would not help them with it; and someone had to take care of the garden.

It is important to note that, at the time of the evaluation, the women would ask for the courses normally meant for men, i.e., those to do with the aforementioned rebuilding works, the so-called "*men's courses*", to be provided for the women now, because they wanted to get a job and have their own money, they argued. Nevertheless, there was still a significant group of women, including those who asked for "men's courses", who also asked for sewing, crochet and midwifery courses.

It came to this researcher's attention that the women in those communities did not know how to preserve food which was abundant at the harvest time, such as fruit. They knew neither how to make pickles (food kept in a vacuum with salt and vinegar or lemon); nor did they know how to make sweets, marmalade, cheese, nor how to dry fruits, etc. The Workshop could have spread this kind of knowledge, although the lack of local raw materials would probably have prevented some of those ideas from being carried out, however easy they might look to the urban eyes.

Other requests from the women were loans for small enterprises, with the understanding that they return what they received. They thus illustrated what it was possible to do with horticulture provided they had some money for the seeds.

According to the community's men:

> *"There is no problem with men and women working together. Things are changing here now. We are women in the government of Mozambique. In the past nobody used to think about that. In the past the women could not learn how to read and write and even now this is still a problem because since the colonial time, this has been seen as a step just short of prostitution"* (Correia 2003).
>
> *"The partial reports found in the NPA archives and which were analyzed by this researcher also proved that there was an improvement in the access to technology and resources, in education and training possibilities, increasing the opportunities and the options of activities economically viable in the rural area. Thanks to the LOT the women had the possibility to organize themselves through organized work"* (Correia 2003).

Men's Opinion in Communities where the LOT was held:

> *"The male interviewees provided important information saying that they were surprised with the results of the event. Only around 20 per cent gave up participating in the LOT because they did not understand what it was, or because they thought that there would not be any benefit or that it was a joke. Only until they were no longer students, did they become an entrepreuners. Thus they got contracts to build roads and semi-artisan wells in several places working for NPA, and other NGOs. With the money from the*

> *contracts, they paid those who worked, but they put 10 per cent aside for a fund which they used to finance the partners' trip to the city of Tete in order to participate in events and to cover the expenses of new contract negotiations and as a reserve for emergencies. Marketing was very important because the traders came to do business exchanging the community's products for theirs. They came mainly from Zambia and Malawi, and brought kalapunas,[3] plates, bicycles, radios, hoes, pans, salt, etc. The company was called Chuma-Chirinthaka, which in Nbana (language spoken in Chiuta) means, "Life lies in work with the land". "It is what we believe in. Here, we plant rice, corn, peanuts, sugar cane, bananas, oranges, mangoes, beans, onions, kale,papayas, and tomatoes*" (Correia 2003).

As for what they considered to be important for their future, they mentioned a corn mill, the creation of a peasant association for purchasing and selling products and construction of a dam for irrigation.

Advantages of the FOWs According to the NPA Technicians:

Here is a synthesis of the OWs' advantages, seen from the point of view of the technicians who carried out the work in the communities researched, and who had already worked with other methods, in accordance with the aforementioned report (Correia 2003):

- The FOWs met their objectives. There was a definite difference between the groups trained in the FOW and those that were not.
- The duration of the courses and other differences: more people in less time.
- In the past, there was only one kind of training for all; in the FOW, the training was more flexible, and what was done was in accordance with what the community needed, and said what they needed.
- There was a quick initial impact soon after the circulation of the Development Fund money.
- The construction of the required infrastructure was carried out by the community and because they built it, they valued it.
- The reactions of the community to the visitors had improved because now they knew how to receive visitors.
- The influence of macho male myths and traditions had diminished. These were apparent at the beginning of the FOW in the seating arrangements during lectures or in the activities disaggregated by gender. Eventually, that distribution started obeying the inevitable logic of the technical division of labour.
- The time taken for the construction of schools diminished.
- On the other hand, the FOW was helpful for the local administration, because it offered a training environment for institutions too. When a joint project

was set up, it endeavoured, with partners and with the community, to provide solutions.

- The partners and the community technicians participated and were capacitated. However, in the hiring and progress monitoring stage the lack of personal identification documents tended to hinder the company's registration. The number of people without ID in the communities could be as much as 80 per cent. A joint government action was needed to solve this problem.
- The landmine problem in the Chiuta area was already under control; the problem now is unemployment and marketing, which needed to be studied more deeply, because merely opening a new road would not solve the problem by itself; capacitation was needed to identify market niches.
- Infrastructure works had improved in quality.
- As for community organizations, the FOWs met their objectives.
- Water helped a lot. It was collected in a safe way through a hole from where it was extracted by means of a pump; so there was no point in using contaminated utensils and this prevented many diseases. The better quality roads allowed connection between communities. Their construction was labour intensive so they could not be compared to those built with the help of machines. In spite of that, they were important to the community, because the government only cared about the main roads and not the tertiary ones, which the community had to build and maintain. People understood that as it was they who built the road, it belonged to them. Therefore, they took care of it.
- Another fact we observed was people's own home improvement thanks to what they learnt. There was no point in thinking of production enterprises here, as they were too far away from the trading centres.
- Another positive point was that the Organization Theory influenced their way of life in an indirect way, and this helped their agricultural production. The government had a programme called "School – Community Link" which carried out school maintenance together with the people, who were trained to take grass off, repair water damage, etc.
- When the FOW method was used, the constructions which were started were more likely to get finished, because the community was involved. In the past, when NPA hired outside contractors, the community used to lose interest doing their part of the job and often abandoned the work. Besides, the money, which remained helped the community.
- So far, the Development Programme has made a big leap, which started with a seminar attended by the method theorists, Isabel and Ivan Labra. They taught us a lot and it is their disciples who organize the OWs now. In the past, the participatory planning was a big leap in the dark, as it was up to

other people to carry it out. Now participatory planning has a delivery instrument: the OWs.

- There was the knowledge multiplication factor. Those who participated taught those who did not. When one compared the "before" and "after" - FOW, a visible improvement in the communities' standard of living could be observed. The FOW had the potential to do much more. On the other hand, there were new areas that FOW could deal with, such as: land rights, human rights, in general, youth and women's rights.
- As for other benefits, we can point out that the fact that the resources remaining in the community were of great benefit because they reduced poverty. The Maravia and Chiuta Districts were chosen as the Pilot Districts for Budget Decentralization. It was the use of the methodology which allowed these communities to be able to participate and express what they needed. This was a World Bank's Project.
- There was, moreover, the creation of the District Development Committees. With all that, if Development meant, according to some authors, first and foremost a change of mentality, could we say that the method achieved that? Were we using it correctly? Could it be done in another way?

Conclusion

Actually, the reason why the NPA technicians' opinions conclude this article is, because their experience showed the potential of the method as to community organization, not only to get jobs or income, or to build infrastructure, but to trigger off a development process at a new level which could generate social justice, economic viability and ecological balance. Unfortunately, the short space of time available, which had been taken up already, inhibited a more analytical record of NPA activities in Mozambique. However, it must be pointed out that, undoubtedly, this was an NGO different from others, at least as regards its activities in Mozambique, in the period analysed, which was concentrated on solving emergency situations such as the return of refugees and the landmine clearing process, within a concept which Raff Carmen calls "*Autonomous Development*".

Notes

[1] Top-down provision of "assistance" to supposedly passive, "needy" groups, mainly on the part of the State, but also by NGOs, in the form of aid, charity, philanthropy as well as patronizing development projects.

[2] The term "Capacitation" (From Port: capacitação) does not exist in English as a separate educational term. While "capacitation" does contain elements of "training" and "instruction", it is nevertheless generically different from the latter. Capacitation goes beyond mere linear transmission of knowledge from individual trainer/teacher/instruction to trainee, — as typically happens in "training" or even "capacity-building" – and operates (best) in large groups, where learning happens through direct

interaction of a large group with the/a (complex), commonly "owned" "object". ("Objective/-ised Activity") (English translator's note) Raff Carmen.

[3] Printed, colourful "chitenge" cloth, universally worn by women in southern Africa.

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43

Community Organisation Across Cultures: Lessons Learnt from the Contextualisation of Organisation Workshops in Southern Africa

Isabel de Labra and Ivan Labra

1. Introduction

In the seventies, the Organisation Workshop (OW) approach made a big impact in Honduras, Central America, within the framework of the agrarian reform of the nationalist government led by General Lopez Alvarado. The PROCCARA (Campesino Capacitation Programme for the Agrarian Reform of Food and Agriculture Organisation FAO-Honduras Government) hosted 217 OWs attended by 17,400 small poor farmers, representing 39 per cent of the total number of families settled in newly acquired agricultural land. This was the foundation for the establishment of the largest membership enterprises of Latin America. In 1995, 66 of the original settlements continued to work within a second-grade agricultural complex cultivating 5,200 has of African Oil Palm.

Still in the seventies, a method that was able to make an entrepreneur out of a small, poor peasant farmer could not go unchallenged. Anastasio Somoza, the dictator of neighbouring Nicaragua, set off a press campaign against the OW in Honduras, amongst a series of measures which brought the Agrarian Reform to a halt (and toppled down the government itself). The malicious press campaign ended with the closing of the PROCCARA. The sacked technicians regrouped in the Honduras Institute of Rural Development (IHDER), a HIVOS funded NGO which continued the implementation of the method for some years whilst Clodomir Morais, the author of the OW method, began work for the ILO giving technical assistance to the Sandinista Government.

By the early 80s, Ian Cherret, the HIVOS representative to Central America who had been instrumental in the creation of IHDER, was about to move to newly independent Zimbabwe, and contacted the authors in Nicaragua to explore the possibilities of bringing the OW to Southern Africa. This materialised in 1987. Until 2003, the authors directed more than 60 OWs, attended by about 10,000 participants in Botswana, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique, South Africa and Angola. Working initially under HIVOS-sponsored local Non Government Organisation (NGO)s, they were later consulted by major International NGOs like Save the Children USA, Weltfriedendienst, Redd Barna, Norwegian Peoples´Aid, Concern Worldwide, Werkhoff, and Terre des Hommes (Germany).

2. The Methodological Context

Once in Zimbabwe, we soon realised that the Glen Forest Training Centre would need significant adjustments to be able to host OWs. It did not have the facilities we had seen in the seventies in the Honduras' Capacitation Centre, David Funez Villatoro, where participants took full control of the management of the whole centre soon after the opening of the OW. This included harvesting 40 hectares of maize, selling in neighbouring San Pedro Sula, buying supplies, running the kitchen, operating a tractor with plough and implements, a pickup truck and many other means of production.

Only the Directors of the Centre knew about the approach from their participation in two trial Field OWs directed by Ian Cherret in co-operatives in Zimbabwe and Botswana. The rest of the staff could not even imagine what the OW was all about. The centre used to run one week courses on simple carpentry, building and agriculture skills, soap making, embroidery, sewing, basic electricity for simple household uses, agricultural tool making from scrap metal and others.

These courses did not entail production. They did not result in any product that could be turned into a commodity during the OW. Therefore, participants were not able to derive an income for their own sustenance during an OW.

The Training Coordinator, a Social Worker, knew about Paulo Freire's conscientization concept of education or the problem posing method of education from the University of Zimbabwe and from Training for Transformation (Hope, Timmel and Hodzi). This was the most popular method in Southern Africa at the time, inspired by Freire as well as from Leonardo Boff and Liberation Theology.

Current reading of Freire's approach led the followers to reject the idea of facing a course with a training programme at hand. A training programme would mean that the trainer saw him or herself as the one in the know, and perceived the trainee as the one who "did not know". Therefore, this entailed an oppressive attitude towards the trainee. This was particularly true about courses like "Project Management", where there was'nt any particular skill that would have helped in making the course content more concrete. Courses were structured around the interpretation and discussion of a poster depicting a social situation and lent themselves to discussion about the broader social context and the development approach rather than any specific skill and cognitive development.

The result was that the learning process was unplanned, left to spontaneity and often chaotic. Training rooms were untidy and trainings periods imprecisely determined; there was no or very little use of training materials. Outcomes, if any, were difficult to assess.

Trainees would come from the villages, receive free board and lodging and per-diems or some form of allowance. Some trainees would have attended the same course two or three times, and it looked like the same villages, and, within them, the same small group of villagers seemed to form a kind of fixed clientele of the training centre.

Discussions with development workers, inside and outside the training centre, were hard. On vocational training, for example, we visualized that there were people who had mastered particular skills and who did not. We did not see anything wrong in a carpenter to acknowledge that s/he knew how to make a dovetail joint, and there was nothing "oppressive" *per se* in the mere fact that s/he wanted to pass on this skill to others who did not have it. We did not perceive thinking in advance about the best possible way to pass on the skills and put the process in a programme of activities which were not "oppressive".

On the topics of the Theory of Organisation, particularly the History of Organisation of Labour or Political Economy, discussions were even harder. Why should we "teach" the concept of "commodities", or "Natural Division of Labour", or value of commodities? This would mean, once again, that the one willing to teach, *necessarily* would put him or herself above the learner, and this would directly be seen as domination even in the absence of any discussion about the right and wrong ways of approaching a learning situation.

This approach mixed badly with the educational concept inherited from the colonial regime. Under minority rule, the Black majority of the population did not have access to services like housing, health or education. Mainstream economy consisted of White-held farms, mines, industries and even small-scale businesses, while Blacks were expected only to provide hard, unskilled labour. Education and skills' training for the Black majority remained confined mostly to few religious missions. In southern Rhodesian society, even though it did not reach the extremes that characterised the apartheid regime, the prevailing educational concept was strongly influenced by the "Bantu Education", whereby "natives" were not to have access to academic education, so that they could happily accept inequality with Europeans and concentrate on manual labour.

The population, therefore, was forced to suppress its own initiatives and limit itself to obey commands, as the only way to avoid harassment. Decision making, that is the essence of organisation and management, was completely out of reach of the majority of the people, a characteristic that remained even after independence.

The Freirean approach and Bantu Education mixed badly. Vocational trainers would do the measurements, for instance, and then the trainer would command people to "cut from here to here", without explaining the measurement system or why s/he must cut a piece of wood or material. A very superficial understanding of Paulo Freire substituted planning and training programmes for spontaneity and poor quality. Development programmes at the time did not look into the level of schooling of their beneficiaries, who were often a *priori* treated as illiterates and this was yet another reason for not even thinking about their cognitive development. In actual fact, according to our findings, participants often had at least two years of secondary education. Development programmes seemed to prefer the readily available excuse of the low literacy level of the beneficiaries to the harder task of creating a learning environment that was efficiently planned according to their needs.

The misinterpretations of the boundaries of Freire's approach seem to have led the NGO and Government officers worldwide to substitute the development of capacity with unproductive "talkshops" to understand technology and obtain and use information.

The results of such exercises were not encouraging. The NGO and Government officers had created a generation of professional "seminar-goers", who mastered the art of the seminar routine. They had developed skills on what to say and how to say it and to go along with the facilitators. This meant that their names would feature high in the NGO list for future seminars inside and outside the country. Long discussions did not bring about much benefit for the poor and in a way stopped proper development of the social sciences and affected the seriousness of the discussion of developmental issues.

While learning more and more on the methodological context, our first OW in Africa took place at Glen Forest Training Centre. The whole administration of the centre was left to the participants' enterprise, which after failing dismally to perform, managed to regain control and bring the workshop to a successful closing. Nevertheless, in the wake of the OW, the staff became empowered enough and the centre began running on a self-managed basis. Newly elected, rotating self-management structures entered into a head-on conflict with the top to bottom administration of the centre, creating situations where power was to be either in the hands of the individual, that had been appointed by the Board, or those of the self management structures. The conflict was more acute around decisions on financial issues and use and allocation of resources. The string, then, yielded at its weakest point, and this was the first and the last OW in the centre.

Paulo Freire's works had created a good level of awareness on the dangers of top to bottom approaches to both education and development, but such awareness was selectively used in those spheres that did not challenge the powers that be.

Through the use of Paulo Freire's techniques, communities can achieve "a critical level of awareness", which allows them to identify some of the causes of their problems. They may not yet be able to engage in concrete activities to overcome their poverty and powerlessness.

As to literacy programmes, manuals in Zimbabwe came from former Rhodesian Education Centre , with plenty of political content that was rejected after independence. In Mozambique, there were good manuals and better formed literacy teachers. This country had good public health programmes, including an excellent formation process of community midwives.

3. Main Characteristics of the Participants of the OWs in Southern Africa

This section looks into the main characteristics of the OW participants in several countries of southern Africa through their type of social participation, level of consciousness, languages and levels of schooling. This account, though, does not pretend to exhaust the subjects involved.

Social Background

Newly independent countries of southern Africa have very recent colonial and apartheid experiences, and this made a big difference with Latin-American peasantry. African peasants' subsistence production did not benefit from the knowledge and technologies developed for the benefit of the fledgling capitalism. The organisation of production followed traditional practices. Natural division of labour was predominant since food production was in the hands of women using only their own labour force and rudimentary tools. Wage labour, including domestic service remained the preserve of men, who went in search of it to towns, mines or agricultural estates.

In Zimbabwe, at the beginning of the establishment of the colonial regime, people used to survive on hunting, gathering and fishing, and the incipient mining establishment of Cecil Rhodes remained without labour force. Then, the colonial regime set up a tax on hunting activities, forcing people to get a paid job to get the cash that was necessary to pay the taxes. Later, under the false pretence of environmental considerations, the regime dictated the number of cattle that people could own according to the land available. Cattle in excess of the permitted limit was then confiscated and distributed among the White settlers. Through the Land Apportionment Act, the best lands of the country were confiscated and given to the settlers, while the Blacks were crowded until recently in the worst quality, almost useless, land. At the end of the Second World War, England sent demobilized soldiers to the then Southern Rhodesia, where they were granted vast extensions of land. The government set up agriculture extension services which became the best of the world. These services, plus all possible credit were made available for the settlers, through which proportionally a few of them managed to set up first class capitalist agriculture.

After independence the new government managed to resettle more than 40 thousand families, but was unable to provide the same quality services to increased numbers of people. One extension worker, who was a medium level technician, was supposed to cover 600 families, with inadequate transport facilities or technical support.

As to the OWs, participants were mostly poor, small, subsistence farmers. Women made up the majority of the participants of the OWs throughout the region.

They were active and eager to participate and have a say on social affairs. They were the food producers, using traditional practices and overburdened by domestic chores. Searching daily for water, firewood, roots and leaves, on top of cultivating the land, raising children, cooking and washing filled their days and sometimes nights and obviously women did not have the time to participate. This reality led us to generate conditions to allow and stimulate women's full participation in the OWs.

All workshops invited women to bring their children under five years old, and all of them had a crèche which took care of them. At the beginning, the crèches were run by the facilitators, but, after the fourth day, were handed over to the group of participants which received technical assistance and continued to run them. This included basic child and mother care, nutrition and other forms of assistance.

Few of the participants in southern Africa had had experience in a work process that included division of labour. For example, a few former South African ex mine workers had trade union and anti-apartheid struggle background, affiliated to the National Union of Mine Workers, a member of the Confederation of South Africa Trade Union (COSATU). They attended an OW in Zimbabwe and another group attended another one in Mozambique. A vast majority of the OW participants came from resettlement areas and co-operatives in Zimbabwe and villages in South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia and Angola. In Zimbabwe, South Africa, Mozambique and Namibia, there were many participants with experience in the independence struggle and thereafter through their participation in the guerrilla armies.

Social participation had many levels. The most active group was certainly that of the ex-miners, followed by ex-combatants who had been demobilised after independence and formed agricultural and other types of co-operatives. Then we had the villagers from the resettlement areas in Zimbabwe, villagers from cooperatives in Mozambique, villagers from communal lands in Zimbabwe and villagers from Angola and Namibia.

Levels of Consciousness

Organisational Level of Consciousness

Different types of social participation manifested different types of consciousness. Ex-within the Euro-predominant colonial context which led to an asymmetrical mixed race society, with its categories and subcategories. miners showed a clear *Organisational level of consciousness,* characteristic of people participating in a divided process of work, where people not only recognised the causes of their present status, but organised themselves to do something about it.

Nevertheless, the use that ex-miners gave to their *organisational level of consciousness* differed sharply between South Africans, that had been part and parcel of the trade union and anti-apartheid struggle, and the Mozambicans who did not have this kind of social participation. In the first case, the small group of ex miners was not only a leading force of the larger group during the OW, but at the end of it, donated their share of the money obtained through the Development Fund to add to the newly created Village Capital Fund. The emerging village organisation kept the fund for emergencies, which came very handy several months later, when it was used to alleviate the consequences of a severe drought.

In the second case, the Mozambican ex-miners used their more developed organisational awareness to get to the leadership positions of the Enterprise of the Participants, and used them to exploit, to their own benefit, the labour force of the poorer, often illiterate, female, less developed, small and subsistence farmers. They directed the labour force of the workshop towards cleaning silt from secondary irrigation channels leading to their own plots, leaving the poorest and neediest women without water flowing to theirs.

Zimbabwean ex-combatants who had pooled together their demobilisation money and bought land to put it to use within collective co-operatives, also showed an organisational level of consciousness. Some of them formed the core group that graduated as OW Directors and worked under the Southern Africa Development Trust in a mass training operation that achieved more than 10 small earth dams using a grant from the NGO, Terre des Hommes, Germany and the European Union.

Critical Level of Consciousness

The groups of participants in Mozambique showed a *Critical level of consciousness*, where people reflected on their social situation and put the blame for their poverty and exploitation on those external groups, organisations or institutions perceived as responsible for it. This was a characteristic of artisan or individual workers.

In this country, people who were living or had lived on drought relief, for instance, reacted badly to the profusion of 4x4 wheel drive trucks and the well to do UN and NGO officers populating post-war Mozambique. In several cases they reacted angrily against them, even though they brought assistance, for they clearly perceived their situation of extreme deprivation and need as the condition of the wealth of the agencies and their officers. This was compounded, but not reduced, due to the fact that the countries of origin of the relief aid, the agencies and, in most of the cases, the officers coincided with former colonial powers or other European countries. In the most severe cases, one of the facilitators of the OW in Mozambique was the target of an attack with a machete, and in another, although not related to OW, groups of beneficiaries of drought relief who refused to help to offload truckloads of food aid, because this, as they said, was the job of the agency officers....

Youngsters in Mozambique often resorted to violence. They had survived a protracted civil war, and for them this was a survival strategy.

Naïve Level of Consciousness

A vast majority of the poor, small, subsistence farmers attending the OWs showed a *naïve level of consciousness*, where poverty was seen as their fate, luck or destiny. This was a manifestation of the will of gods or of a kind of superior being or extra-human force deciding what should happen to them. This was characteristic of hunters, gatherers, fishermen and people with very limited intervention in the production process.

It looked like that this level of consciousness was a continuum, having, in one extreme, the full responsibility for the situation of people's life was in the hands of external forces, and, apart from prayers, in the form of singing and dancing, people could do nothing or very little to change their situation. We defined this attitude as "pastoralism".[1] In Latin America, in our experience, most of the OW participants had a *critical level of consciousness* and many of them had some form of trade union and / or political experience. As said before, most of our Southern Africa's OW participants had a *naïve level of consciousness*, though in different forms of manifestation.

We came across extreme examples of the *naïve level of consciousness* in Angola, where many combatants got ointments from local medicine men, smeared their bodies with it, and went to combat in the certainty that enemy bullets would not harm them. The same belief seemed to be present in Southern Sudan and other countries of the region. Further, in Angola, rich men were said to own crocodiles which wore necklaces to identify them, and which were to be sent against those challenging their authority.

In the other extreme of the *naïve level of consciousness*, people felt that even though the divinity decided the general direction of someone's life, they still held varying degrees of responsibility for their situation, which they could improve through hard work, discipline and restrain. These would please the gods as well. In the case of Zimbabwe, villagers living in resettlement areas or in their own co-operatives, showed this responsibility.

Poor, individual, small and subsistence farmers were in the middle of our proposed continuum. They differed from hunters and gatherers to the extent that they did not limit their activity to collecting the offers from Mother Nature, but intervened in the production process, though in a very small way. Water for their crops would still be confined to rain, which was a gift from god and a motive for prayers.

This was characteristic of the people living in the communal lands in Zimbabwe, as well as other villagers in the rest of Southern Africa. They were deprived from their culturally determined forms of life and, at the same time, left far away from the reach of the government or NGOs, which usually brought with them more intense interventions in the productive process like irrigation, different ways to combat plagues, different types of fertilisers for crops or different forms of technology. OW participants of this profile tended to be passive, waited to be told what to do, not showing any form of initiative.

Again, this related to, but was not limited to, the colonial relations of production, where these traits were put to work for the colonial masters.

Even though, one particular level of consciousness could predominate over the others, things were not that simple and one level of consciousness could coexist with others within the same individual. In an OW held at Simukai (Stand up) Co-operative of Zimbabwe, we came across an example of a combination between the three levels of consciousness. A South African unemployed worker was part of an effort to gather ex-miners around an organisation of the unemployed workers affiliated to COSATU. In Zimbabwe, the creation of co-operatives had been a tool to fight unemployment within ex-combatants, and Simukai was a leading example of ex-combatants creating their own source of employment. The OW as such was also a way of assisting in this process. During the OW, the participants of our example expressed the view that workers or unemployed workers should not engage in enterprise creation to fight unemployment, since this was the job of the capitalists. Their duty was to create enterprises and employ the workers.

His efforts to set up an organisation of unemployed workers was part of his *organisational level of awareness*. At the same time, criticism of capitalists for not doing enough to create employment was part of his *critical level of awareness,* and leaving out full responsibility for employment creation and making the fate of the unemployed dependent on external forces was a *naïve kind of consciousness*.

Levels of Schooling, Cognitive Development and Activity Theory

Most of OW participants in southern Africa had either few years of schooling or no schooling at all. Illiteracy was high, especially amongst women.

In the early years of our involvement in the region, the ILO was holding a discussion on methods to "train" the illiterates, since literacy was widely seen as a pre-condition for training. This, we thought, did not go along with what happened in human history.

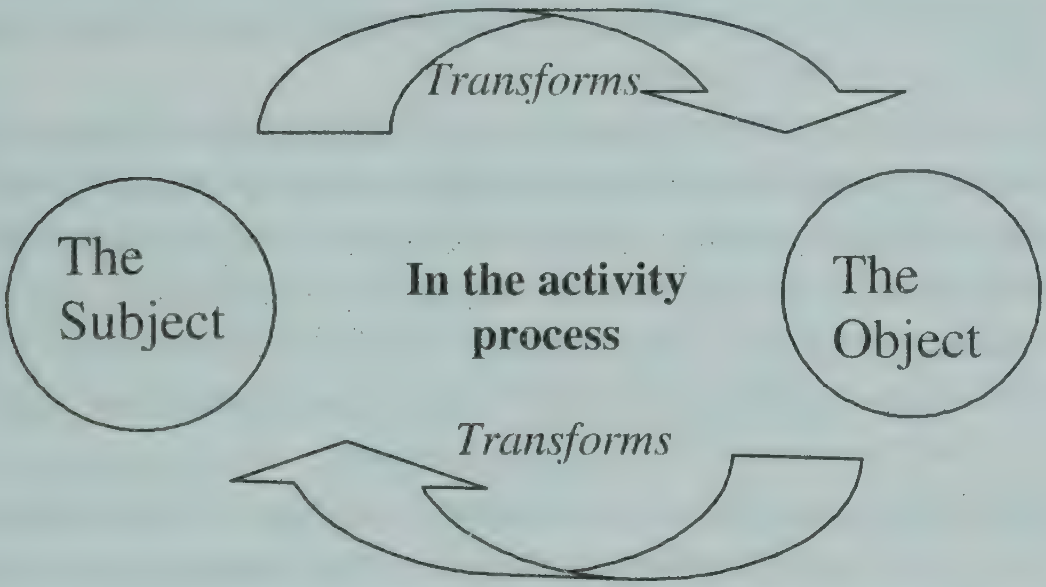
The appearance of humans essentially like us went back to perhaps millions of years, while the date of invention of the alphabet, reading and writing went back only to a few thousand years. It is clear, therefore, that it was cognitive development, analysis, synthesis and abstract thought that led to the invention of the alphabet, and therefore, there was no reason to put the learning of alphabet as a pre-condition for cognitive development. In our approach, division of labour and not literacy was at the centre of our method. The OW set up created the conditions for the division of labour to emerge in the group, and with it, we posited, analysed and synthesised as reflection of what was going on in the practice of the group.

Other techniques within the OW facilitated abstraction, representation and generalisation, and, with them, the individuals perceived skills and cognitive development as needs. In all cases, this was so acute that groups very early into the OW created literacy groups and all sorts of formative processes that were seen as necessary ingredients for the activities they were performing. It was like the mind of people which was now wide open to development, and motivation to learn drove them in an active search of knowledge and skills. Demands for courses challenged the capacity of the facilitators to attend to the needs and their capacity to learn always surprised us. People's needs, that, before the workshop, were limited to very basic ones like shelter, maize and rain water, developed in exponential ways, and with them, motivation and drives.

A case in point were the literacy courses in the Matzinho OW, Chimoio, Mozambique, where the literacy courses set up during the OW became well attended beyond the boundaries of the workshop. They lasted long years after it and the literacy teacher became an authority within the Ministry of Education.

Whilst verbal strategies to facilitate cognitive development intended to enter the cycle through the pole of the subject (as in the case of education or psychotherapy, and in the other field, religion), the OW facilitated cognitive development by acting through the pole of the object, i.e., through a particular arrangement where means of production were in the hands of the people and they enjoyed full freedom of organisation within the law. When they used the means of production to perform activities as they saw it fit, it was the activity process, which was always object-led, that showed them their mistakes, invited them to correct them and ended up changing their psychological reflection. This was why literacy and other forms of intended knowledge and skill transfer often showed little or no success, whilst knowledge and skill development and, not transfer, were a clear consequence and not a cause of the change in the activity set up.

In terms of Activity Theory, we used a simple graphic, based upon Leontiev's (Leontiev 1978) concept, showing the two-way relationship existing between the object, which was what received the impact of the action and the subject, which was the person who acted, and the fact that, in the process of activity, one transformed the other.



The Objetivised Activity

This graphic is simple enough and operational. If we otherwise intended to show in a single graphic all possible factors interacting in the process, the graphic would have turned unnecessarily complex, unreadable and unusable. Over the years, not only in Southern Africa but also in Brazil, Central and South America, we experienced, first hand, how the change of activity translated into a changed psychological reflection in a surprisingly short period of time, and that the changes lasted while the characteristics of the changed activity persisted in time.

Otherwise, if the individual went back from the participation in a complex, divided process of work to an individual form of labour, once again the psychical reflection would rapidly reflect the change and the gains could be easily lost.

Languages and Cultural Aspects

In Zimbabwe, participants' level of schooling used to be higher than in the rest of the countries. They spoke mainly Shona and Ndebele, with a few local languages within these main groups. In Mozambique, the variety of local languages was rather wide, and lectures on Theory of Organisation required translation into three or four main languages from which sub-groups could pick up.

The authors quickly realised that translating the Theory of Organisation into the full variety of languages in Southern Africa was not within their reach, and in a way not necessary. Concepts, in most of the cases, were not present in local languages, since they were not made part of their social experience. Local personnel, attached to the authors in each country at the time of the workshops, could pick up the concepts from the colonial languages, and in all cases found means and ways to relate these concepts to ideas that were part of the culture of the different groups. It was surprising to find out that the concept of "Lumpen",[2] for example, had equivalents in all localities in all countries of southern Africa. Sociological concepts like Socio Economic Formation, Mode of Production, Means of Production had, if not direct equivalents, good approximations in local languages.

The concept of commodities and even the concept of use and exchange value could be always understood because bartering was part of the present reality or belonged to not so distant a past of the groups from all cultural backgrounds. When concepts could not relate to the ones that made up the cultural background of the groups, they became intelligible using the colonial word, without many difficulties. In all cases, the fact that the OW worked on the basis of the actual practice of the group made easy even the most abstract theoretical learning.

Cultural uses that needed to be respected challenged our tact to explain some of the OW rules. For example, women used to sit on the floor at the back and men used to sit in front on benches or stools. The lecture on the role of women during the Natural Division of Labour and later, in the discovery of agriculture and husbandry was in all cases quickly related to the present role of women in the up-keep of the family. This, plus the fact that female participants made up the majority of the participants within the workshops and their outstanding commitment quickly challenged male dominance and changed the balance of power without conflict. Male exploitation of women in the Maria Julia workshop in Kwanza Sul, Angola had to be exposed, and called for a careful, but no less direct treatment. People in all cases in all countries appreciated frankness, directness and accepted the truth even though it could be shameful, because they were receiving direct, concrete benefits out of the workshop and these were clearly perceived by all participants.

In Shona speaking villages in Zimbabwe, people do not work on some days, of the week, called Chivi days, and funeral ceremonies, which last for several days, interrupted the work. In one of the workshops at Mauya Co-operative, Mashonaland, Zimbabwe, a woman committed suicide because of a misunderstanding with her husband. Work stoppage seriously threatened the OW objectives. The workshop directors, following the rule of non-intervention in the organisational process of the participants, were duty bound to accept decisions of the participants about their enterprise. In this case, on their own accord, participants limited the days of mourning to a minimum, and later replaced the working days lost by extra working hours and extra working days on Sundays and Chivi days. Once they perceived that they were working for their own benefit, they managed to adapt.

The above does not mean that the exploitation of the poorest social strata of people present in the workshop could go unchallenged. If it is true that the Director of the OW would respect decisions of the participants about their enterprise, this would never mean to condone exploitation, corruption and abuse. These, when present, were always denounced in front of the General Assembly of the Participants of the Enterprise. Perpetrators were always exposed, and this prompted the exploited, often the poorest of the poor, to voice their grievances and turn the balance of power in their favour.

No conflict between local cultures and the OW ever took place in Southern Africa. The facilitators never challenged, confronted or discussed local cultures, but the participants did discuss some of their customary social practices which seemed to be contradictory with their new experience. The OW provided a platform for expression of strongly rooted cultural practices, like the use of traditional medicine and drama sessions with which participants spontaneously expressed what they had learned during the workshop in the closing ceremonies.

People had the means of production in their hands and were free to decide how and when to use them. This seemed to be enough.

4. The Institutional Set Up: Government, Local and International NGOs

The authors went to Zimbabwe under a contract with the local NGO, Glenn Forest Training Centre, facilitated by the Dutch NGO, HIVOS. The centre took months in sorting out immigration requirements, and the authors first worked in Botswana for the NGO, Co-operation for Research, Development and Education (CORDE). After a couple of months they decided to enter Zimbabwe on tourist visas and put pressure with their physical presence on the visa formalities and work permit.

As said before in this paper, the first workshop held at Glenn Forest Training Centre brought to the surface the difficulties of trying to instil democracy and participation working from an institutional environment characterised by vertical management. Still under Glenn Forest, an OW funded by the International NGO Norwegian Peoples Aid (NPA) took us to Mauya Co-operative. Later, the situation came to a crisis point and HIVOS offered us to continue to work from the HIVOS offices until the end of the contract.

Under these new conditions, the authors teamed up with Cephas Muropa, who had acted as a translator in the Mauya Workshop. He was the former leader and founder of the Organisation of Collective Co-operatives of Zimbabwe, which had been intended to be a partner of the OW process.

Together, we set up a private company, Rural Development and Organisation Consultants, and managed a small fund from Catholic Relief Services (CRS) to run one OW at a village in a resettlement area. The Department of Co-operatives of the Zimbabwe Government strongly supported the workshops, lending us plenty of field equipment which was otherwise not used.

The results encouraged CRS to consider a bigger funding that this time could not be for a private company, and therefore, we founded the Southern Africa Development Trust.

After a year long programme, with SADET and the OW, there was already plenty of interest on the approach on the part of the donor agencies and development workers. Terre des Homes Germany and the European Union funded a three year programme that began very successfully. Towards the last year of the project implementation, SADET's Board, where only one or two members knew (let alone shared) the OW approach, led to conflict with the management. Amidst internal power struggles, the approved funds did not arrive in time, the authors faced harassment and the institution declined and finally disappeared.

The same core group continued to work under a new, locally registered NGO, Communication Link Trust, which took the method to Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Angola under short consultancy contracts.

Agencies, as a rule, became enthusiastic as soon as they knew the principles of the OW and were prepared to fund the workshops. Nevertheless, the majority, if not all agencies funded the event, not the process.

At the beginning, some agencies did recognise the strength of the OW, but were sceptical about the possibility that local people from government, grassroots organisations and NGOs could ever replicate what the authors were able to achieve in other places. Then, under SADET, the authors managed to run one OW Directors' Formative Process and years later, under Norwegian People's Aid, another one. The first one gave, as a result, about 15 Zimbabwean OW Directors, who were able to run workshops on their own, under supervision and guidance and totally independently, later. The second one, funded by the NPA in Mozambique, yielded also a similar number of prospective OW Directors, but the process could not be completed with the fieldwork part of it.

Agency officers with university education had not heard about the OW concept in their university studies, and, since with us, they went through an OW curriculum which did not privilege them over and above the villagers. They found it difficult to compete with them when working in the field. Villagers were in fact better prepared to understand, share and apply horizontal management, since it put them closer to real village or co-operative life. For us, it became almost an axiom that the more educated the officer, the more unwilling to share rural working conditions, and, the worst was that, the less they wanted to open their minds to understand the aims and techniques of OW. One Psychologist told us, "Look, I was born here and went to University exactly to live in town and not coming back ever to live in these conditions. I need to stay in a Hotel...." which was 80 KM away from the work site; and he had to be taken to and fro in a chauffeured car. This contributed to the relative distance that our experience had from the Academy while we relied more and more on recently formed local villagers. It was bad not to have professionals from Social Sciences with whom to share and analyse doubts, findings and discoveries.

In some cases diversion of funds and plain corruption collided with transparent, democratic management encouraged by the OW, and the powerful officers saw it as a threat to their ability to continue to get their hands in the till. The International NGOs were worried mostly about the continuation of their own funding through their governments and other sources, rather than about exposing corruption or triggering a developmental process with the rare ability to empower grassroots groups fight poverty and eventually create employment. Support for a process that was born in the South and owned by the South proved to be easier said than done. Relatively unprepared expatriate staff planned their holidays first and foremost, always according to summer time back at home, irrespective of the needs of the people they were supposed to serve. Even though they could be sympathetic towards the OW, their contracts would end after one year or two, and could not give appropriate follow up to a longer process. New expatriate staff would come and had to be formed all over again.

Many of them would have one or another piece of intermediate technology which strongly appealed to them, and since they decided over huge amounts of money, would apply it to a hand-operated concrete mixer that turned up to be too heavy to turn around and it was never possible to use it. Wind mill towers to generate energy were painfully erected and the engine never came. Entire housing complexes were never occupied by anyone: people received a basket of food supplies, brought to the houses in truckloads, got their pictures taken during the inauguration and hand over ceremony, and found their way back to their villages leaving behind the empty houses. Pure breed bulls were generously donated by a cabinet minister to a village. Since "the village" as such was not an entity, not one of the villagers understood why the minister had left his bulls around, and several months later the poor animals died of hunger. In the same vein, agencies would put up warehouses "for the village", and again, since villages in most of the cases are clusters of houses that might or might not constitute "communities", nobody used them until the most clever "privatised" them by putting these assets to personal use and later assumed personal ownership.

The list of examples of wasted aid would occupy several pages and the OW challenged this state of affairs without attracting much sympathy in the process. Petty politics, bickering, backstabbing, smear campaigns were more frequent than desired.

After every successful OW event that empowered participants to speak out their minds, challenge agency officers and demand a proper development process, the participants did not find the desired consequence in the agencies, which, in many cases, found it easier to spend their budgets in free distribution of handouts.

Workshops were successful and seen as successful in all cases, but *a* *contrario sensu,* the agencies would not take in the approach even though they recognised its strong points. They recognised as well that the OW could blend well with Permaculture, Organic Agriculture, Rapid Rural Appraisal, Participatory Rural Appraisal, the Logical Framework Approach, Rural Vocational Training, Strategic Planning, SWOT Analysis and others which on their own did not manage to trigger developmental processes as the OW did.

OWs could also bring in micro-credit schemes and small enterprises creation processes since the acceleration of the evolution of the organisational consciousness acted as a ground work and a landing strip for developmental programmes.

Very many officers of International NGOs were and still are strongly supportive of the OW approach, but have their hands tied by those agencies' top to bottom decision making. In most cases agencies depended on funds from their own governments, and these in turn would take their cues from Official Development Aid Policies. These, as it is easy to understand, follow the logic of international politics, which frequently does not go along with the logic of human development.

5. How Did We Face the Challenges?

The characteristics of the people we were working with required very detailed descriptions and explanations of the OW methodology, not only to understand and share the approach, but to own it. The OW Manual was born slowly but steadily as support material for local personnel.

Since, unlike Honduras, in southern Africa, there were no training centres that had productive activities on which participants could derive income during the workshop, we selected the Field OW, centred on productive activities, as the most suitable type of OW for this reality and context.

The conditions of the OW were those available in the villages: open fires for cooking, the shadow of a tree as lecture hall. Later the villagers decided to put up a grass shelter, to be used as a lecture hall, making it as dark as possible so as to allow a better view of the learning aids from an Overhead Projector, and this became customary in every new village where the programme went.

All staff shared these conditions, living in tents and pumping their water from the well as anybody else, cooking their own food and washing their own clothes. Latrines were made as villager's contribution to the facilities, in order to avoid health hazards derived from having too many people together for a month.

Our workshops introduced money as part of the learning tools, developing the concepts of Start Up Grant and Development Fund. If we wanted to facilitate the insertion of rural peasants into the prevailing market economy, we thought, money must be present and people needed to learn how to handle it. In the opening speech, the Director would announce: "As all enterprises have capital, we are granting a start up fund to your enterprise…”. This was a small amount, collectively owned to enable the new enterprise to experience the collective decision making process and the problems that money brought about.

On the other hand, labour had a market value, even if it was voluntary work. Learning to calculate the economic value of their labour, how to record it, bargain for, and take care of it was also a must. Thus, the concept of Development Fund was born.[3]

When preparing for the first workshops we used the concept “Organisers Enterprise” to refer to the facilitation team. Later, to underline the difference of the OW approach and the vertical forms of management, we introduced the term “Facilitators Enterprise”. Then we introduced written contracts between both enterprises, which would better prepare people to go into the market economy when it came to clearly define the outcomes and labour of each contract.

Written contracts protected both parties, and as for the participants, they prepared them, to some extent, against cheating by third parties. There we made crystal clear what exactly we committed ourselves to do and what not, and also what the participants committed themselves to do. They also provided a strong motivation to learn how to read and write.

The need to have local translators made us to prepare a glossary of concepts and local terms, which we did with the help of the participants in workshops. Since people related to each other in their local languages, it was a necessity too to work on that aspect. We began studying the contents of the lectures with our local colleagues, discussing deeply the concepts, meanings and aims, for them to be able to find the best way to put them across to the participants using the local languages. In this work, our colleagues, in a very creative attitude used to ask the participants “how would you call a person who behaves like…?” Providing detailed descriptions, they would discuss and agree on a term. This led to a host of local terms in the hands of our colleagues for future use.

Learning Aids

We did not agree with the use of cartoons as adult educational material. Cartoons never failed to remind us that, according to Newsweek, advisors prepared cartoons to illustrate international political issues for President Reagan…. and we thought that cartoons necessarily trivialise issues. A different thing was that we found it necessary to present the contents in the simplest possible way and this was easy to achieve whenever we really knew what we were talking about. If the educator really knew something, it was then easy for him or her to explain it in plain words.

At first we used overhead projector transparencies, using both illustrations and words. Concepts were built by isolating each single idea, and presenting it in no more that three to four sentences. Some times graphics would illustrate the concept besides the words; at other times, one single graphic would be followed by a sentence. Illustrations were handwritten, which gave us flexibility and the possibility to make them on the spot. Several times, just before a lecture, an upcoming situation within the workshop would lend itself to illustrate a concept. Then, Isabel would quickly make the corresponding drawing.

As OWs work with large groups, material was needed to be seen by everybody. We began with drawing big wall charts, which proved to be slow to make, difficult to handle and they got dirty and had to be destroyed after one OW. We shifted then to OHP transparencies. This triggered the need for electricity; and included a generator amongst the OW field equipment. This meant to teach our colleagues about its uses, limitations and care. At a later stage, the OHP transparencies were enlarged into laminated posters that were placed hanging under the trees. It was amazing to see how they worked after the lectures! People would meet in front of the posters, copy them, and discuss its contents.

Finally, we were able to get a digital projector and ended up producing Power Point presentations whilst we continued to use laminated posters or wall charts. Power point allowed animation, and building up concepts through dropping sentences one by one, allowed time for each idea to sink in, which we could estimate through eye contact with each participant during lecture delivery. It also allowed for figures to move around, making the lecture more interesting and motivating. Bartering, for example, was explained through figures of men and women getting close to each other and actually exchanging goods.

The development of this material helped to standardise the minimum content of each lecture, helping our local OW Directors to deliver a minimum of the highly abstract concepts contained on the Theory of Organisation. A written copy of its text was distributed to each participant, regardless of his/her level of schooling. Each of them received a notebook and a pen as well. People who did not know how to read and write would refuse receiving them, arguing that they did not need them. We insisted and distributed them anyway. Then, even people who could not read and write were seen painstakingly trying to copy the material from the hangings.

Then the need for literacy courses appeared earlier in each OW; and in Mozambique, with the help of the participants and the local literacy teacher, a home grown, bilingual and hand made manual was developed. It was based upon the words the participants considered important for them to learn. Interestingly, the first words requested were the names of the tools and raw materials they were using. In the case of people whose activity required travelling to towns to buy inputs or sell produce, they wanted to learn the names of cities and bus destinations.

These activities were coordinated and linked with the local school. Whenever it was possible, we sought co-operation with local authorities or other NGOs according to specific activities: health posts, agricultural extension services and others, so that they could take over and follow up the programmes initiated during the OW.

A major achievement was the design of a formative process to capacitate local OW directors. It included participation in an OW as an ordinary participant, having a good performance in the OW, from where we would invite the best prospective cadres to join us in the facilitators' enterprise of an upcoming workshop.

The facilitators' enterprise had, from the very beginning a self managed, horizontal structure and collective decision making procedures. If you want to teach self-management, you have to be able to act in that way, and be comfortable with it when performing your normal tasks.

Lecture preparation was collective and the different tasks regarding them were distributed on rotation basis. Enterprise coordination was also rotated. The task of observing lecture delivery and reception, and later analysing the findings contributed a great deal to demystify the idea that only we could be OW Directors.

After an evaluation of their performance our colleagues went through a six weeks long theoretical OW Directors Course which included Theory of Organisation, History of Organisation of Labour, Political Economy, Management of Membership Enterprises and Didactics of the Theory of Organisation.

Those participants who obtained the required marks went to field practice under technical supervision and advice. Capacitating villagers with just primary or some secondary years of formal education meant to make available to them knowledge and information that they had not acquired before, according to the theoretical understanding of the demands of OW.

We prepared written, detailed guidelines on how to do an OW. Thus we defined each one of the three steps: Design, Running and Follow-up. For the design phase, we devised a method to select activities that were suitable for the OW and analysed them into their tasks and operations. The Analysis of Productive Activities revealed the requirements in terms of tools, equipment, raw materials, labour force and skills of each one of the activities, information that was compiled into a Technical Plan of the workshop. This gave the basis for costing the requirements in a comprehensive budget. In managerial terms, this technique was known as ABC or Activity Based Costing.

Pre-registration forms allowed us to gather information on intended participants, and thus, decide on the social composition of the group. We also drafted guidelines to prepare programmes for the vocational skills and any form of capacitation courses during the workshop.

6. Our Shortcomings

- We were utterly unable to document all what was being done, and some valuable information was lost.

- We lacked a research unit, particularly on all the cultural richness that participants displayed in each and every workshop.
- The above mentioned issues, plus the fact that donors so far funded events rather than processes, prevented us to have a systematic impact evaluation of the results of OWs.[4] After the workshops, in most of the cases participants created enterprises that amidst difficulties continued to go ahead for some time, whilst they were able to find market niches and adapt to changing circumstances. Individuals achieved outstanding levels of personal development, improved their quality of life and their employability.
- Selection of activities was done according to the community's expressed or observed needs, but sometimes was difficult to find economically viable ones for the period that followed the closing of OWs and be able to sustain enterprises born out of workshops within the market economy.
- We didn't have any objective indicator of the economics of the productive activities of OWs and consequently selected them mostly by intuition and experience. Now, we have joined hands with the New Economics Foundation (NEF, UK), whose micro economics tools will allow us to walk into a more firm terrain in this regard. The combination between the NEF tools "Plugging the Leaks", "The Money Trail" and OWs is presently taking place at Marsh Farm, Luton, England within the preparation phase of an OW which was to take place early 2006.
- We were unable to convince donors that the use of OW methodology should be more than an event to report on, but a process that requires time.
- Even today we lack the time and means to reflect and systematize the psychosocial findings of this rich experience.

Notes

[1] This attitude, for which we were completely unprepared, brought our first OW to a standstill until we resorted for the first and last time to the formation of a "Primary Structure": Three or four people appointed by the Director of the OW, instructed them to get together without the knowledge of anybody in the group of participants, analyse the situation, set up a strategy to avoid the disintegration of the group and apply it. In this case, the Primary Structure formed by Trainers of the Glen Forest Training Centre gained control of the OW and brought it to a successful closing. This showed the manipulation power of a small, organised group in a "democratic" context.

[2] Person who is not part of a productive process and makes his/her living out of handouts.

[3] Development Fund: An amount of money that is equivalent to the market value of about half of the total labour force that the group is expected to put into workshop activities. This considers that participants will not be fulltime workers, but will attend lectures, courses, cook for themselves, take care of their children and other unpaid activities.

[4] The OW programme funded by Terre des Hommes Germany and the European Union in Zimbabwe was conceived as a process and included the impact evaluation. This did not take place because disbursements of agreed funds did not come in time.

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ANNEXE 1

A Report on the Goa Conference on the African Diaspora in Asia[1]

Ineke van Kessel

Some 80 scholars from four continents as well as representatives from African communities in India gathered from 10 to 14 January 2006 in Goa, India, for the first-ever conference on the African diaspora in Asia held on Asian soil. After Joseph Harris's pioneering efforts, following the First Congress of African Historians convened by UNESCO in 1965 in Tanzania, no major initiatives had been undertaken to bring various strands of research on Africans in the Indian Ocean world together in one conference. This new initiative, labelled TADIA (The African Diaspora in Asia), evolved from a cyber network initiated by the indefatigable Belgian-Brazilian ethno-linguist Jean-Pierre Angenot. In India, Angenot linked up with academics and social activists working on and with communities of African descent, known as Sidis or Siddis. The total number of Siddis in present-day India is estimated at around 30,000.

A crucial question was posed in Gwyn Campbell's (McGill University, Canada) keynote lecture: "African diaspora" might be a misnomer in the context of the Indian Ocean world. It invites comparisons with the Black Atlantic, while the dispersal of Africans in the Indian Ocean world should not be seen as an extension of the Atlantic model. Rather, it should be studied in its own right and on its own terms. He stressed that African migration to Asia is a much older and more complex phenomenon than the black / white image of the Atlantic model. Not all Africans came to Asia as slaves; not all slaves were Africans. Campbell cited examples of non-servile Africans and argued that the slave trade in Asia was colour-blind. The traffic involved smaller cargoes but lasted over a much longer period. Plantation labour was rare. Many slaves were used to embellish the household and thus served more the purpose of conspicuous consumption than of productive labour. In the Atlantic slave trade, roughly two-thirds of slaves were men, while in the Indian Ocean world two-thirds were women, although most of the literature focuses on the men. African and non-African slaves attempted to improve their status by assimilating with the host society. Campbell saw no evidence of a diasporic identity, no notion of displacement from a common homeland, no longing to return to Africa. Unlike the Atlantic, the Indian Ocean world does not have a "victim diaspora".

This opening lecture set the scene for a lively discussion. One question raised was the geographical extent of "Asia". If it was meant to include the Middle

East and the Ottoman Empire, most of Campbell's 'Indian Ocean model' would not apply, stated Ehud Toledano (Tel Aviv University).

One striking aspect of the export of labour from East Africa was the massive use of Africans as soldiers. In many parts of India, Africans have served as soldiers for Hindu or Moslem rulers, as well as for the Portuguese, French, and British colonial forces. All over Asia, from the Ottoman Empire to the Dutch East Indies, Africans were valued as soldiers.

Several African-American scholars and activists insisted on a common Black experience, regardless of different historical trajectories. Negative stereotypes of black people in India certainly had familiar ring: lazy drunkards, not suitable for intellectual work, but potentially starring in sports, dance, and music. "Happy-clappy Negroes?": they had heard it all before.

However, the case studies presented at the conference testified to substantial variations in the African experience in Asia. Apart from the soldiers, sailors, and servants, Africans also migrated as free merchants. Numerous Africans rose to positions of authority, as generals and governors, or eunuchs at princely courts. These remarkable careers form the subject of a new book, *African Elites in India*, by John McLeod and Kenneth Robbins (2006). Another recent volume, *Sidis and Scholars*, edited by Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy and Edward A. Alpers (2004) contains an informative introduction by Ned Alpers on the Africans in India in the broader context of the Indian Ocean world, as well as a brief but useful overview of Siddi studies.

The Siddi delegations themselves expressed an interest in knowing more about their African roots, but their main concern was voiced as "will we be given development?". The Siddis of India have found their niche in India's complex hierarchy of castes and tribes, but their station in this ranking is near the bottom, slightly above the dalits. Because of low educational standards and religious divisions, they have not been able to form viable organizations to advocate Siddi interests. Some Siddi communities are Moslem, others Hindu or Christian. More recently, their common identity as Siddis seems to override their religious differences. They speak different languages, Urdu, Kannada, Gujarati, Hindi, Konkani, with only a handful of educated Siddis able to communicate in English. They are regarded as a tribe rather than a caste. In 2003, the Siddis in one district of Karnataka were allocated the legal status of "Scheduled tribe", a promotion from their previous grading as "backward tribe", labels that sound obnoxious to politically correct ears but are regarded as highly desirable in the Indian context. This legal status provides access to reserved quotas of government jobs, political representation, educational advantages, and housing subsidies.

By and large, Siddi communities have not benefited from Indian independence. The Siddis of Karnataka are the descendents of fugitive slaves from Portuguese Goa. Like the maroons in the Caribbean, they established communities deep in the forest, living largely from forest produce and agriculture. Now environmental lobbies regard them as encroachers who have no right to live in the forest. Land, education, and jobs are among their main concerns, as is evident from the pioneering study by Kiran Kamal Prasad, *In Search of an Identity: An Ethnographic Study of the Siddis in Karnataka* (1984, 2005).

More elements of African identity are to be found among the Siddis of Gujarat, who make a living as guardians of temples and mosques, selling flowers and incense and performing prayer rites. Central to the Siddi Sufi cult is Gori Pir, a black saint, whose wise judgment and blessings are sought by Siddis and non-Siddis alike. Previously, Siddis in Gujarat earned an income by mining and trading agate stones, but with the nationalization of agate mines after independence they lost their livelihood.

Siddis in the military lost their jobs when the armies of the princely states were disbanded after independence. The Siddis of Hyderabad, many of whom still live in a part of town known as AC Guards (African Cavarly Guards), were the subject of interventions by Ababu Minda Yimene (Max Planck Institute, Halle) and Rekha Pande (Moulana Azad National Urdu University, Hyderbad).

While most papers focused on the Africans of India, the conference also heard contributions on Africans in Afghanistan, Korea, Iran, Israel, Turkey, Mauritius, the United Arab Emirates, and Indonesia. The story of the West African men who served in the Dutch East Indies Army, presented by Ineke van Kessel (Afrika-Studiecentrum, Leiden), Netherlands, stands in marked contrast to the Indian pattern. Since they were entitled to the legal status of Europeans, these African soldiers and their Indo-African descendants did not assimilate with the Asian subject population but with the lower echelons of the Dutch and Indo-European colonial elite.

Indian-American scholar and filmmaker Beheroze Shroff raised a crucial question: how are we, scholars, constructing Siddi identity and imposing an African identity upon them, while they themselves may have very different concerns? In her own research in Mumbai, she had indeed found vestiges of Siddi identity, concentrated around Siddi Muslim shrines, but many Siddis resented being identified as "Negroes", as this label would hamper their search for jobs.

Do Africans in India have a diasporic identity? Several Siddi participants made statements to the extent that 'we are Indians now, but we have African blood'. Although their present predicament and lack of opportunities was obviously their most immediate concern, several Siddis voiced an interest in their African heritage. Participation in a conference on the African diaspora in Asia no doubt invites expressions of "diasporic identity".

... TADIA meanwhile has become affiliated to UNESCO's Slave Route Project, which itself has been given a new lease of life. The history of the Africans in Asia will thus be linked up with the two other grand patterns of African dispersal in the era of the slave trade: forced emigration to the Atlantic world and forced relocations within Africa itself.

Note

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ANNEXE 2

If You Don't Know Asia and the Indian Ocean, You Don't Know the African Diaspora: Reflections on the TADIA Conference

Sheila S. Walker

"If you don't know Brazil, you don't know the African diaspora." That, a student confessed, was a revelation she'd had in my course on the African diaspora. In the United States many African Americans interested in the relatively new (two decades or so) concept of the African diaspora assume uncritically and not a little hegemonically that we are the majority of this diaspora and that its first language is English, not Portuguese. Her revelation led my student to reconceptualize her identity as part of a larger geographical and cultural context and, she added with pleasure, to feel "globalized."

Kiran Kamal Prasad says in the introduction to this volume that researchers should reveal their point of view with respect to their research topics (p. 31), and I agree with him. I am writing from the perspective of a member of the African diaspora who is also a researcher about this diaspora. My perspective thus reflects both my lived experience and scholarly training that has helped me to both transcend the most limited version of this experience and use the results of my research process to broaden and deepen my sense of identity. Like my student, my research has helped me feel more diasporically globalized, my identity being as an African descendant whose national identity is an accident of a slave ship.

I, therefore, make no claims to being dispassionately "objective," since I am dealing with human beings and not objects and am not trying to treat the former as if they were the latter. I am writing as an insider participant in the sense of being an African diasporan with a sense of identification with other African diasporans around the world because we share many similar historical and contemporary experiences. I am also a sort of scholarly outsider to diasporan cultures other than my own specific one, who is, as Henry Drewal says, an "observant participant."

As a cultural anthropologist, with a long history of research throughout the African diaspora in the Americas and its places of origin in West and Central Africa, I was also familiar with most of the sparse literature on the African diaspora in Asia and the Indian Ocean. When I received an e-mail about the TADIA conference I was so excited, especially about the prospect of meeting Afro-Indians, that I almost bought my ticket for a year too early! And I tormented the organizers with questions about post-conference trips to Siddi sites to determine if I could visit them all—even though my extensive anthropological travels had taught me that I really couldn't know much in advance and that more opportunities would present themselves than I would be able take advantage of. And that was exactly what happened.

I was excited to meet people from the major Siddi communities in Hyderabad, Karnataka, Gujarat and Maharashtra. I went to the unconquerable Janjira Fort in Maharashtra and the Siddi Sayyed Mosque with its delicately carved stone windows in Gujarat. In Gujarat, I also visited a Siddi community that reminded me of a West African compound, and was in the village of Ratanpur for a ceremony for the Siddi saint Bava Gor. I also bought a brightly coloured *kawandi*, a patchwork quilt whose syncopated aesthetics reminded me of quilts made by African American women in the southern United States, from the Siddi women's Quilting Cooperative Society in Karnataka.

My article in this volume (pp. 637-43) is concerned with the synergy created by encounters of Africans with other Africans in the Americas, with my examples coming mainly from Brazil. Despite my limited time in India, I was not surprised to find similar phenomena there. The shrine of the Siddi saint Bava Gor in Ratanpur, for example, includes smaller shrines for his sister Mai Misra and his brother Baba Habashi, whose names refer to their origins in Egypt or Misr, and Abyssinia, the earlier name for what is now Ethiopia. People in contemporary Ethiopia, Gujarat, and Maharasthra refer to themselves as Habashi or Habshi from the word Abyssinia.

Another interesting similarity between India and Brazil on opposite sides of the African diasporas is that communities in both countries venerate saints originally from Ethiopia, Bava Gor in India and Saint Benedict, whose parents were from Ethiopia and were enslaved in Italy, in Brazil. And both Afro-Indians and Afro-Brazilians play instruments with Bantu names from farther south in another culture area of Africa for their Ethiopian saints from the northeast. Siddis play the *malunga*, a Bantu term for a type of musical bow (known as *birimbau* in Brazil), for Bava Gor. And Afro-Brazilians play the *ngoma*, a Bantu word for drum, for Saint Benedict. That the latter term is also used in India on the other side of the African diaspora is evident in that the two performance groups from Gujarat are called Sidi Goma. Further research would undoubtedly reveal more examples of this African/African synergy in the Asian, Indian Ocean, and Atlantic American diasporas.

It was intellectually exciting to meet scholars researching African diasporan communities East of the continent. And it was especially satisfying to meet scholars who were themselves from these communities and who complemented or fused their scholarly analysis with the rich and privileged insider experiences on which it was based. Daniella Police-Michel (p.) from Mauritius invited me to a conference on her island at which I met people from other islands of the Indian Ocean African diaspora and learned about their similarities and differences.

A visit to Mozambique during the same trip, particularly to the Island of Mozambique, allowed me to know an East African point of departure of enslaved people for both India and the Indian Ocean islands. It reminded me of comparable places such as Gorée Island in Senegal and El Mina in Ghana in West Africa, both as historic places of departure from the continent and as constructed sites of memory. Hence, thanks to the TADIA conference and its sequels, any limitedly Atlantico-centric perspectives I may have had before now are dim memories today.

"If you don't know the African diaspora in Asia and the Indian Ocean, you don't know the African diaspora" is now my diasporic leitmotif. A concrete example of the results of my broadened perspective is reflected in the documentary I produced for the UNESCO Slave Route Project, *Slave Routes: A Global Vision*, which includes the African diaspora in Asia and the Indian Ocean—in Iraq, Iran, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, India, Mauritius, and the Maldives.

As the first major conference to focus on the African diaspora in Asia, the Indian Ocean, and other lands to the east of the African continent, the TADIA conference broke new ground in revealing the existence of what one may consider, from the limited perspective of the usual peri-Atlantic orientation, the "other side of the African diaspora." In doing so it created the foundation for African diasporan studies to make a quantum leap by beginning to include a major part of the diaspora whose absence, because of lamentable ignorance about its existence and significance, had not even been missed. This was in spite of the fact that thousands of Africans waged the first major revolt of enslaved people in 9th century Iraq, half a millennium before the African diaspora in the Americas even began.

The first conference on the African diaspora in the Americas that brought together a large group of people from throughout the Americas and the Caribbean, plus Africans and other scholars, was the "First Congress on Black Culture in the Americas" organized by Afro-Colombian Manuel Zapata Olivella and Afro-Brazilian Abdias do Nascimento in Cali, Colombia in 1977. It was followed by the 1979 conference at Howard University in Washington, DC, "Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora," organized by Joseph Harris. This conference, which led to the publication of an edited volume of the same name, went beyond the Atlantic orientation of the first by including Dr. Harris' pioneering research in India and elsewhere in Asia.

The conference I organized in Austin, Texas in 1996 on "The African Diaspora and the Modern World" was characterized by the participation, along with well-known scholars, of sometimes autodidact members of the Atlantic diaspora in the Americas whose very existence was and too often remains unknown and sometimes explicitly denied, such as Afro-Argentineans and Afro-Uruguayans. The conference both allowed people from many African diasporan communities to come together, and promoted the efforts of invisibilized groups to become more visible. Participants from these communities have articles, on equal footing with those of international scholars, in the edited volume, *African Roots/American Cultures: Africa in the Creation of the Americas,* and their interviews are featured in the documentary, *Scattered Africa: Faces and Voices of the African Diaspora.*

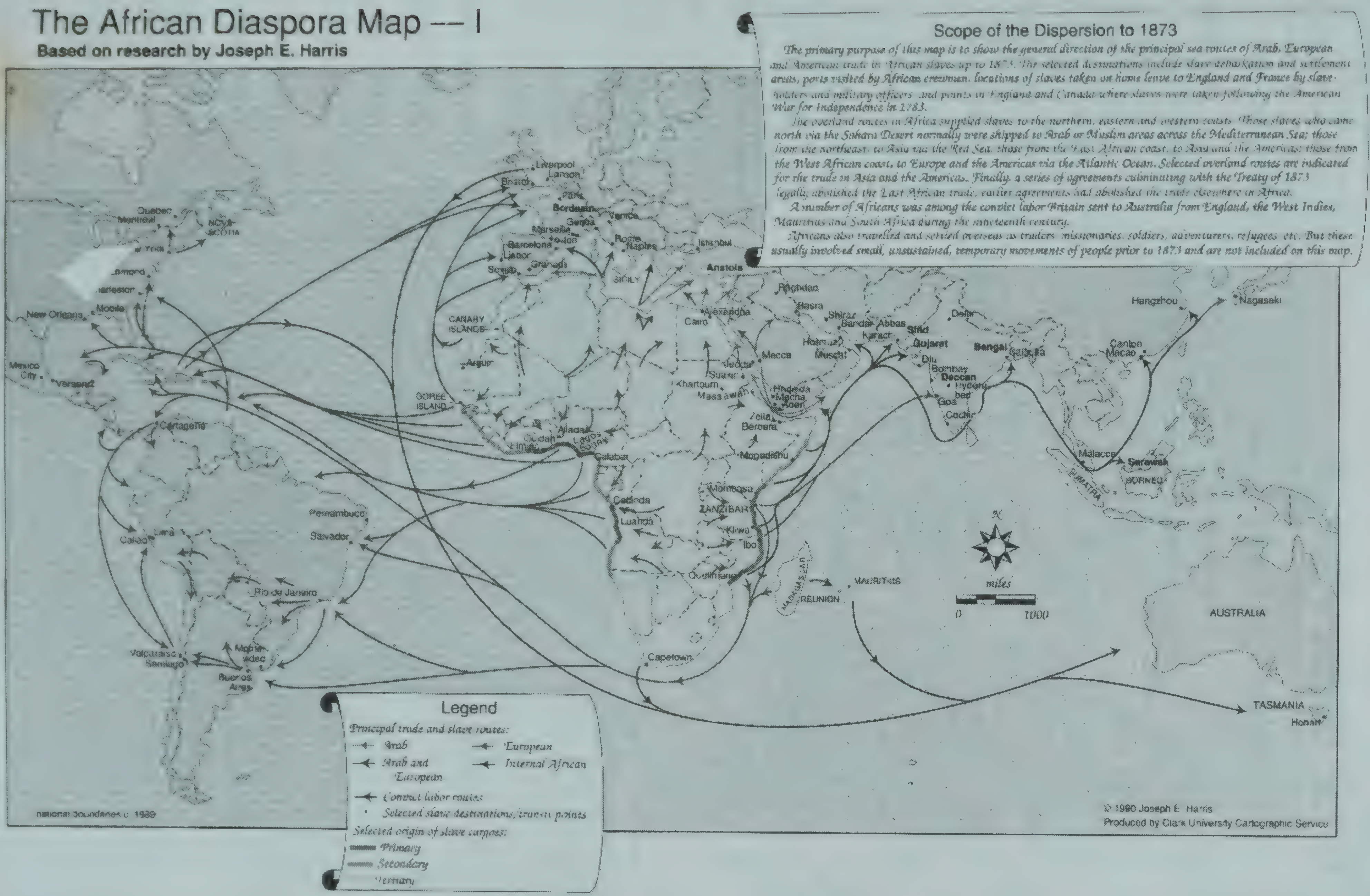
The TADIA conference, of the calibre and significance of these other seminal gatherings that greatly advanced the field of African diaspora studies, in addition to bringing together scholars focusing on the vast and diverse area of Asia and the Indian Ocean, took to another level the process of bringing together and making visible little known African diasporan communities by including representatives of several Siddi communities in the conference. And even more extraordinarily for the kind of enterprise usually involving only scholars gathered to talk about the people they study, in the absence of and with little concern for the interests of those people, TADIA conference organizers took the unprecedented step of following the conference with a workshop at which a hundred or so Siddis from the states of Hyderabad, Karnataka, Gujarat, and Maharashtra met for the first time, transcending differences in African origins, historical roles in India, language, religion, and regional culture to discover their commonalities and discuss collective plans for the future.

By adding the long historical and geographically vast experience of this "other side of the African diaspora" to the story, the TADIA Society is both complicating the Atlantic diaspora model by providing data and by adding another template for understanding the African diaspora, challenging the limited Atlantico-centric model and appropriating the right and accepting the responsibility to create a new broader and more complex reflection on and model for understanding how the different African diasporas are, and what and how the global African diaspora is.

ANNEXE 3

Joseph E. Harris

Annexe 3.1



The African Diaspora Map — I

Based on research by Joseph E. Harris

Scope of the Dispersion to 1873

The primary purpose of this map is to show the general direction of the principal sea routes of Arab, European and American trade in African slaves up to 1873. The selected destinations include slave debarkation and settlement areas, ports visited by African crewmen, locations of slaves taken on home leave to England and France by slaveholders and military officers, and points in England and Canada where slaves were taken following the American War for Independence in 1783.

The overland routes in Africa supplied slaves to the northern, eastern and western coasts. Those slaves who came north via the Sahara Desert normally were shipped to Arab or Muslim areas across the Mediterranean Sea; those from the northeast, to Asia via the Red Sea; those from the East African coast, to Asia and the Americas; those from the West African coast, to Europe and the Americas via the Atlantic Ocean. Selected overland routes are indicated for the trade in Asia and the Americas. Finally, a series of agreements culminating with the Treaty of 1873 legally abolished the East African trade; earlier agreements had abolished the trade elsewhere in Africa.

A number of Africans was among the convict labor Britain sent to Australia from England, the West Indies, Mauritius and South Africa during the nineteenth century.

Africans also travelled and settled overseas as traders, missionaries, soldiers, adventurers, refugees, etc. But these usually involved small, unsustained, temporary movements of people prior to 1873 and are not included on this map.

Legend

Principal trade and slave routes:

- *Arab*
- *European*
- *Arab and European*
- *Internal African*
- *Convict labor routes*
- *Selected slave destinations/transit points*

Selected origin of slave cargoes:

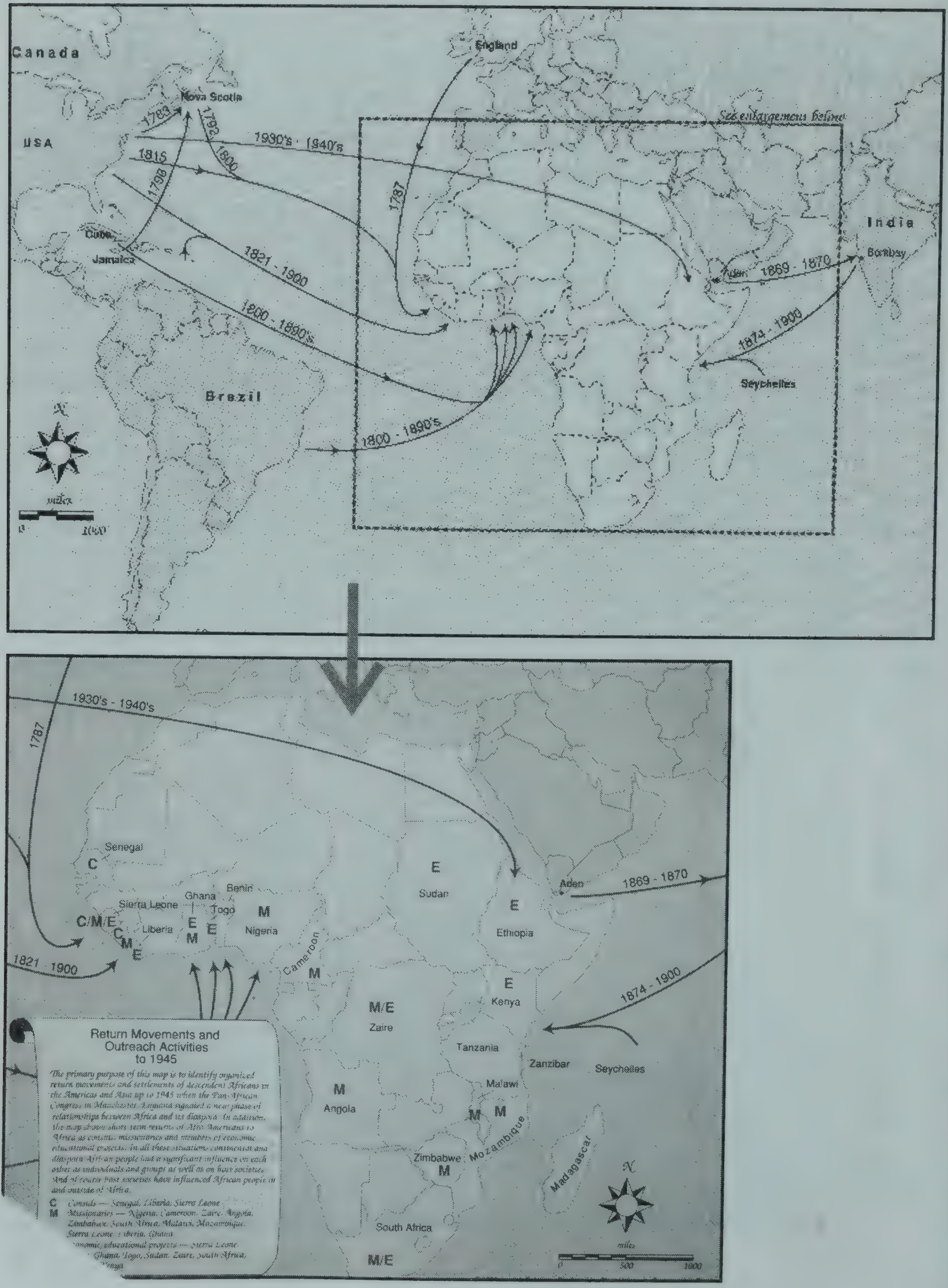
- *Primary*
- *Secondary*
- *Tertiary*

Annexe 3.2

Joseph E. Harris

The African Diaspora Map - II

Based on research by Joseph E. Harris



Return Movements and Outreach Activities to 1945

The primary purpose of this map is to identify organized return movements and settlements of descendent Africans in the Americas and Asia up to 1945 when the Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England signaled a new phase of relationships between Africa and its diaspora. In addition, the map shows short term returns of Afro-Americans to Africa as consuls, missionaries and members of economic educational projects. In all these situations continental and diaspora African people had a significant influence on each other as individuals and groups as well as on host societies. And of course host societies have influenced African people in and outside of Africa.

C *Consuls — Senegal, Liberia, Sierra Leone*
M *Missionaries — Nigeria, Cameroon, Zaire, Angola, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Malawi, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana*
onomic, educational projects — Sierra Leone,
Ghana, Togo, Sudan, Zaire, South Africa,
Kenya

Annexe 4

4.1: Current Afro-Asian Communities (Note 18, p. 73)

Gwyn Campbell

Name	*Region*
Masombika or Makoa	Sakalavaland, Madagascar
Malagasy	Madagascar
Creoles	Mauritius
Afro-Turks	Turkey
Afro-Palestinian	Israel and Occupied Territories
Ethiopian Jews	Israel
Afro-American "Black Hebrews"	Israel
"Swahilis of Oman"	Oman
" 'abid "	Qatar
Afro-Iraquians	Basra, Iraq
Afro-Iranians	Kerman province, Iran
Shidi-Sindhi	Pakistan
Shidi-Makrani	Pakistan
Shidi-Baluchi	Pakistan
Siddi-Gujarati	Saurashtra and Kacch, Gujarat, India
Kafira-Landa	Diu, India
Swahili-Gujarati	Bharuch, Gujarat, India
Siddi-Bengali	Bangladesh & West Bengal, India
Siddi-Marathi	Maharashtra, India
Siddi-Konkani	Karnataka, India
Siddi-Urdu	Andhra Pradesh, India
Siddi-Malayalam	Kerala, India
Ceylon Kaffir	Sri Lanka
Afro-Malaccan	Malaysia
Afro-Chinese	Macao and Hwangchou, China
Afro-Japanese	Nagasaki, Japan
Belanda Hitam or Black Dutchmen	Java, Indonesia
Afro-Timorenses	Dili, East Timor

4.2: Local Terms in Asiatic Societies for Communities of African origin (Note 19,p. 73)

Gwyn Campbell

Imperial Madagascar	Masombika	Generic term for African slaves indicating place of shipment [Nineteenth century]
	Makoa	Term used widely in West Madagascar for African slaves, indicating the majority ethnic group of origin [Nineteenth century]
	Zazamanga	Lit. "Blue child" – a term used to describe those of [Nineteenth-century] African slave descent.
Mauritius	Creole	Generic term applied to ex-slaves (of generally East African and Malagasy origin)
Middle East	Zandj / Zanj	Term used until the late Middle Ages for the land and people of what is today termed the Swahili Coast of East Africa – often taken to be the 'uninhabitable' portion of sub-Saharan Africa.
	Habasha	Term of allegedly South Arabian origin applied by Arabs to the land and peoples of Ethiopia, and adjoining areas of the Horn of Africa, and sometimes to the habitable part of sub-Saharan Africa
	Ahâbîsh\	Plural form derived from Habash meaning Abyssinians
	Mawalid	Group of mixed Arab and African (Slave) descent
	Takrûrî (pl)	Arabic for West African [Slave]
	Siddee	African slave soldiers [Nineteenth century]
Arabia	Takruni	Africans
	Ababish	Plural form derived from Habash applied to Abyssinian slave soldiers in the early centuries of Islam

Cont...

	Askir (pl)	Abyssinian slave soldiers in the early centuries of Islam
Muscat	Hubshees	Term (meaning Ethiopian) for slaves from Northeast Africa [1842]
Dhofar	Sambo	People with recent or obvious (southern Oman)connections with East Africa [1966]
Qatar	abid	Lit. "slave" – a generic term for black-skinned people of African descent.
Iran	Habashis	Lit. "Black People" – a generic term for people of African origin
Pakistan (Southern Baluchistan)	GadarasShidi, Shidi Baluchi, Shidi Sindri, Sidi, Makrani	Afro-Pakistanis
Pakistan(Sindh)	Bambasi	A term for an African slave in Sindh
	Shidhîs	A term for an East African slave in Sindh
	Gûdros	Slave of mixed Sidi-Sindhi parentage
	Kambranîs	A person of paternal Sindhi and maternal Gûdros parentage
	Zangibari	Slave of [East] African origin in Sindh
India	Bandhis	A Hindu African slave
	Chaus	Descendants of African slaves in Hyderabad
	Namdari	A Hindu of African origin
	Shamal	Marathi (meaning "black faced") term for Africans
	Sidi (variants: Scidee, Scidy Seede, Sedee, Seedie, Seydee, Shidis, Siddie, Siddee, Siddy, Siddi, Sidy)	Term (used in Portuguese and English language documents) for community of East African slave origin in India (and elsewhere in the western IOW). Siddi is derived from "Sayyid", meaning one descended from the Prophet

Cont...

	Habshi/ Habshis, Habshîs	From the Arabic "El Habshis" meaning Abyssinia – applied Ethiopians of slave origin
	Hupsi, Hubshee	
	Budavant	Siddi headman
	Cafres/ Caffre/ Caffree/ Kafra/ Kafrai/ Kafri/ Kaphir	Generic terms (of Persian origin) used in European languages for community of African origin in India
	Habshi Kafirs	Abyssinian slaves on the West Coast of India
	[Mosse	see Fitzroy, p. 166] (added by editors).
Former Portuguese India	Kafira Landa	
Sri Lanka	Abisi	Seventeenth century Sinhalese term for "Abyssinians"
	Kaffir	conventional term for Africans of slave descent
Portuguese African	Mulatto Asia	Descendant of European father and mother (or vice versa)
	Abeixis/ Abeixin/Abeixm	Ethiopians (of slave origin)
Indonesia (Java)	Belanda Hitam	Meaning Black Dutch man
China	Kunlun	Term for dark-skinned (including African) slaves [Tang, Qing]

Index

(of writers, in the reference sections, who find a mention in the text of the articles)

Abir, Mordechai – 490-91, 494
Afnan, A. – 413, 418
Aitchison, C. U. – 287, 298
Aksan, Virginia H. – 47, 73
Akyeampong, Emmanuel – 43-44, 53, 65, 71, 74
Al-Jahiz – 136
Allen, C.A. (Jr) – 579, 580, 590
Allen, James de Vere – 519, 527
Allen J. D. V. – 46, 51, 59, 73
Ali Moussa-Iye – 3, 4, 35
Ali, Shanti Sadiq – 44, 52, 63-65, 67-69, 73, 117, 147-48, 160, 193-94, 208
al-Maamiry, A.H. – 534-35, 544
Alpers, Edward – 43-44, 49, 54, 58, 63, 65, 68-69, 71, 74, 117, 146, 161, 499, 502-03, 510, 514-17, 527, 550, 577, 754
al-Sultanah, Taj – 423-24, 426-28, 430, 432
Altorki, Soraya – 59, 75
Amadiume, Ifi – 103, 106
Amiji, H.M. – 580, 590
Anbalagan, K. 342, 344
Angenot, Geralda de Lima – 9, 17, 315
Angenot, Jean-Pierre – xv, xviii, 9, 18, 331
Antonil, André Joao – 656, 659, 687
Apontes, Selmo Azevedo – 9, 18, 331
Appaswamy, Selva – 385, 390
Arasratnam, S. - 51, 62, 73
Armstrong, James C. – 49, 73
Armstrong. J. - 594, 596, 597, 612
Arnold, Arthur – 412-13, 418
Auida, Mustafa – 348, 359
Austen, Ralph – 45, 47, 74, 415, 419
Axelson, Eric – 406, 409
Ayalon, David – 62, 74,139,161

Badger, G.P. – 46, 74
Baptiste, Fitzroy André – 9-10, 13-14, 117, 161
Basch, Linda G. – 463, 478-79
Basham, Richard – 458-59
Bassett, J. – 411-13, 419
Basu, Helene- 52-53, 58, 65, 67, 70, 74, 117, 234, 243, 249, 255, 303, 311, 492, 495, 518, 527
Bates, D.G. – 304, 311
Bathurst, R.D. – 521, 527
Battle, S. – 586, 590
Battuta, Ibn – 10, 11, 48, 61, 63, 139-43
Bauss, Rudi – 170,180
Beachey, R. W. – 489-94, 550, 577
Bedwell. W. – 123
Begley, Vimla – 127, 161
Beltrán, Luis y Repetto – 25, 689, 703
Benoit, Norbert – 56, 74, 385, 390
Bennett, R. Norman – 486, 489, 495, 497-503, 505-08, 511, 525, 527, 584, 590
Berg, F.J. – 499-500, 505-07, 511
Bergman, Michel – 623, 635
Bernal, Martin – 125, 161
Bernardino, Gaspar de Santo – 515, 527
Beteille, André – 1, 32, 218, 220
Bettinger Robert. L – 43, 82
Bhacker, M. Reda – 521, 523, 527, 579, 590
Bhargava, M.L. – 44, 56, 74
Bharucha, C. – 342-43
Bhaskararao, P. 333, 339
Bhattacharjee, Anuradha – 9, 16, 277
Bhattacharya, D.K – 43, 52, 54, 56, 68-70, 74
Bialuschewski, A. – 599, 612
Biermann, Werner – 45, 74
Biesen, Ivan Vander – 22, 513, 528
Binning, R. – 412, 419
Birmingham, David – 664, 687
Bishop, I. – 412, 419
Blanc, Christina Szanton – 463, 477, 479
Blanchy, S. – 580, 590
Bloch, Maurice – 65, 74
Blumstein, S.E – 333-34, 340
Blyden, Edward Wilmot – 7, 98
Bocarro, Antonio – 170, 180
Bodomo, Adams B. – 20, 445, 459
Body-Gendrot, S. – 624, 635
Boeseken, A.J. – 594, 597, 612
Boivin, Michel – 48, 56, 74
Boomgaard, Peter – 56, 59, 63, 74
Bosworth, C. - 62, 74
Bouchon, Genevieve – 44, 74
Boxer, Charles – 657, 687
Boxer, C.R. – 184, 189
Boxnall, Peter – 124, 161
Bozarth, H. – 595, 612
Braudel. Fernand – 514, 528
Braziel, Jane Evans – 98, 103, 106
Brunschvig, R – 45-47, 49, 57, 60, 66, 74
Brunson, James. E. – 120, 164
Budge, E.A. Wallis – 126, 161
Burton, B. – 533, 544
Burton, Richard F. – 303, 305-06, 311, 416, 419, 536, 544, 581, 590
Busby, Margaret – 102, 106

Cacchioli, Niambi – 20, 421
Camara, Charles – 219-20, 317, 330
Campbell, Gwyn – 2, 5-6, 43, 45, 47, 51-52, 55-56, 58-60, 64-66, 69, 71, 91, 74-75, 550-52, 577, 764-66
Capela, José – 664, 687
Caplan, P. – 586, 590
Carmen, Raff -31, 267, 730, 751
Carré, Abbé – 10, 148, 150
Carvalho, José Jorge – 625-626, 635
Carvalho, Marcus – 665, 687
Casson, Lionel – 127,161, 513, 527

Catlin-Jairazbhoy, Amy – 9, 15, 257, 303, 311, 754
Chami, Felix A. – 43, 75
Chakraborty, R – 67, 81
Chakravarti, Sudesha – 49, 51, 56, 69, 75
Chanana, Dev Raj – 137, 161, 183
Chatterjee, Indrani - 49, 75
Chattopadhyay, Amal Kumar – 186, 189
Chaudhuri – 46, 75
Chauhan, R. R. S. – 58-59, 68-69, 74, 117, 161
Chesterman, C. – 341, 343
Chitnis, K. N. – 289, 298
Choeng, S.I. – 435-37, 440, 444
Chopra, P.N. – 183, 189
Clarence-Smith, William Gervase – 67, 75, 533, 544, 586-87, 590
Clifford, James – 308, 312
Coedes, G – 50, 75
Cohen, Robin – 97, 107
Colomb - 488-90, 492-93, 495, 531, 533, 537, 544
Comaroff, Jean – 463, 477
Comaroff, John – 463, 477
Cole, Donald P. – 59, 75
Cooper, Fredrick – 523, 528
Cooper, Kenneth J. – 76, 52, 58, 66, 445, 459
Correia, Jacinta Castelo Branco – 27, 713, 717, 720, 723, 725-727
Cossard, Gisele Binon – 652, 655
Coupland. R. – 550, 577
Cox, Oliver Cromwell – 212, 214, 217, 220
Curtin P. – 499, 504, 508, 511
Curtin, Philip D. – 515-16, 528, 659, 687

Dacie, J.V. – 342-43
Dames, M.L – 169, 180
Dasgupta, Ashin – 485, 495
das Neves, Carlos – 679-80, 682, 688
da Silva, Daniel Dominingues– 25, 657, 678, 687
da Silva, Oziel Marques – 9, 17, 315
Dave, R. – 333-34, 339
Davies, Carole Boyce – 6-8, 83, 86, 88, 97, 99-100, 102, 107
de Castanheda, Fernão Lopes – 517, 528
de Castro, Yeda Pessoa – 652, 655
de Costa-Williams, Miriam – 103, 107
de Grandpré, L. – 10, 148, 152
de Labra, Isabel -27, 717, 730-31
de Morais, Clodomir Santos – 26-27, 707
Delaye, Karine – 68, 76
de Souza, Teotonio R. – 9, 14, 167-68, 180
di Varthema, Lodovico – 46, 48, 76
Diop, Chikh Anta – 89, 107
Donley-Reid, Linda W. – 520, 528
Donnan, E. – 595, 600, 612
dos Santos, Joel Rufino – 624, 635
Doughty, C.M. – 415, 419
Drake, St. Clair – 92,107
Drewal, Henry John – 9, 16, 66, 68-69, 76, 269
D'Souza, V. – 211-12, 220
Duaib, Rifat, 350, 351, 359
Du Bois, W.E.B. – 84, 89, 107
Dukhi – 350, 359
Dunn, D.E. -543, 545
Duyvendak, J.J.L. – 46, 51, 76

Edwards, Brent Hays – 87, 108
Eaton, Richard M. - 45, 76, 285-86, 298
Elton, J. Frederic – 552-53, 555, 557, 560-61, 563
el Zein, Abdul Hamid M. – 520, 528
Engels, Frederick – 217, 220
Enthoven, R.E. – 122, 162
Ericksen, T. – 384, 390
Evers, Sandra – 57, 71, 76
Ewald, Janet J – 44-46, 49-50, 76, 587, 590

Faltovich, Rodolfo – 43, 76
Farahani, Mirza Hosayn – 423, 425, 432
Fentress, James – 249, 255
Fernandes, Naresh – 66, 69, 76
Fernyhough, Timothy Derek – 46, 76
Filesi, Teobaldi – 50-51, 54, 76
Firkin, F. – 341, 343
Fisher, Humphrey – 46, 76
Florentino, Manolo – 25, 657, 667, 683, 688
Flores, Jorge Manues – 63, 77
Foray, C.P. – 543, 545
Foster, Sir William – 150, 162
Fonseca, Jorge – 172, 180
Fortescue, J.W. – 599, 613
Franka – 659, 688
Freeman-Grenville, G.S.P. – 305, 312, 515, 519, 527
Freire, Tome – 26, 32, 732-34
Frere, H.B.E. – 586, 590
Friedman, Lawrence M. -86, 108
Fry, Peter -630, 635
Fryer, John, 193, 208

Gai, Pramod B. – 9, 18, 341
Galia, Sabar – 20, 461, 479
Garnsey, Peter – 493, 495
Gasht, M.R. Darya – 414, 419
Ghatwai, Milind – 69, 77
Ghazal, A.N. – 581, 590
Gillroy, Paul – 97-98, 100-01, 108
Glassman, J. – 579, 590
Goitein, S.D. – 134, 162
Goody, Jack – 45, 56, 60-61, 67, 77
Gomez, Michel Angelo – 91, 98-99, 108
Goor – 51
Goulart, Mauricio – 659, 688
Goulbourne, Harry – 101, 109
Grandidier – 47, 49, 77
Grandidier, A. - 594, 613
Grandidier, G. 594, 613
Gray, J.M. – 582, 590
Gray, Richard – 187, 189
Gregory, R.G. – 581, 591
Grey, Ch. – 600, 613
Griffith, Victoria - 445, 459
Griffiths, David – 55, 77
Gunarvardhana, R.A.L.H. – 126-27, 162

Habib, Mohammed – 138, 162

Hafkin, N.J. – 553-54, 562, 571, 577
Haley, Alex – 98,109
Hall, Stuart – 86, 97, 101, 109
Hall, Gendolyn Midlo – 91, 109
Hamilton, Ruth Simms – 89, 109
Hanchard, Michael – 97,109
Handal, Faleh – 348-51, 359
Hardy, P. – 62-63, 77
Hardyman, J.T. – 594, 601, 613
Harley, Sharon – 102, 113
Harries, Joseph – vi, 1, 2, 27, 29, 32, 43, 45-46, 48-50, 52, 54, 56-57, 61-63, 65, 67, 68-70, 77, 90, 98,104, 109, 147-48, 534-539, 541-543, 545, 761-62
Harris, (Major) W. Cornwallis – 487-88, 490-91, 495
Hassan, Mohammd – 491, 495
Hawkins, William - 148
Headlam, C.M.A. – 600, 613
Heck, Gene W. – 62-63, 77
Henrique, Ricardo – 626-27, 635
Henry, J.B.– 341, 344
Heringer, Rosana – 627, 635
Herman C.F. – 125, 162
Hermann, Paul – 50, 77
Herskovits, Melville – 89, 98, 109
Heshusius, C.A. – 368, 371, 381
Heywood Linda – 101, 109
Hiernaux, J. – 631, 635
Hill, C. – 598, 600, 614
Hine, Darlene Clark – 53, 77, 91, 98, 110
Hiremath, R.S. – 224, 232
Hirth, Friedrich – 46, 77
Hodges, Graham Russell – 593, 614
Hopkins, Edward – 137, 163
Horton, Mark – 514, 518-19, 529
Hotz, Robert Lee – 445, 459
Hughes K. – 472, 479
Huntingford, G.W.B. - 46, 48, 77
Hunwick, J O, – 45-46, 50, 54-56, 60-63, 67, 70, 77, 136, 163
Huxley, E. – 535, 537, 545

Ingham, K. – 536, 540, 545
Irwin, Graham W. – 44-45, 50-51, 54, 64, 67, 77,
Israel, Benjamin J. – 279, 283

Jackson, Mabel V. – 49, 77
Jacquard, Albert – 631, 635
James, Winston – 101, 110
Jameson, J.F. – 599-600, 614
Japhet, S – 9, 15, 223
Jasdanwalla, F. – 286, 298
Jayasuriya, Shihan de Silva – xv, 2, 32, 49, 52-54, 56, 58, 63, 68-70, 77, 84, 88, 92, 99, 110, 117, 148, 163, 301, 312, 515, 529
Jeal, T. – 537-38, 545
Jenkins, Trefor – 43, 77
Jha, Alok – 209, 220
Jin, Li – 67, 80
Judd, J. – 598-99, 601, 614

Kamir, Orit – 473, 478
Karp, Ivan – 249, 255
Keay, J. – 597, 614
Kehimkar, H.S. – 278, 283
Kelley, Robin D.G. – 91, 112
Khalaf, Sulaiman – 350, 359
Khalifa, Aisha Bilkhair – 18, 347
Khan, M. Ibrahim – 414, 419
Khan, Nawabzada N. – 289, 298
Kidwai, Salim – 48, 60, 62-63, 78
Kielstra, E.B. – 371, 381
Kim, Bok-Rae – 20, 435
Kjaerholm, Lars - 308, 312
Klein, Herbert – 659-60, 688
Klein, Richard – 43, 45, 47, 49, 55, 65, 78
Kobinschanow, Yuri M – 127, 163
Kochan, Miriam – 134,163
Kopytoff, Igor – 57, 64, 69-70, 78

Labra, Ivan – 27, 717, 730-31
Ladfoged, P. 333, 339
Lahori, Abdul Hamid – 169, 181
Lambek, Michael – 71, 78
Lane-Poole, Stanley – 139, 163
Larsen, Pier – 52, 78
Lapidus, Ira M. – 133, 163
Lawal, Babatunde – 250, 255
Leibbrandt, H.C.V. – 594-596, 614
Leontiev, A.N. – 717, 730
Lewis, Martin Bernard – 44-47, 49, 54-55, 61-62, 66-67, 70, 78, 132, 138, 148, 163
Lewis, S.M. – 243, 342
Lienhard, Martin – 652, 655
Lipsky, A. George – 491, 495
Litman, David – 134, 163
Lobo, Cyprian – 159, 163, 187, 189, 210, 220
Lobo, L. 585, 591
Lodhi, Abdulaziz Y. – 9, 17, 301, 312, 579, 591
Lofgren, O. – 293, 299
Loftus, .A. – 562, 577
Lokaisingh-Meighoo, Sean - 255
Lorde, Audré – 102-03, 110
Louis, Prakash – 218, 220
Lovejoy, Paul – 57, 65, 78, 191, 208, 485, 488, 489-91, 495
Luard, C.E. – 290, 299
Lubbock, A.B. – 597, 615
Lucrau, M. 490, 495
Luis Beltran y Repetto – 25
Lusk, John – 261-62, 268

Machado, Pedro – 48-49, 78, 170, 181
Maddison, I. – 331, 339
Malcolm, Sir John – 413, 415, 419
Maloney, Clarence – 403-04, 409
Mampilly, Zachariah Cherian – 50, 58, 65, 79
Maniku, Hassan Ahmed – 395, 409
Manning, Patrick – 485, 489-90, 495
Mankkar, D.R. – 291, 299
Mannur, Anita – 98, 103, 106
Marley, Bob – 98, 111
Marmon, Shaun E. – 139, 163

Marques, Joao Pedro – 179, 181
Marx, Karl – 217, 220
Masefield, J. -598, 615
Mathew, Gervase – 48, 79
Matsuoka Atsuko – 53, 79
Mazrui, Ali – 97, 111
M'Bow, Ahmadou Makhtar – xiii, xvii, 84, 111
McDermott, P.L. – 585, 591
McDonald, K.P. – 594, 615
Mckie, Robin – 119, 166
McLeod, Jacqueline – 53, 77
McLeod, John – 9, 16, 148, 285-86, 290, 299, 754
McPherson, Kenneth – 136, 163
McTaggert, Robin T. – 257, 268
Meeks, Brian – 85, 111
Meillassoux – 55, 79
Mendelsshon, Isaac – 137, 164
Middlton, John – 514, 516, 518-21, 529
Miers, Suzanne – 47, 57, 60-61, 64-65, 69-70, 78
Milani, Farzaneh – 424, 432
Minha, Us-Siraj – 192, 208
Mirzai, Behnaz A. – 19, 44, 47, 52-53, 55-56, 58, 68-70, 79, 411, 419
Misztal, Barbra – 249, 256
Mokhtar, G – 124, 164
Molet-Sauvaget, A. – 597, 615
Mollat, Michael – 48, 79
Montigny, Anie – 60, 64-65, 69-70, 79
Moodie, D. – 594-95, 597-98, 615
Moore, Carlos – 98, 111
Moore, Shawna – 98, 111
Morrison, Toni – 246, 256
Morton, Fred – 46, 78
Mosca, Liliana - 23, 593, 594, 596, 601, 615
Munanga, Kabengele – 24, 621-22, 627-28, 635

Nagapen, A. – 388, 390
Naseem, A.W. – 583, 591
Natvig, R. – 415, 419
Nelson, Cynthia – 70, 79
Neufeld, Ann – 472, 479
Newitt, M.D. - 554
Nicolini, Beatrice – 22-23, 523, 529, 579, 581-82, 591
Nihalani, P. – 333, 340
Nizami, Haaliq Ahmad – 138, 162
Nurse, Derek – 46, 79

Obeng, Pashington – 9, 15, 65, 58, 245-46, 250, 252, 254, 256
O'Callaghan, Sean – 491, 493, 495
O'Callaghan, E.C. – 600, 616
Ogot, B.A. – 531, 543, 545
Ojawando, John Patrick – 216, 221
Okpewho, Isidore – 53, 79, 97, 111
Oosthuizen, G.C. – 547, 565-570, 577
Ovington, J. – 598, 616
Oyewumi, Oyeronke – 103, 112

Palakshappa, T.C – 159, 164, 245, 247, 256
Palmer, Colins – 88, 90, 98, 112
Panday, Award Bihan – 145, 164
Pande, Rekha – 9, 14, 191, 208
Pandit, T.N - 120, 164
Pankhurst, Richard – 2, 32, 92, 110, 117, 148, 163, 193, 208, 301, 312, 484, 487-88, 490-91, 495, 515, 518, 529
Paroo, A. 579, 591
Patel, Jayanti K. – 303, 312, 517-18, 529
Patience, K. – 542, 545
Patil, Prakash V. – 9, 18, 341
Patnaik, Utsa – 63, 79
Patterson, Tiffany – 91, 112
Pearson, Michael N. – 485, 495, 514, 516, 529, 581, 591
Pearson, R. – 464, 479
Pellat, Ch. – 47, 61-62, 70, 79
Penington, D. – 341, 343
Pereira, Clifford – 22, 531
Pessar, P. - 469, 479
Pierson, Williams D. – 55, 80
Pinto, Celsa – 170,181
Pinto, Janette – 9, 14, 183, 187-89
Pires, Tomé – 46, 48, 63,8 0, 516-17, 527
Platt, B.V. – 601, 616
Plunkett, F. T. – 285, 289, 299
Poirier, Ch – 67, 69, 80
Polak, J.E. – 413, 419
Police, D. – 386, 390
Police-Michel, Daniella -19, 383, 386, 391
Popper, William – 139, 164
Pordeus, (Jr.) Ismael – 648, 655
Powe, Edward L. – 19, 393, 407, 409
Prasad, Kiran Kamal – xvi-xviii, 9, 14, 91, 112, 206, 208-10, 217-19, 221, 226, 232, 755, 757
Prashad, Vijay – 52, 58, 65, 80
Prince, Althea – 245, 256
Pringle, P. – 599, 616

Quenette, R. – 385, 391

Rahim, Muhammad Abdur – 145, 164
Rahimieh, Nasrin – 425-26, 433
Raju, B.M. – 535, 543, 545
Rakotolahy, 593, 616
Ramana, Gutala Venkata – 67, 80
Ramasubramaniam, N. – 333, 340
Ramusack, B. N. – 288-89, 299
Ranger, T.O. – 248, 256
Rashidi, Runoko – 65, 80, 120, 164, 436, 444-45, 459
Rassam, A. – 304, 311
Ratnagar, Shereen – 124, 164
Raven-Hart, 597-98, 600, 616
Rea, William Francis – 49, 80
Reddock, Rhoda – 103, 112
Reid, Anthony – 56-58, 64, 68, 70, 80
Reinaud, M – 48, 63, 80
Remtulla, W.S. – 579, 591
Rhodney, Walter – 510-11
Ribas, Oscar – 652, 655
Ribeiro, Alexandre Viera – 25, 657, 659, 688
Ricks, Thomas M. – 48, 80, 422, 433

Ritchie, R.C. – 598-601, 616
Rivara, J.H. Cunha – 173-74,181
Robbbins, Kenneth. X – 148, 285, 299, 754
Rockel, S. – 581, 591
Rodgrigues, João Jorge Santos -630, 636
Rodrigues, Nina – 89, 112
Roe, Sir Thomas – 10, 148, 150
Rogers, J.A. – 437, 444
Rogozinski, J. – 598-99, 616
Roosevelt, Theodore – 623, 636
Ross, Eric S. – 54, 62, 80
Ruffe, J. – 631, 636
Rush, B. – 341, 343
Rushing, Andrea Benton – 102, 113
Russel , R.V – 122, 165

Sabar, ben Yehoshua Naama - 464, 479
Sabar, Galia – 20, 461, 479
Sainsbury, W.N. – 595, 596, 617
Sakclaux, Carles – 517, 530
Sala-Molins, L. – 384, 391
Salmon, Richard – 127, 165
Salzar – 472, 479
Saunders, Tania .R. – 98, 111
Saunders, W.L. 596, 617
Savage-Landor, Arnold H. – 435, 444
Saxena, Kishore Kumar – 125-26, 165
Schiller, Nina Glick 463, 477, 479
Schmandt-Besserat, Danise – 124, 165
Schoff, Wilfred H. – 121, 165
Scholtz, Piotr O. – 139, 165
Schwartz, Merlin – 134, 165
Schwartz, Stuart B. – 659, 688
Schurhammer, George – 184-85, 189
Sebastyen, Eva – 24, 645
Seedat, Zubeda Kassim – 556, 560, 563, 565, 566, 568-74, 577
Seele, Keith – 125, 166
Segal, Ronald, 193, 208, 485, 488-89, 491-92, 495, 531, 533, 545
Selenes, W. Robert – 648, 655
Sellassie, Sergrew Hable – 121, 125, 165
Semple, C. – 583, 591
Serjeant, Robert Bertram – 44, 80
Shack, A. William – 487, 491, 495
Shah, S.M. – 586, 591
Sharma, Ram Sharan – 137, 165
Sharp, Lesley, 248, 256
Shastry, R. Shama – 168, 181
Sheil, Mary – 416, 419, 428, 433
Shepherd, M.K. – 342, 344
Shepperson, George – 7, 45, 65, 80, 87
Sheriff, Abdul – 22, 47, 52, 67, 70, 80, 514-15, 521, 530, 547-48, 556, 577
Sherwani, Haroon Khan – 147, 165
Shillington, Kevin – 487, 495, 499, 501, 503-04, 507, 511
Shiordkar, P.P. – 48, 304, 313
Shrieve, James – 120, 165
Shroff, Beheroze – xvii, 9, 15, 50, 65-66, 70, 81, 233-34, 237, 244, 303, 313
Shyam, Radhey – 147, 165
Sidebotham – 132, 165
Sicker, Martin -132, 165
Sikhondze, Bonginkhosi Azariah Bhutana – 21, 497, 511
Simonsen, Roberto C. – 660, 668
Singh K. S – 120, 158, 165
Singh, L – 67, 81
Singh, Rahul – 66, 81
Sirao, F. – 586, 590
Sitapati, Vinay – 9, 15, 223
Skidmore, Thomas – 622, 636
Skinner, Elliot – 104, 113
Smith, Andrea – 95, 113
Snowden, Frank M – 43-44, 81
Sobrado, Miguel Chaves – 32, 267, 722, 730, 751
Sorenson, John – 53, 79
Spear, T – 46, 79
Speece, Mark – 523, 530
Speke, J.H. – 483, 495
Spindler Marc – 57, 76
Spitzer, Denise – 472, 479
Srinivas, M.N. – 29, 32
Steady, Filomina – 102, 113
Steindorff, George – 125, 166
Stevens, K.N.- 333-34, 340
Stewart, M. – 472, 479
Straus, J.A. – 45, 81
Stringer, Christopher – 119, 166
Su, Bing – 67, 80
Sulivan, R.N. – 533, 535, 545
Sullivan, G.L. – 415, 419
Sutton, J.E.G – 45, 81
Svarny,. O. – 332, 340
Sykes, S.P. – 412, 419

Talib, C – 139,166
Teelock, Vijaya – 59, 63, 81
Temu, Arnold – 547, 556,-67, 577
Teneiro, F. – 679, 688
Terborg-Penn, Rosalyn – 102, 113
Thomas, Gregory – 95, 113
Thompson, Robert Farris – 98,100,113
Thomson, Della – 449, 459
Thomson, Paul – 518, 530
Thompson, Vincent B. – 53, 81
Thorat, Sukhdeo 213-14, 221
Thosar, R.B. – 333, 340
Toledano, R. Ehud – 488, 490-491, 495
Topan, F. – 586, 590
Toro-Morn, Maura – 472, 480
Toussaint, Auguste – 51, 81
Trimingham, J. Spencer – 46, 54, 81, 500, 502, 505, 509. 553,
Tyldesley, Joyce – 126, 166

Udovitch, Abraham – 135, 166
Umakant 213-14, 221

van Harreveld, M. – 372-73, 381
van Kessel, Ineke – xvii, 18, 99, 113, 361, 381, 753
van Leur, J.C. – 50, 81
van Linschoten, John Huyghen, – 183, 189, 192, 208, 517, 527
van Sertima, Ivan – 43, 81 ,139, 166, 445
Van't Ver, P. – 371, 381
Verger, Fluxo e Refluxo – 662, 681, 688
Verin, P. - 46, 48, 50, 56, 81
Verissimo, Jose – 622, 636
Verlinden, Charles – 119, 166
Verma, D.C. 147, 166
Verstege, J.J.W.E. – 371, 381
Vijaykumar, M – 52-54, 56, 81

Wakeman, A. – 601, 617
Walden, ruth – 334, 340
Walker, David – 7, 87
Walker, Sheila S. – xviii, 24, 98, 113, 637, 757
Walker, Timoty – 171, 180-81
Wallenstein, Peter – 50, 82
Warner-Lewis, Maureen - 99, 101, 113
Wang. N – 67, 81
Ward, Kerry – 50, 82
Warren, James Francis – 56, 58, 64, 80
Watson, James – 57, 61, 69, 81, 492-93, 495
Wekker, Gloria – 103, 114
Whitehead, Andrew – 44, 82, 308, 313
Wickham, Chris- 249, 256
Wicki, J. – 172, 174, 177-78, 181, 185-86, 189
Williams, Chancellor – 88-89, 114
Williams, Raymond, 191, 208
Wills, A.J. – 532, 533
Wills, Charles James – 416-17, 419
Wilson, Carlton – 53, 65, 82
Wilson, Thomas H. 519, 527
Winks, Robin W. – 341, 344
Wolf, Dian Lauren – 469, 480
Wolf, Virginia – 467, 480
Worden, Nigel – 50, 82
Wright, T.P. – 285, 290, 294, 299

Xavier, F.N. – 179, 181

Yimene, Ababu Minda – 21, 191, 208, 483, 492, 495
Young, David A – 43, 82

Zahan, Dominique – 650, 656
Zeleza, Paul – 97, 114
Zvelebi, K. – 332, 340
Zwitser, H.L. – 371, 381

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[The following pp. 315-329 replace pp. 315-330 in the book.]

17

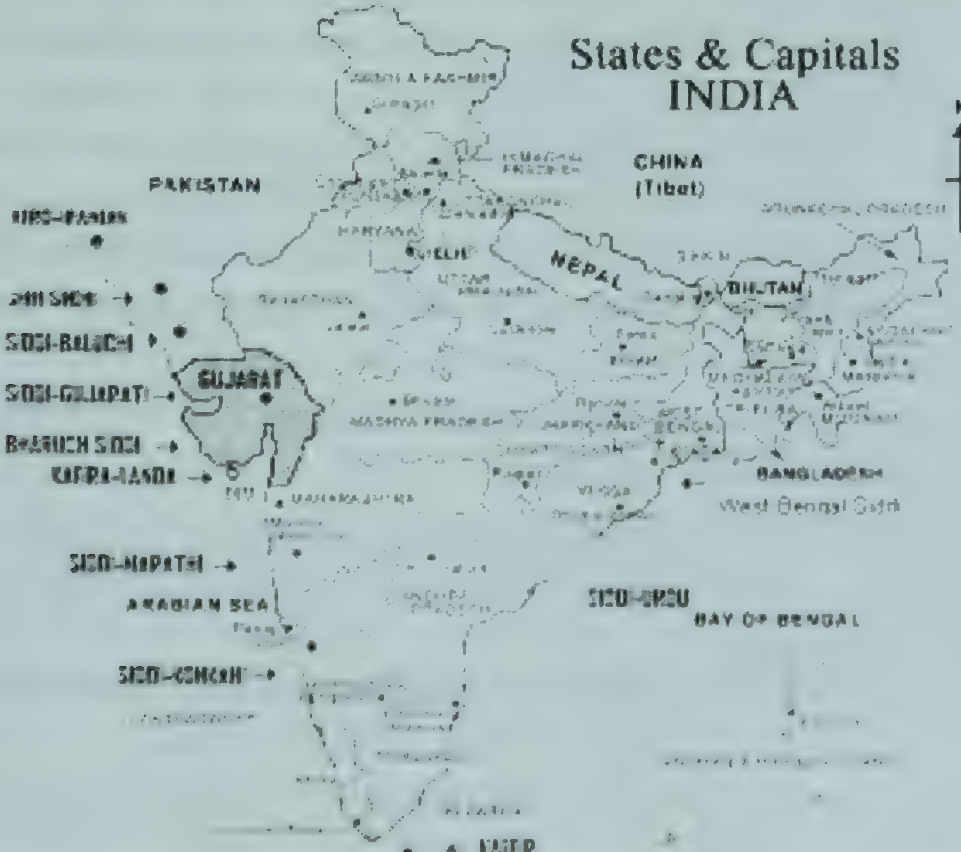
The African, Portuguese, Kannada, Marathi, Malvani, Hindi and English Influences on the Hybridized Siddi-Konkani Dialect [1]

Geralda de Lima Angenot
and Oziel Marques da Silva

1. This paper aims to present a general survey of the linguistic features which characterize the variety of the Konkani language spoken by the Siddis who live in Yellapur subdistrict and its surrounding areas in Karnataka. We try to show definitively that Siddi-Konkani cannot be defined as being an African language nor a creolized language, but is only a specific hybridized dialect of the Konkani language which has integrated several successive external linguistic influences.

Siddi-Konkani is a relatively endangered language which is mainly spoken in Uttara Kannada district of Karnataka, India, by about 12,000 tribal descendants of African slaves who escaped, between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries from Goa to hide in the deep Western Ghat forests, outside the Portuguese Crown colony. Its present survival is threatened by Kannada, the regional Dravidian language used as the official vehicle for education, and by Marathi, the official Indo-Aryan language of the neighbouring state of Maharashtra, also frequently used in the northern border area of Karnataka state.

The areas of the Siddi-Konkani can be visualised on the following map:



Of course, the mother tongues spoken by the ancestors of the contemporary Karnataka Siddi people formed a constellation of African languages which belonged mainly to the Bantu family, given that most of the slaves forcibly transported by the Portuguese were captured in the immense interior of eastern and central Africa, which is still populated today by speakers of a lot of different, but relatively closed, Bantu languages, before being transported from the trading posts of Mozambique and the East African Swahili coast.

The existence of a common pan-Bantu vehicular pidgin that was used by the slaves on their arrival in Goa can be deduced from the typological proximity of their original languages and from the traditional African habits of bilingualism characterised by the use of a regional vehicular language for interethnic communication at the same time as Goans christianized the individiual tribal mother tongues. This pidginized Bantu language was probably strongly influenced by the common variety of Portuguese used in usual international communication in the Asian and Indian Oceanic world for several centuries, given that usually the slaves, for quite a long period, lived in captivity in the Portuguese quarters of the East African ports, before being transported to Goa. In Goa, the African slaves progressively lost the use of this slightly portuguesized Bantu pidgin in favour of a creolized version of the language of their owners, who were, for the most part, Portuguese expatriates and rich christianized Goans, and who were, generally, bilingual in Portuguese and in a growing Portuguese-variety of the Konkani language, which was notably used with the servants, the slaves and the low caste people, in general. Given that the African slaves deported to Asia were a lot less numerous than those taken to the Americas, and that they were, above all, destined for domestic activities and not for plantation work, as was the case in Brazil, for example, their linguistic habits evolved in a very fast way, through a gradual and constant process of assimilation by the dominant Portuguese-Konkani spoken by their Christian Goan masters. The marooned slaves who escaped from Goa and crossed the border of the current Karnataka state to take refuge in the deep forests of the Western Ghâts spoke a relatively simplified version of the Konkani spoken by the Christian Goans and their servants.

To sum up, we can consider that the linguistic history of the Siddi-Konkani people experienced the following evolving steps:

(1) a constellation of related Bantu languages spoken by populations who are generally bilingual users of their mother tongue and of a regional language;

(2) a pidginized Bantu language with elements of the Indian Oceanic variety of Portuguese used as "lingua franca" in Asia;

(3) a creolized popular variety of the Portuguese-Konkani spoken by the Christian Goans;

(4) a decreolized popular variety of the Portuguese-Konkani spoken by the Christian Goans;
(5) a growing marathized variety of the original Christian Goan Konkani spoken by the minority hinduized section of the Siddi-Konkani people who left their Christian roots after leaving their forestal protective screen;
(6) a growing influence of Kannada, the official language of Karnataka state accentuated by the relatively recent access to schooling; and
(7) a growing influence of English loan-words as a consequence of education, travel and other external contacts.

In other words, the *substratic* ancestral African languages were gradually substituted by a dialectal variety of the *superstratic* Konkani language, which, as for that, was successively hybridised by borrowings from the Portuguese, Marathi, Kannada and English languages.

The current Siddi-Konkani language is the hybridized result of various prehistoric and historic interactions between several members of several linguistic families, phyla and megaphyla, as we can synthesize in the following simplified chart :

MEGAPHYLA :	**PHYLA :**	**FAMILIES :**	**LANGUAGES :**	
KongoKordofanian	....	Bantu	Eastern Group Central Group	SUBSTRATE
Nostratic	Indo-European	Indo-Aryan	Goan Konkani	SUPERSTRATE
			Marathi	ADSTRATE
		Romance	Portuguese	
		Germanic	English	
	Dravidian	....	Kannada	

Finally, we have to point out the existence of a third Siddi community of Sunni Muslim Siddis (30%) living in Karnataka near the Christian Siddis (45%) and the Hindu Siddis (25%) (see, Câmara, 2004:102). They speak a dialectal variety of the Urdu language because of their different origin. They are not descendants of escaped Goan slaves but the descendants of African mercenaries demobilized by the British raj. They mainly left West Bengal, Janjira Island, Mumbai city and different places in the Deccan region to settle down in Hyderabad. An avant-garde of this internal migration reached Karnataka where they met Christian and Hindu Siddis who were already settled there.

2. What about possible hidden remnants of an African Linguistic Component which could originate from eastern and central Africa Bantu languages spoken notably in Mozambique and in the broad Swahili area?

So far no words of clear African origin have been found in Siddi-Konkani in the usual vocabulary, contrary, for example, to the Siddi-Gujarati languages where several items of African origin were identified, notably by Abdulaziz Lodhi (see, his article in this volume pp 301) and Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy (personal communication).

Only the following, still hypothetical, indications of possible African retentions can be suggested, with reservations:

(a) Virtual hidden African lexical vestiges could probably be identified in specific domains of the Siddi culture, such as the oral transmission of myths and legends, the practice of ancestral animist rituals and traditional music, dance and songs. It is necessary to warn that access by a non-Siddi researcher into these very private cultural domains constitutes a sensitive, and necessarily a long time challenge.

(b) A phonotactical Bantu feature can explain the systematic allophonic tendency manifested by the Siddi speakers of realizing open syllables with a schwa vowel at the end of the word [# (...)$\$C_1V_2\$C_3$ɵ #] where the original corresponding Goan Konkani has a final syllable closed by a consonant [# (...)$\$C_1V_2C_3$ #]. Of course, an alternative less radical hypothesis can consider what occurred to be only a Bantu conservative reinforcement in Siddi-Konkani of an Old Konkani structure that is weakened in the contemporary Standard Konkani. For example, the word for "back" is pronounced [ˈfɑːt] in Goan Konkani but [ˈpʰɑːtɵ] in Siddi-Konkani.

(c) Another theme for a future instrumental inquiry is the alleged different melody that characterizes the overall perception by many non-Siddi speakers of the Siddi-Konkani pronunciation. It is interesting to compare such intonation features with the corresponding Bantu ones.

(d) While the phonetic and phonological systems of Goan Konkani, mainly in Christian Goan Bardeshi dialect, are characterised by a set of nasalised vowels that is the counterpart of the set of oral vowels, in Siddi-Konkani the nasalised vowels are absent. This neutralization of the contrast between oral and nasal vowels could be explained as the result of the maintenance of the well-attested phonotactic restriction tendency, which is common in the Bantu languages, where the absence of vowel nasalisation is general. Nevertheless, the weakness or sometimes the lack of nasalised vowels is sometimes attested in some Goan Konkani dialects or sociolects.

For example, the word for "tomorrow" is pronounced [ˈfɑljɑ̃] in Goan Konkani but [ˈpʰɑljɑ] in Siddi-Konkani.

The documentation of this Afro-Indian language is extremely important for the theoretical development of the studies of the different typological cases of contacts between the world´s languages. Indeed, all the African origin creoles, pidgins, sabirs and other weaker forms so far observed have resulted from contacts between African and European languages, with the notable exception of Kiswahili, born from a meeting between a Semitic and a set of eastern Bantu languages. Siddi-Konkani constitutes the first documented case resulting from historical interactions between an Indo-Aryan and African languages. Furthermore, in the hypothetical case of identifying one day some lexical elements from African origin in Siddi-Konkani, it would be a valuable help for getting a more accurate geographical identification of the African ancestors´ homeland.

3. The Borrowed Portuguese Lexical Items of Siddi-Konkani resulted from the contact period with the Portuguese or Christian Goan owners of the slaves.

While Christian Goan Konkani integrated a large number of Portuguese loanwords in its vocabulary, this number is considerably reduced in Siddi-Konkani, not exceeding 10 per cent of the at least 2,500 Portuguese borrowings attested in Goan Konkani. An important explanation for these lexical losses is notably the forgetting of the designation of many of the material objects that the escaped slaves did not take with them when they penetrated deep into the woods. It was natural that fugitives did not burden themselves with tables, windows or chairs, for example. So they forgot the Portuguese words for such objects and they have recently adopted English borrowings for denoting them again after coming out of the forests some decades ago.

The semantic fields represented by the Portuguese borrowings in Siddi Konkani are extremely limited. All the 214 loanwords we have identified are restricted to the following topics:

(a) names: 32.5 per cent ;
(b) surnames of non-Siddi people of Goan origin: 15.2 per cent;
(c) Catholic religion: 26.2 per cent;
(d) manufactured objects : 19.5 per cent;
(e) human relations: 3.8 per cent;
(f) fruits: 3.7 per cent; and
(g) *varia*: 6.6 per cent.

The high number of terms related to Catholic practice is very much unexpected given the long interruption of direct contact with priests during the centuries of isolation in the forests. There are two possible complementary explanations for this. This can be an evidence for stating that the contemporaneous Siddi-Konkani people are not descendants of only the marooned slaves who ran away at the start of the colonial period but that there was a constant flow of escaped slaves for several centuries and also, following the abolition of slavery, many free Afro-Indians without lands followed the old "slave route" to the western Ghat forests. Furthermore, for some decades the Catholic Church has been involved in an intense project of recouperation and reconversion of these descendants of christianized slaves, who were left forgotten for so long.

SIDDI NAMES : 32.5 per cent

	ENGLISH	PORTUGUESE	SIDDI-KONKANI
1.	*Abel*	*Abel*	[ɑbɛlᶱ]
2.	*Abraham*	*Abrão*	[ɑbɾɑβᶱ]
3.	*Adam*	*Adão*	[ɑdɑβᶱ]
4.	*Agnes*	*Ines*	[ɪnisᶱ]
5.	*Alberto*	*Alberto*	[ɑlᶱβɵtᶱ]
6.	*Alph*	*Alfonso*	[ɑlᶱpʰoⁿso] [ɑlᶱpʰoⁿsᶱ]
7.	*Ambrose*	*Ambrósio*	[ɑbᶱrɔdᶻᶱ]
8.	*Angela*	*Angela*	[ɑⁿdᶾɛlɑ]
9.	*Anna*	*Ana*	[ɑnɑ]
10.	*Aurelia*	*Aurélia*	[ɑwᶱrɛlɑ]
11.	*Barbara*	*Bárbara*	[bɑrᶱbɑɾɑ]
12.	*Benedict*	*Benedito*	[beneditᶱ]
13.	*Benjamin*	*Benjamim*	[beⁿdᶾɑmi]
14.	*Cain*	*Caim*	[kɑjᶱnᶱ]
15.	*Cajetan*	*Caetano*	[kɑjᶱtɑnᶱ]
16.	*Camil*	*Camilo*	[kɑmilᶱ]
17.	*Celin*	*Celina*	[ʃelinɑ]
18.	*Clara*	*Clara*	[kᵅlɑrᶱ]
19.	*Clement*	*Clemente*	[kᶱlemeⁿtᶱ]
20.	*Conception*	*Conceição*	[kosesɑβᶱ]
21.	*Elizabeth*	*Elizabete*	[ɪlᶱdᶻɑbɛtᶱ]
22.	*Emmanuel*	*Manuel*	[mɑnuʷelᶱ]
23.	*Eva*	*Eva*	[i̯eβɑ]ʔ[i̯eβᶱ]
24.	*Fatima*	*Fátima*	[pʰɑtimɑ]
25.	*Francis*	*Francisco*	[pʰrɑⁿsisko]
26.	*George*	*Jorge*	[dᶾʲɔrᶱdᶾᶱ]
27.	*Ignatius*	*Inácio*	[ɪnɑsᶱ]
28.	*Isabel*	*Izabel*	[ɪd̲ᶾʲɑbelᶱ]
29.	*Jesus*	*Jesus*	[d̲ᶾedᶻu]
30.	*Joachim*	*Joaquim*	[d̲ᶾʲɑcinᶱ]
31.	*Joan Joanna*	*Joana*	[dᶻuwɑnɑ]

(Contd....)

32.	*Joel*	*Joel*	[dᶾoʷɛlᵊ]
33.	*John*	*João*	[dᶻuʷɑᵊ]
34.	*Joseph*	*José*	[dᶻʲud̲ᶾe]
35.	*Judas*	*Judas*	[d̲ᶾudɑsᵊ]
36	*Lawrence*	*Lourenço*	[lɔreⁿsᵊ]
37	*Lazarus*	*Lazaro*	[lɑdᶻɵrᵊ]
38	*Lina*	*Lina*	[linɑ]
39	*Linda*	*Linda*	[liⁿdɑ]
40	*Louis*	*Luís*	[luʋisᵊ]
41	*Lourdes*	*Lourdes*	[ludᶾi]
42	*Luke*	*Lucas*	[lukɑsᵊ]
43	*Madeleine*	*Magdalena*	[mɑgᵊdɑlinᵊ]
44	*Mark*	*Marcos*	[mɑrᵊkosᵊ]
45	*Martha*	*Marta*	[mɑrᵊtɑ]
46	*Matthew*	*Mateus*	[mɑteʋᵊ]
47	*Michael*	*Miguel*	[mɪᵑgɛlᵊ]
48	*Moses*	*Moises*	[mod̲ᶾʲesᵊ]
49	*Paul*	*Paulo*	[pɑβᵊlu]
50	*Peter*	*Pedro*	[pedᵊɾu]
51	*Philip*	*Felipe*	[pʰɪlipe]
52	*Philomena*	*Filomena*	[pʰɪlominɑ]
53	*Remedius*	*Remédio*	[rɛmɛdᵊ]
54	*Rita*	*Rita*	[ritɑ]
55	*Rock*	*Roque*	[roci]
56	*Rosario*	*Rosário*	[rudᶻɑrʲo]
57	*Rose*	*Rosa*	[rodᶻɑ]
58	*Sebastian*	*Sebastião*	[bɑsᵊtiʲɑβᵊ]
59	*Simon*	*Simão*	[sɪmɑβᵊ]
60	*Theresa*	*Teresa*	[teredᶻᵊ]
61	*Veronica*	*Verônica*	[βeɾonikɑ]
62	*Xavier*	*Xavier*	[dᶾeʋiʲerᵊ]
63	———	*Carmela*	[kɑrᵊmɛlɑ]
64	———	*Estela*	[esᵊtelɑ]
65	———	*Francisca*	[pʰrɑⁿsiskɑ]
66	———	*Inácia*	[ɪⁿsiʲɑ]
67	———	*Joanita*	[dᶾonitɑ]
68	———	*Natalina*	[nɑtɑlinɑ]
69	———	*Pedrina*	[pedᵊɾinᵊ/pedᵊɾinɑ]
70	———	*Romana*	[romɑnᵊ]

(Contd....)

NON-SIDDI SURNAMES KNOWN BY THE SIDDIS: 15.2 per cent

71.	———	*Carvalho*	[kar$^{\text{ɵ}}$βalo]
72.	———	*Costa*	[kɔs$^{\text{ɵ}}$ta]
73.	———	*Coutinho*	[kuti:no]
74.	———	*de Souza*	[disod$^{\text{z}}$a]
75.	———	*Diniz*	[dɪnis$^{\text{ɵ}}$]
76.	———	*Fernandes*	[p$^{\text{h}}$er$^{\text{ɵ}}$na$^{\text{n}}$des$^{\text{ɵ}}$]
77.	———	*Figueiredo*	[p$^{\text{h}}$igeredo]
78.	———	*Furtado*	[p$^{\text{h}}$ur$^{\text{ɵ}}$tadu]
79.	———	*Gomes*	[gomis$^{\text{ɵ}}$]
80.	———	*Lima*	[lima]
81.	———	*Lobo*	[lobu]
82.	———	*Martins*	[mar$^{\text{ɵ}}$tis$^{\text{ɵ}}$]
83.	———	*Mascarenhas*	[mas$^{\text{ɵ}}$karenas$^{\text{ɵ}}$]
84.	———	*Miranda*	[mɪra$^{\text{n}}$da]
85.	———	*Nazareth*	[nad$^{\text{z}}$arεt$^{\text{e}}$]
86.	———	*Osório*	[ɔd$^{\text{z}}$ɔr$^{\text{j}}$o]
87.	———	*Pereira*	[pere:ra]
88.	———	*Pinto*	[pi$^{\text{n}}$tu]
89.	———	*Rego*	[rego]
90.	———	*Rodrigues*	[rod$^{\text{ɵ}}$rɪges$^{\text{ɵ}}$]
91.	———	*Souza*	[sodza]/[sodʒa]
92.	———	*Vasco*	[βaʃ$^{\text{ɵ}}$ko]
93.	———	*Vitor*	[ʋɪtor$^{\text{ɵ}}$]

CATHOLIC RELIGION : 26.2 per cent

	ENGLISH	PORTUGUESE	SIDDI-KONKANI
94.	*altar*	*altar*	[al$^{\text{ɵ}}$tar$^{\text{ɵ}}$]
95.	*angel*	*anjo*	[a$^{\text{n}}$d$^{\text{ʒɵ}}$]
96.	*apostle*	*apóstolo*	[apɵs$^{\text{ɵ}}$tɵl$^{\text{ɵ}}$]
97.	*Hail Mary*	*Ave Maria*	[amori]
98.	*bishop*	*bispo*	[bis$^{\text{ɵ}}$p$^{\text{ɵ}}$]
99.	*blessing*	*bençāo*	[besaβ$^{\text{ɵ}}$]
100.	*catholic*	*católico*	[katɔlic$^{\text{ɵ}}$]
101.	*chapel*	*capela*	[kɵpel$^{\text{ɵ}}$]
102.	*christian*	*cristão*	[kɪrɪs$^{\text{ɵ}}$taβ$^{\text{ɵ}}$]
103.	*Christmas*	*Natal*	[natal$^{\text{ɵ}}$]
104.	*church*	*igreja*	[igɵr$^{\text{ɵ}}$d$^{\text{zɵ}}$]

(Contd....)

105.	*communion*	*comunhâo*	[kumɪɲaβ^{ə} /komuɲa]
106.	*convent*	*convento*	[kɔl^{ə}me^{n}t^{ə}]
107.	*cross*	*cruz*	[kuɾis^{ə}]
108.	*curse*	*maldição*	[mal^{ə}dɪsaβ^{ə}]
109.	*devout person*	*devoto*	[dɪβot^{ə}]
110.	*Easter*	*Páscoa*	[pas^{ə}ǩã]
111.	*Father*	*padre*	[pad^{ə}ɾi]
112.	*godfather*	*padrinho (=compadre)*	[paden^{ə}]
113.	*godmother*	*madrinha (=comadre)*	[maden^{ə}]
114.	*gospel*	*evangelho*	[βa^{n}d̲^{ʒ}el^{ə}]
115.	*holy water*	*água benta*	[ag^{ə}mɛt^{ə}]
116.	*Lent*	*quaresma*	[kɵɾɛs^{ə}m^{ə}]
117.	*mass*	*missa*	[miːs^{ə}]
118.	*miracle*	*milagre*	[mɪlag^{ə}ɾi]
119.	*mission*	*missão*	[misaβ^{ə}]
120.	*mother (nun)*	*madre*	[mad^{ə}ɾ^{ə}]
121.	*novena*	*novena*	[noʋen^{ə}]
122.	*picture of a saint*	*imagem (de santo)*	[ɪmad^{zə}]
123.	*procession*	*procissão*	[pur^{ə}saβ^{ə}]
124.	*rosary*	*rosário*	[rod^{z}ar]
125.	*sacrament*	*sacramento*	[sak^{ə}ɾame^{n}t^{ə}]
126.	*saint*	*santo*	[saː^{n}t^{ə}]
127.	*saint*	*santa*	[sa^{n}t^{ə}]
128.	*Saint-Agnes*	*Santa Ines*	[sa^{nə}tinis^{ə}]
129.	*Saint-Cross*	*Santa Cruz*	[sa^{n}tak^{ə}ɾud^{zə}]
130.	*Saint-Ignacia*	*Santa Inácia*	[sa^{n}tɪnas^{ə}]
131.	*Saint-Lucy*	*Santa Luzia*	[sa^{n}t^{ə}lusi^{j}a]
132.	*Saint-Martha*	*Santa Marta*	[sat^{ə}mar^{ə}ta]
133.	*Saint-Thomas*	*São Tomé*	[sataman^{ə}]
134.	*Satanas*	*satanás*	[sɵt^{j}anas^{ə}]
135.	*sermon*	*sermão*	[ʃ^{j}er^{ə}maβ^{ə}]
136.	*soutane*	*loba (= batina)*	[loːb^{ə}]
137.	*third (of a rosary)*	*terço*	[ter^{ə}s^{ə}]
138.	*to bless*	*benzer*	[be^{n}d^{z}ar^{ə}]
139.	*to confess*	*confessar*	[kum^{ə}sar^{ə}]
140.	*to pray*	*rezar*	[rɵd^{z}ar]
141.	*to receive communion*	*comungar*	[komu^{ŋ}gar^{ə}]

(Contd....)

MANUFACTURED OBJECTS : 19.5 per cent

	ENGLISH	PORTUGUESE	SIDDI-KONKANI
142.	*to sing*	*cantar(=canto religioso)*	[kaⁿtarᵊ]
143.	*vow*	*voto*	[ʋete]
144.	*bag*	*saco*	[sɑːkᵊ]
145.	*ball*	*bola*	[bɔːlᵊ]
146.	*bench*	*banco (assento)*	[bɑkᵊ]
147.	*bomb*	*bomba*	[bomᵊbɑ]
148.	*boot*	*bota*	[buːtᵊ]
149.	*bucket*	*balde*	[balᵊdi]
150.	*calico*	*chita*	[tʃitɑ]
151.	*cupboard*	*armário*	[ɑlᵊmɑrᵊ]
152.	*dish*	*prato*	[pᵊratᵊ]
153.	*fork*	*garfo*	[gɑrᵊfᵊ]
154.	*glasses*	*óculos*	[okᵊlᵊ]
155.	*glove*	*luva*	[luβᵊ]
156.	*guitar*	*guitarra*	[gɪtɑrᵊ]
157.	*handkerchief*	*lenço*	[lesᵊ]
158.	*hat*	*chapeu*	[t̪ᶴɛpo]
159.	*hook*	*gancho*	[gɑdᶻᵊ]
160.	*key*	*chave*	[t̪ᶴʲɑʋi]
161.	*lantern*	*lanterna* *(= candieiro)*	[lɑⁿterᵊ]
162.	*napkin*	*toalha*	[tuβalo]
163.	*necklace*	*colar (=gola* *"neckband")*	[kolɑrᵊ]
164.	*palanquin*	*palanquim*	[pɑlᵊci]
165.	*photograph*	*foto(grafia)*	[pʰotu]
166.	*pistol*	*pistola*	[pɪsᵊtulᵊ]
167.	*plate*	*chapa*	[tʃɑpᵊ]
168.	*pocket*	*bolso*	[bolᵊsᵊ]
169.	*raincoat* *(type Of)*	*capota* *(de chuva)*	[kɑpuᵊ]
170.	*reviewing stand*	*palanque*	[pɑlɑᵑgᵊ]
171.	*salad*	*salada*	[sɑlɑdᵊ]
172.	*school*	*escola*	[ɪʃᵊkɔlᵊ]
173.	*shawl*	*chale*	[ʃɑlᵊ]
174.	*soap*	*sabão*	[sʲɑbənᵊ/sʲɑbunᵊ]
175.	*sofa*	*sofa*	[sopʰɑ]
176.	*soup*	*sopa*	[soːpᵊ]
177.	*spoon*	*colher*	[kulerᵊ] (Contd....)

178.	*table*	*mesa*	[mɛdᶻ]
179.	*terrace*	*terraço*	[teɾɑsᶱ]
180.	*tile (type of)*	*cafre (= telha)*	[kʰɑpᶱɾi]
181.	*tower*	*torre*	[to:rᶱ]
182.	*trunk (big)*	*mala (grande carga)*	[mʰɑ:lᶱ]
183.	*waistcoat, vest*	*colete*	[kɔledᶻᶱ]

HUMAN RELATIONS : 3.8 per cent

	ENGLISH	PORTUGUESE	SIDDI-KONKANI
184.	*barrister*	*advogado*	[ɑdᶱβɔgɑdᶱ]
185.	*brother-in-law*	*cunhado*	[kuⁿdᶾʲɑdᶱ]
186.	*father*	*pai*	[pɑjᶱ]
187.	*married (woman)*	*casada (mulher)*	[kɑdᶻɑɾi]
188.	*master*	*mestre (carpinteiro)*	[mɛstᶱ]
189.	*mother*	*mãe*	[mɑjᶱ]/[bɑjᶱ]
190.	*nurse*	*aiá*	[ɑjɑ]
191.	*to marry*	*casar*	[kɑdᶻɑrᶱ]

FRUITS: 3.7 per cent

192.	*cashew*	*caju*	[kɑdᶻu]
193.	*coffee*	*café*	[kʰɑpi]
194.	*lemon*	*Limão*	[liᵐbu]
195.	*pawpaw*	*Papaia*	[pʰɔpɵjᶱ]
196.	*pear*	*pera (= goiaba"guava")*	[pe:rᶱ]
197.	*pineapple*	*ananás*	[ɵnɵsᶱ]
198.	*pumpkin*	*abóbora*	[bopoɺɔ]

OTHERS: 6.6 per cent

ENGLISH		PORTUGUESE	SIDDI-KONKANI
199.	*all right!*	*certo!*	[ʃɛrᶱtᶱ]
200.	*bad breath*	*bafo*	[βɑfᶱ]
201.	*calm*	*sossego*	[susegᶱ]
202.	*cat's*	[mɑ̃ⁿdᶻəratˢo]	[mɑⁿdᶻɵrɑtˢo]
203.	*dowry*	*dote*	[dɔ:tᶱ]
204.	*feast*	*festa*	[pʰɛsᶱtᶱ]
205.	*fresh*	*fresco*	[fresᶱkᶱ]
206.	*goodbye*	*adeus!*	[ɑdeʃᶱ]

(Contd....)

207.	*greenish*	*garço*	[garᵊsɔ]
208.	*hole*	*buraco*	[burakᵊ]
209.	*kilo*	*quilo*	[kilo]
210.	*quiet*	*sossegado*	[soʃegado]
211.	*to finish*	*acabar*	[kabarᵊ]
212.	*to pay*	*pagar*	[pɵgarᵊ]
213.	*to throw*	*jogar*	[dᶻugarᵊ]

After their relatively recent coming out of the forests, Siddi-Konkani borrowed a growing number of lexical loans from other languages, notably Kannada, Marathi and English.

4. THE BORROWED KANNADA LEXICAL ITEMS

Sample of examples of lexical Kannada borrowings in Siddi-Konkani :

ENGLISH	KANNADA	SIDDI-KONKANI
bricks	[iʈʈige]	[itɵŋgi]
coloured	[bʌɳɳʌ]	[bɵnnatᶴɛ]
detail	[ʋiʋʌrʌ]	[ʋivɵrᵊ]
monkey	[mʌŋgʌ]	[mɵŋgɔ]
net for fishing	[bʌlɛ]	[dᶻalɛ]
small hole in the earth	[guɭi]	[kuli]
small stool	[mʌɳɛ]	[mʰɵni]
watermelon	[kʌllʌŋgaɖi]	[kɵlãᵑgdo]
weapon for hunting	[bʌrtᶴi]	[bɵrtᶴi]

5. THE BORROWED MARATHI LEXICAL ITEMS

Sample of examples of lexical Marathi borrowings in Siddi-Konkani :

ENGLISH	MARATHI	SIDDI-KONKANI
asking	[witᶴartat]	ʋitᶴarᵊtatᵊ]
bed	[kʰt]	[kʰtᵊ]
but	[pn]	[pɵnᵊ]
came	[jewum]	[jeumᵊ]
coconut tree	[narɹatᶴe dᶻʰad]	[narᵊɹatᶴe dᶻʰadᵊ]
contact	[sãᵐpərk]	[sãᵐpɵrᵊkᵊ]
far	[dur]	[durᵊ]
fish	[masəti]	[masɵti]
from	[kədun]	[kɵdunᵊ]

(Contd....)

from top	[wərnə]	[βɵrᶱnɵ]
here	[itʰe]	[itʰe]
here	[ikəde]	[ikɵde]
in the computer	[kəmputərɑt]	[kɵmᶱputɵrɑtᶱ]
only this	[jewdʰətˢ]	[jeʋᶱdʰɵtˢᶱ]
running	[pəɹu]	[pɵɹu]
seen	[bəgʰun]	[bɵgʰunᶱ]
so much	[kʰup]	[kʰupᶱ]
something wrong	[bidəste]	[bidɵsᶱte]
tailor	[ʃĩᵐpi]	[ʃĩᵐpi]
to be	[mʰəne]	[mʰɵne]
to keep	[tʰəwtəli]	[tʰɵβᶱtɵli]
tongue	[dᶾibil]	[dᶾibilᶱ]
went	[dᶻɑwun]	[dᶻɑβunᶱ]
what	[kɑj]	[kɑjᶱ]
wheel	[tᶴəkkər]	[tᶴɵkᶱkɵrᶱ]
with	[səhit]	[sɵhitᶱ]

6. THE BORROWED MALVAṄI LEXICAL ITEMS

Sample of examples of lexical Malvani (an intermediate dialect between Marathi and Konkani) borrowings in Siddi-Konkani :

ENGLISH	MALVANI	SIDDI-KONKANI
after a look	[bgʰljɑr]	[bɵgʰɵlᶱjɑrᶱ]
I	[mjɑ]	[mjɑ]
of boy	[dᶾʰilgʲɑtᶴe]	[dᶾʰilᶱgʲɑtᶴe]
to bird	[pɑkʰɑk]	[pɑkʰɑkᶱ]
told	[sɑ̃ᵑgug]	[sɑᵑgugᶱ]
white	[pɑ̃ⁿdro]	[pɑⁿdɵro]
why	[kʰekɑ]	[kʰekɑ]

7. THE BORROWED HINDI LEXICAL ITEMS

Sample of examples of lexical Hindi borrowings in Siddi-Konkani :

ENGLISH	HINDI	SIDDI-KONKANI
after a look	[bgʰljɑr]	[bɵgʰɵlᶱjɑrᶱ]
ant	[mũᵑli]	[muⁿli]
boats	[dʰʷnijɑ]	[dʰʷɵnijɑ]
elephant	[hɑtti]	[hɑtᶱti]
hour	[gʰɑ̃ⁿtɑ]	[gʰɑⁿtɑ]
key	[tᶴɑbbi]	[tᶴɑbᶱbi] (Contd....)

lips	[hot]	[hotᵊ]
moon	[tᶴãⁿd]	[tᶴaⁿdᵊ]
pigeon	[kbutr]	[kəbutərᵊ]
rain	[wrʃɑ]	[βərᵊʃɑ]
spider	[mkdi]	[məkədi]
stomach	[pet]	[pet]
tailor	[drdᶾi]	[dərᵊdᶾi]
to return back	[wɑps]	[βɑpəsᵊ]

8. THE BORROWED ENGLISH LEXICAL ITEMS

Sample of examples of lexical English borrowings in Siddi-Konkani :

	ENGLISH	SIDDI-KONKANI
bench	[bɛntᶴ]	[beⁿtᶴᵊ]
book	[buk]	[bu:kᵊ]
brush	[brʌʃ]	[brə:ʃ]
bucket	[bʌkɪtʰ]	[bɑketᵊ]
chocolate	[tᶴɔklɪtʰ]	[tʃokletᵊ]
cup	[kʰʌpʰ]	[kə:pᵊ]
December	[dɪsɛmb]	[diʃeᵐbərᵊ]
Drawer	[drɔ:]	[drɑβərᵊ]
glass	[glɑ:s]	[glɑ:sᵊ[
insult	[ɪnsʌltʰ]	[iⁿsəltᵊ]
jail	[dᶾeɪ̯l]	[dᶾʰʲel]
July	[dᶾulaɪ̯]	[dᶾulɑjᵊ]
Licence	[laɪ̯sns]	[lɑjsʲeⁿsᵊ]
machine	[mʃi:n]	[miʃʲenᵊ]
Mother (nun)	[mʌd]	[mədərᵊ]
pencil	[pʰɛnsl]	[peⁿsilᵊ]
pope	[pʰu̯pʰ]	[pɔ:pᵊ]
tie	[tʰai̯]	[tɑ:jᵊ]
tomato	[tʰmɑ:tu̯]	[tɔmɛto]
warm	[wɔ:m]	[βərəmə]

9. SOME OLD KONKANI RETENTIONS

elder	[tʰorlo]	[tʰorᵊlo]
fish	[mãⁿsuli]	[mãⁿsuli]
grazing	[tˢrutɑ]	[tˢərutɑ]
horn	[sĩᵑg]	[siᵑg]
people	[mɑnsɑ]	[mɑnəsɑ]

[P. 329 - Note & References are found on p.340]

[The following pp 331-340 replace pp 331-340 in the book.]

18

The Retroflected Consonants in Siddi-Konkani: Dravidian Sub-Apical Palatal or Indo-Aryan Apical Postalveolar Articulation?

Jean-Pierre Angenot and
Selmo Azevedo Apontes

It is a known fact that human perceptive and cognitive systems require only a small number of distinct signals to encode all the words and sentences of a language. But these signals are not necessarily the same in every language. There are phonetic differences among the sounds that languages use for phonological contrasts. In relation to the inventory of all human speech sounds, it is obvious that some places of articulation, for example, are favoured far more than others. In this way, as Maddieson (1980) has shown, velar stops articulation occurs in 99 per cent of the languages of the world, whereas uvular stops occur in only 14 per cent. Similarly, the comparative infrequency of retroflex stops (11 per cent of the languages of the world) is due to the comparative complexity of the articulation required, which is explained by anatomical considerations.

Languages do not have just fixed places in the vocal tract as, for example, dental, alveolar, postalveolar and retroflex successive IPA (International Phonetic Association) positions; but instead exhibit a continuous range of places of articulation, some languages choosing certain areas within this range, and others choosing others. Ladefoged demonstrated that this is in fact the case with regard to retroflex sounds in different Indian languages. He has been concerned with two Indo-Aryan languages (Hindi and Urdu) and two Dravidian languages (Tamil and Telugu).

According to Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996/2002: 25),

> *"The term 'retroflex' has been used for a variety of different articulations, which are linked as much by the shape of the tongue involved as the region on the upper surface of the mouth.. A retroflex articulation is one in which the tip of the tongue is curled up to some extent. In addition to the sub-apical palatal articulations that occur in Dravidian languages (as in Toda, Tamil or Telugu), there is also retroflex gestures in which the tip of the tongue is curled only slightly upwards, forming an articulation in the alveolar or, more usually, post-alveolar region. We will symbolize articulations of this kind by a subscript dot beneath the symbol for the apical alveolar sound. This usage has been explicitely disavowed by the International Phonetic Association (1989), but*

> *we have retained it so that we can differentiate between two degrees of retroflexion, using the approved IPA symbols [ʈ ɖ ɳ] for sub-apical palatal retroflex articulations of the Dravidian type (as Tamil and Telugu), but the dotted symbols [ṭḍṇ] for apical (post-)alveolar retroflex articulations of the Indo-Aryan type (as Hindi) with a less retroflexed tongue shape."*

Several authors (Svarný and Zvelebil 1955; Ladefoged 1964; Bhat 1973; Catford 1977) have noted differences among sounds classed as retroflex. According to Svarný and Zvelebil (1955), there are two distinct sound types, which we might call retroflex (when the underside of the tip of the tongue is involved, as in the Dravidian languages) and cacuminal (when the tip makes contact with the post-alveolar ridge as in the Indo-Aryan languages). In fact, there is a continuum going from a very strong retroflex sound of the kind [ɖ] used by speakers of Telugu and Tamil, through a slightly weak retroflex sound of the kind [ḍ] that occurs in Hindi and Urdu, to a non-retroflex sound involving the tip of the tongue such as English alveolar [**d**].

No acoustic property common to these two kinds of retroflex sounds has been found and there is not a specific and unique category "retroflex" but merely an ill-defined set of sounds that merges into neighbouring sets of sounds.

Articulatory Results of Retroflexion

There have been very few experimental studies of retroflex consonants.

The most detailed work has been done on Tamil and Urdu by Svarný and Zvelebil (1955). From a lengthy series of palatograms, linguagrams and X-rays, they found that the degree of retroflexion is greatest in Tamil with the tip of the tongue making contact in the prepalatal region, while Urdu has less retroflexion. Their X-rays also show that the degree of retroflexion is affected by vowel context, being less before a high backed vowel.

Places of Articulation

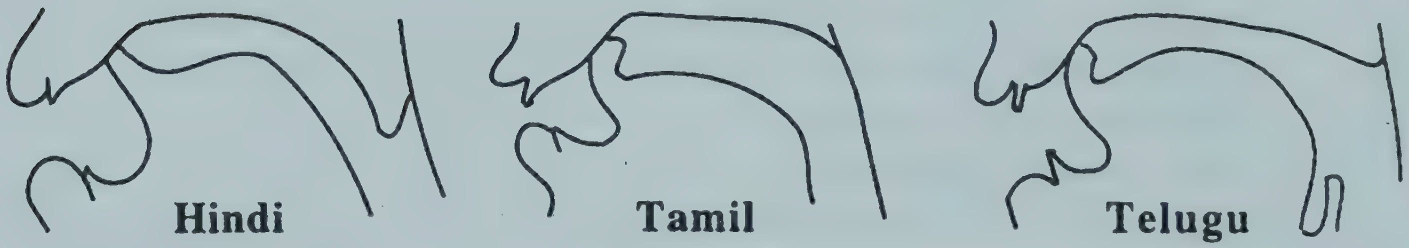


Figure 2.11 X-ray tracings of the apical retroflex ḍ in Hindi and the sub-apical retroflex ɖ in Tamil and Telugu (after Ladefoged and Bhaskararao 1983.)

Balasubramanian (1972) confirms through his palatograms and X-ray photographs that the contact for [ʈ] in Tamil definitively involves the underside of the blade of the tongue in the palatal region.

Dave (1977), who uses palatograms to investigate Gujarati, concludes that the underside of the tip of the tongue is used curled back into the palatal region when [ṭ] and [ḍ] are pronounced.

Nihalani (1974) has studied his proper pronunciation of Sindhi, an Indo-Aryan language. He noted that, in his speech, the sound is not a true representative of the traditional category of sounds known as "retroflex" sounds and he considered that the phonetic label "apical post-alveolar" would more adequately describe its formation.

In order to devise a quantitative measure of retroflexion in Hindi, Urdu, Telugu ans Tamil, Ladefoged and Bhaskararao (1983) estimate the angle between the mean slope of the surface of the blade of the tongue and that of the front of the tongue. The angles show clearly that the speakers of Indo-Aryan languages have less retroflexion than any of the speakers of Dravidian languages.

Acoustic Results of Retroflexion

Regarding the acoustic results of retroflexion, the general consensus seems to be that retroflexion affects mainly the higher formants.

Fant (1968) notes that a retrofflex modification of alveolar sounds lowers F4 so that it comes close to F3; but a retroflex modification of palatal sounds modifies F3 so that comes close to F2.

Stevens and Blumstein (1975) note that:

> *"(1) The F2 transition is similar for both retroflex and non-retroflex consonants; (2) The F3 transition tends to be rising from the retroflex position; (3) F4 starts very low, and undergoes a brief interval in this position before rising rapidly to the normal F4 position for the vowel.... The overall acoustic pattern is characterized by a clustering of F2, F3 and F4 in a relatively narrow frequence region."*

The latter point is confirmed by Dave (1977). Stevens and Blumstein also find that retroflex stops have a burst of noise with a centre frequency near F3 or F4. Dave (1977) notes that he has difficulty observing this, but, in general, he does find that the bursts for Indo-Aryan Gujarati dental stops are higher than those for retroflex stops.

Ramasubramaniam and Thosar (1971) give a series of rules for synthesizing retroflex sounds, including: *"when / ṭ, ḍ, ṇ / precede and/or follow a vowel, the steady-rate value of F3 of the vowel is lowered by about 225 c.p.s."*. They also list the locus for both F2 and F3 in association with front vowels as 1900 Hz, with central vowels as 1450 Hz, and with back vowels as 1000 Hz. Dave (1977) is somewhat critical of this work. On the basis of his acoustic analysis of two speakers he considers the F2 locus to be at 2100 1Hz, with F3 and F4 having very low, but not fixed, loci. He also notes that in both his data and that of Stevens and Blumstein (1971) there are much greater formant transitions in going from a vowel into a retroflex consonant into a following vowel.

Walldén (1974-75) observes that in Tamil *"compared with a non-retroflex a postvocalic retroflex, especially* [ɹ] and [ḷ], *has a clear lowering effect on the preceding vowel, and F3 is mainly responsible for this"*.

Even if there is no particular language known that is characterized by a phonological opposition between "weak" apical (post-)alveolar retroflexes as [ṭḍṇ] and "strong" sub-apical palatal retroflexes as [ʈ ɖ ɳ], the existence of these two retroflexion modalities concerns the phonological theory and requires specific resources of formalization, in particular for the following linguistics subfields:

(a) Historical linguistics: in case one kind of retroflexion has evolved to the other kind;

(b) loan phonology: in case of borrowings, nativization from a language where one kind of retroflexion is attested into another language characterized by the other kind;

(c) language contact studies: in case of bilingual context where the two different types of retroflexion interact mutually.

The semi-creolized Siddi Konkani language constitutes an interesting case of interaction between the two different series of retroflexes.

The Siddi Konkani people consists of a tribal community formed by about 18,000 Afro-Indians descendants of Bantu slaves from Mozambique and the Swahili coast, who escaped from the Portuguese Goa and settled as hidden maroons at the bottom of the deep rain forests of the current Karnataka state. Their original language was a sociolectal variant of the Konkani spoken by their former christianized Goan masters, a dialect that contains a lot of Portuguese elements. Further, the Siddis safeguarded various elements of their ancestral African vocabularies, mainly in some cultural domains. Moreover the contact between Siddi Konkani and its original source, Goan Konkani, was broken several centuries ago and, consequently, both the languages evolved separately.

Recently, mainly through the Siddi children's schooling, the Siddi Konkani hybridized language started to incorporate loan words from Kannada, the official Dravidian language of Karnataka. What consequences would follow from the encounter between two languages characterized by different typological and phonetic uses of the retroflex sounds? The following historical facts need to be remembered:

(a) When the fleeing African slaves left colonial Goa from the XVIth century, their proper Goan Konkani variant held the slight [ṭḍṇ...] apical (post-) alveolar retroflexes common in the other Indo-Aryan languages as Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali and so on.

(b) Relatively recently, when they started to go out from the forests and got in touch with the local indigenous populations of Uttara Kannada, they were confronted with the pronunciation of the strong [ʈɖɳ...] Dravidian sub-apical palatal retroflexes.

(c) Today, many speakers of the young generation are totally or partially bilingual in their use of the Siddi-Konkani and the Kannada languages.

How would the Siddis react faced with these two different kinds of retroflexion articulation?

We can only form three theoretical hypotheses:

(a) They learned to use the two different kinds of retroflexion depending on the language.

(b) They retained their original slight Indo-Aryan retroflexion even when they pronounced the Kannada language;

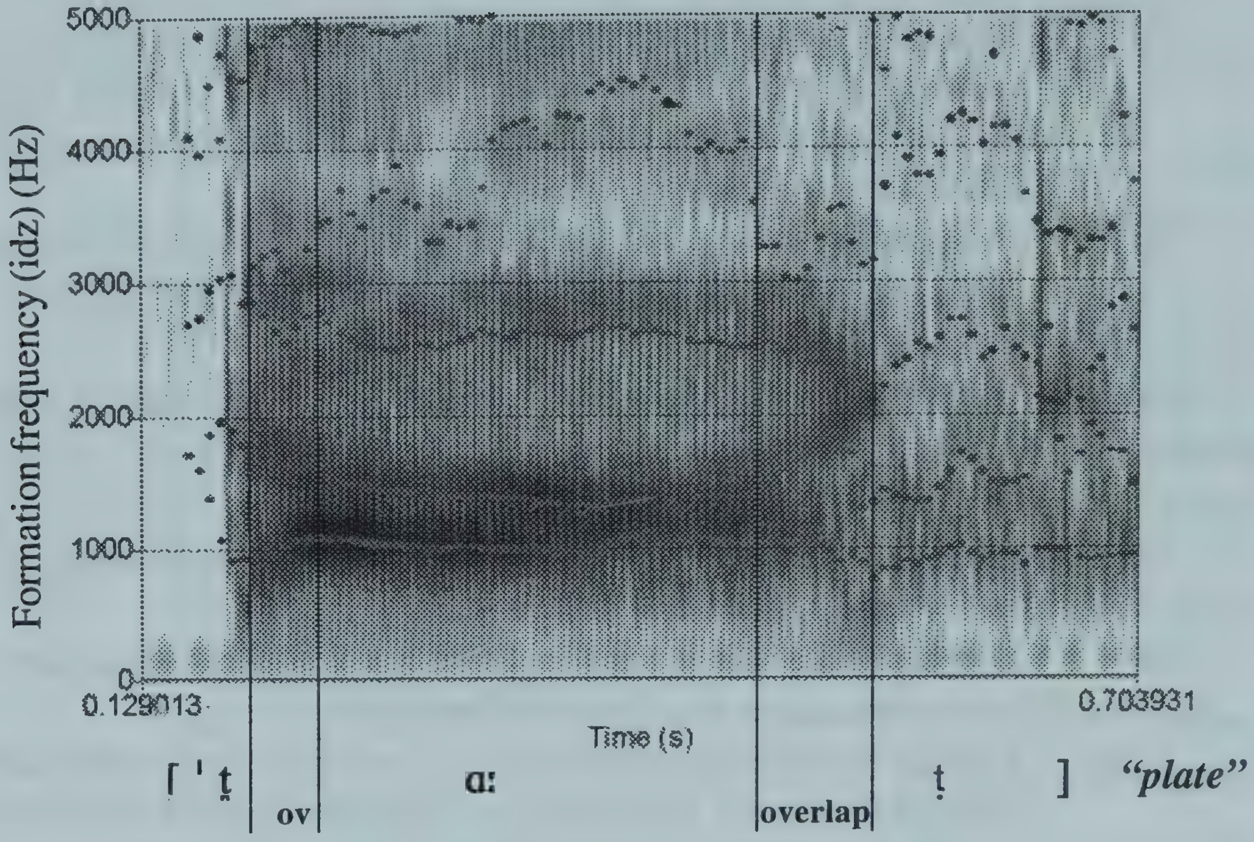
(c) They gave up their original Indo-Aryan slight retroflexion and they adopted the strong Dravidian retroflexion when they pronounced both their mother tongue and other acquired languages.

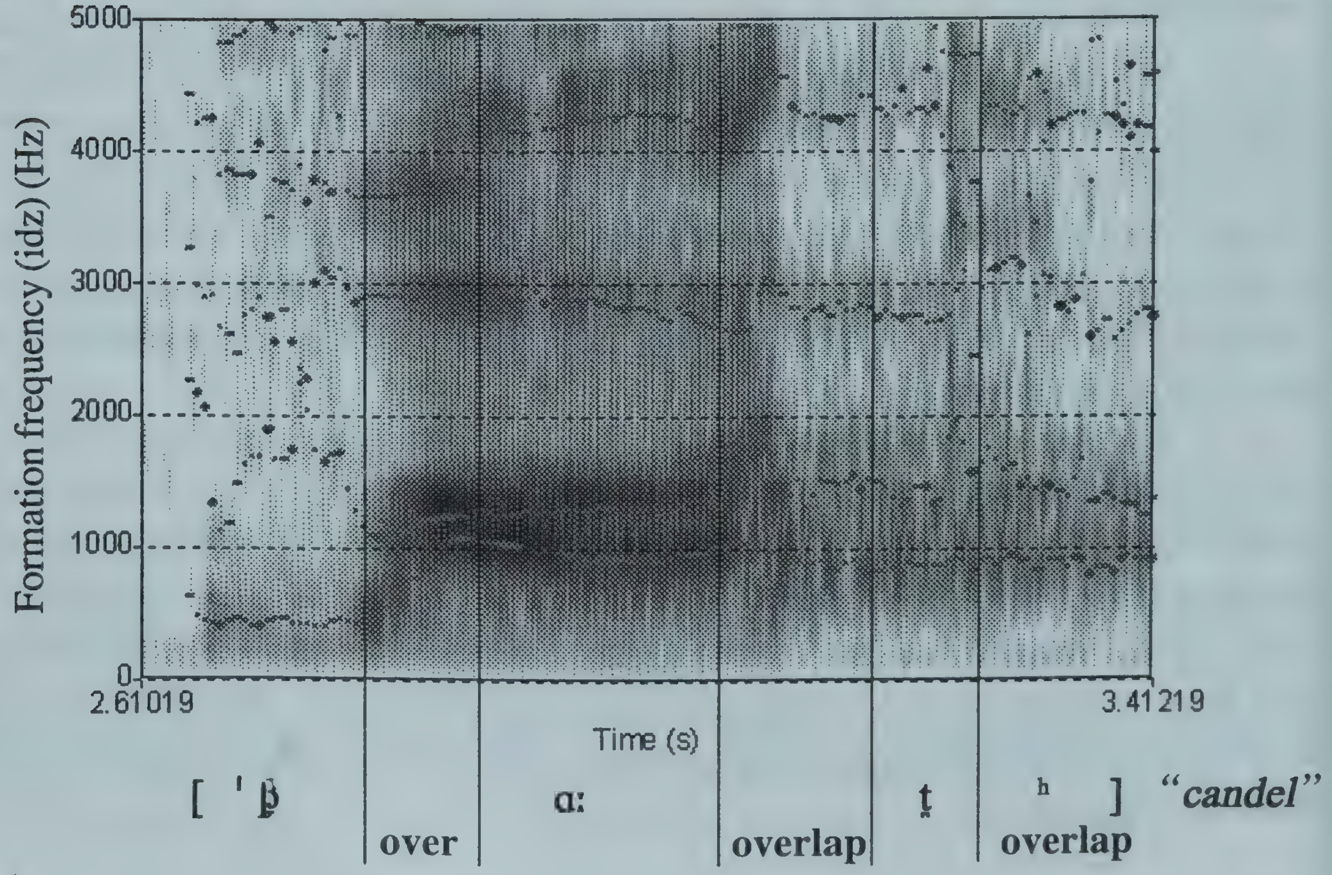
We can exclude the first linguistic behaviour that is highly improbable; while the other two hypotheses constitute possible linguistic adaptation in a bilingual confrontation.

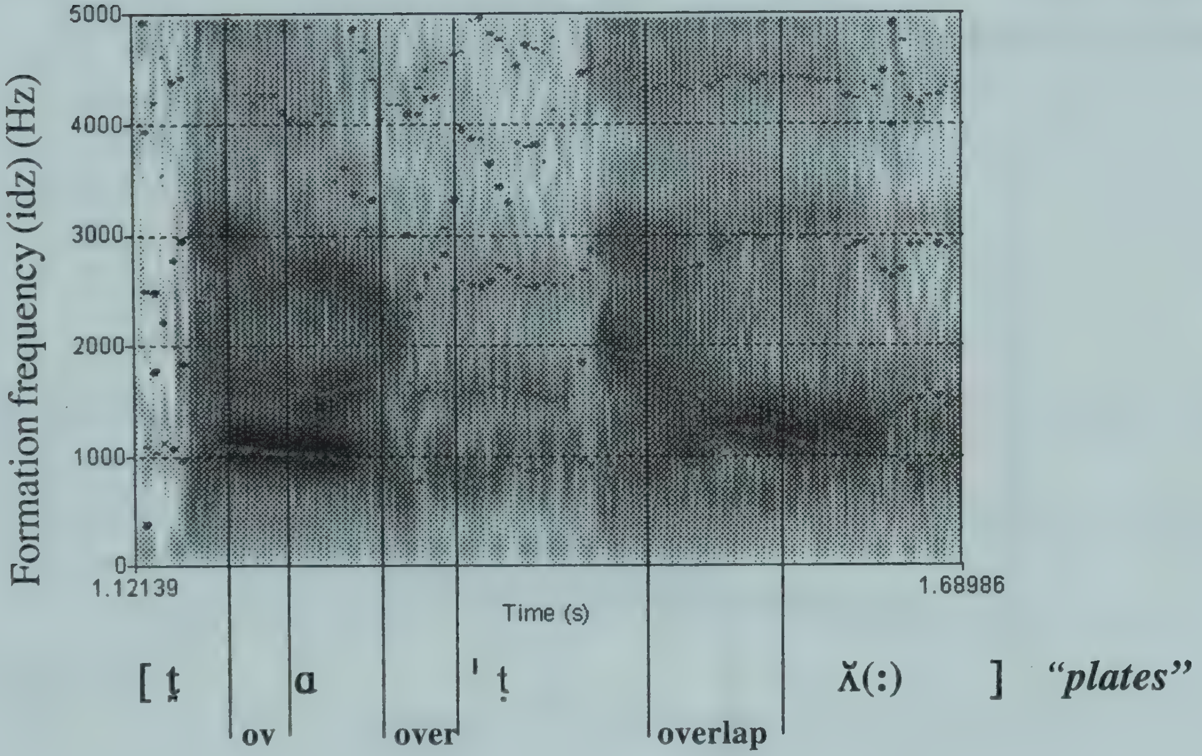
Only an experimental sociophonetic research will permit us to know the linguistic choices made by the Siddi speakers. An ethnolinguistic project about the documentation of Siddi Konkani, promoted by the *The TADIA Society,* has recently been planned by Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendr (TSKK) under the coordination of Jean-Pierre Angenot. A systematic detailed comparison between the acoustical characteristics of Siddi Konkani, Goan Konkani and Kannada is programmed for the next coming months.

By way of preliminary comparative sample, given here below are some spectrograms obtained by PRAAT system showing examples of the retroflex postalveolar stop [ṭ] versus the corresponding non-retroflexed dental stop [t̪] in Northern Goan Bardeshi Konkani and Karnataka Siddi Konkani. It appears that the Siddi retroflexed data seems to favour the hypothesis (b) stated above. However, this data were pronounced by an uneducated monolingual speaker. Of course, we'll need to verify the possible Kannada influence on the speech of the bilingual (semi-) educated Siddi people.

Bardeshi Konkani Data:






5000
4000
3000
2000
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0
Formation frequency (idz) (Hz)
1.12139
1.68986
Time (s)
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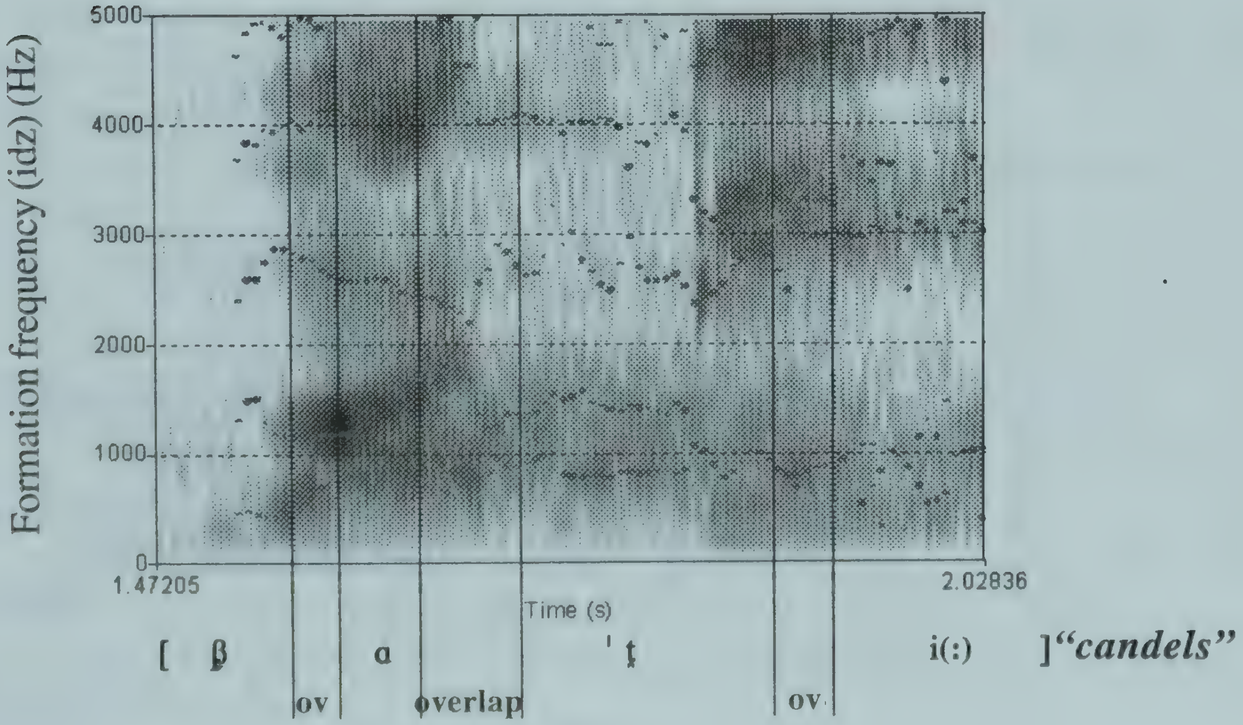
5000
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Formation frequency (idz) (Hz)
1.47205
2.02836
Time (s)
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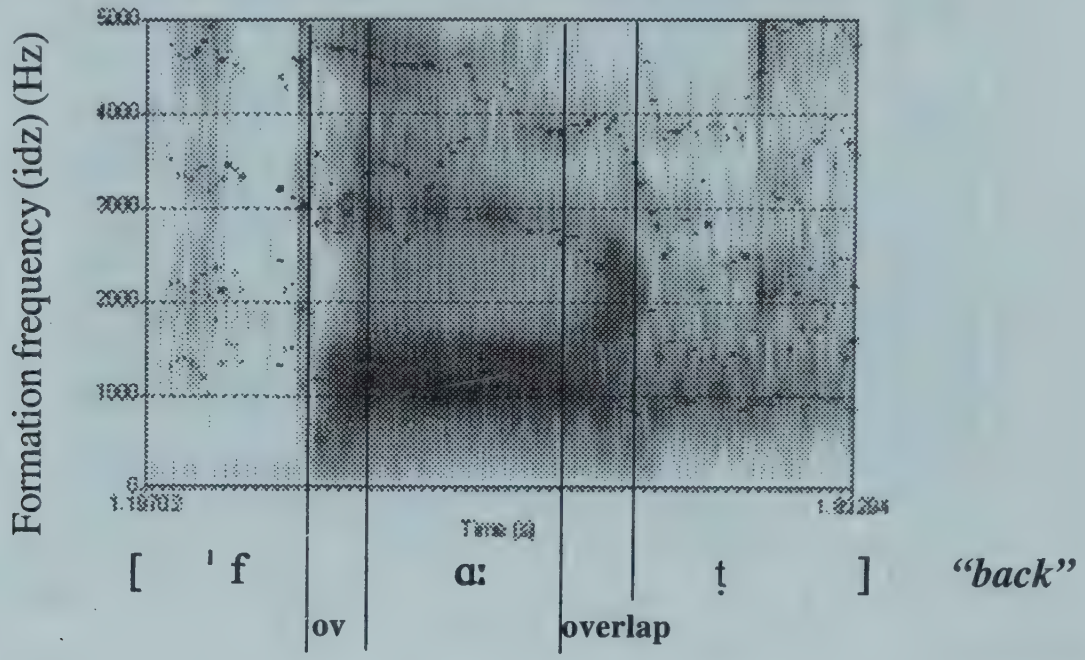
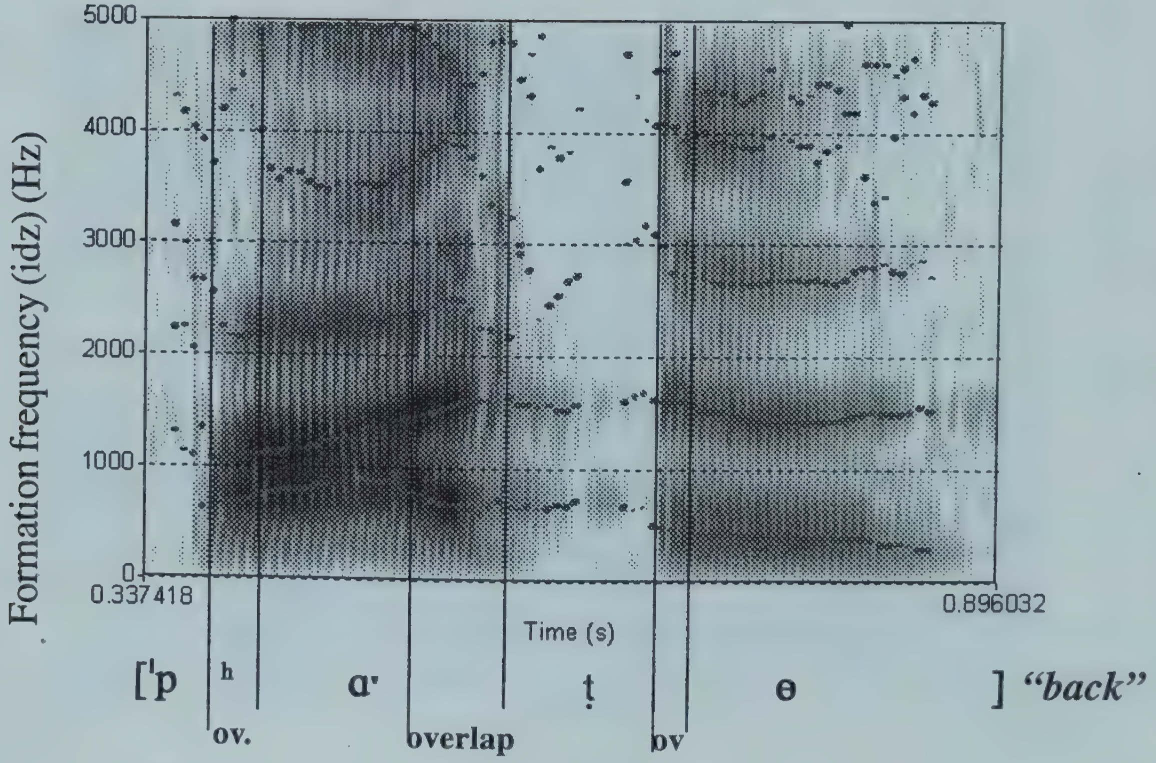
Comparison Between Bardeshi Konkani [ˈfɑːt] *Back* and Siddi Konkani [ˈpʰɑˑtə] *Back*

Bardeshi Konkani:



Siddi Konkani:



It's interesting to observe the retention of two archaic features retained in the Siddi Konkani example [ˈpʰɑˑt̪ɵ] *"back"* instead of [ˈfɑːt̪] in Bardeshi Konkani :

(a) the presence of the Old Konkani aspirated voiceless bilabial stop [pʰ] instead of the unaspirated voiceless labiodental fricative [f] which is the current realization in Modern Bardeshi Konkani;

(b) the presence of a stressed mid-long vowel [ɑˑ] followed by a final unstressed rounded central schwa [ɵ] instead of a unique stressed long vowel (with compensatory lengthening by recuperation of the mora of a final floating vowel) in Modern Bardeshi Konkani.

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The African, Portuguese, Kannada, Marathi.... 329

Note

[1] This paper is an excerpt of a TADIA ethnolinguistic project granted by the *Fundaçã Oriente* of Lisbon and promoted jointly by the CEPLA research centre of the Federa University of Rondônia, Brazil and the Thomas Stephens Konkani Kendr, Goa.

The project plans to realize a complete description of Siddi-Konkani, a language that has not yet been the object of any previous attempt at linguistic description. The documentation will consist of instrumental phonetic (acoustic, articulatory and aerodynamic) analysis, a practical phonemic description completed by a more abstract non-linear reinterpretation, a grammar survey (morphology and syntax), a bilingual Siddi-Konkani-English and English-Siddi-Konkani dictionary with systematic inclusion of the Goan Konkani, Portuguese, Bantu, Marathi and Kannada etymological cognates, sociolinguistic reports and text collections. Video footage, audio tapes, computer files and field notes will be provided and deposited at the Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendr.

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THE TADIA SOCIETY

(THE SOCIETY FOR RESEARCH, CULTURE, EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE AFRICAN DIASPORA IN ASIA)

- The Objects for which the Society is established are
- To support and promote solely the advancement of educational activities in all its branches, for Siddis and other African descents of Asia;
- To facilitate the specific educational, employment and organizational needs of the diaspora
- To promote specific learning materials for the Afro-Asians
- To promote the culture of the Indian Siddis and the other Afro-descendant people of Asia:
- To promote a multi disciplinary and pluricultural programme
- To promote research activities
- To promote the aims of the UNESCO "Slave Route Project,"
- To carry out all such other activities that promote research, history, culture, education and socio-economic development of Afro Asian people.

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